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BIBLIOTHECA SACRA

AND

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

CONDUCTED BY

B. B. EDWARDS AND E. A. PARK,
Professors at Andover,

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

DR. ROBINSON AND PROF. STUART.

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PROSPECTUS

OF THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA and THEOLOGICAL REVIEW will be published quarterly, on the first day of February, May, August and November, by ALLEN, MORRILL & WARDWELL, Andover, and WILEY & PUTNAM, New York and London. Each volume will contain 800 pages. The terms are four dollars per annum, payable in advance.

The general character of the work may be inferred from the title, from the No. which is now published, and from the three Nos. of the Bibliotheca Sacra. It will embrace the subjects, which are included under Theology in the wider acceptation of that term, namely, Biblical Literature, Doctrinal Theology, and the History of the Church, including that of the principal doctrines of Christianity. Particular prominence will be given to Biblical Literature, in respect to which there is a large and constantly increasing amount of valuable materials. Certain collateral subjects will receive a share of attention, particularly classical philology and mental science. These, as is well known, have ever had an intimate connection with theological literature. Perhaps this connection has never been more important than it is at the present day. With these exceptions, if they can be called such, the publication will be confined to the discussion of the topics included under the general name of theology. The conductors have no intention or wish to interfere with the valuable periodicals which are now devoted to the natural and political sciences, to general literature, or which are designed to meet the wants of the great body of the religious community. The Theological Review has a more limited and specific aim. It will endeavor to consult the needs of theological students and clergymen. With this view, articles will be sought of a permanent value, instead of those which are fitted merely to produce a popular and immediate effect. In some cases, entire treatises will be published in successive numbers of the work. The varieties of type and the facilities for printing possessed by the publishers, will enable the contributor to present his views and illustrations in the most authentic and satisfactory manner. Particular pains will be taken with the typography and external appearance of the work. It is hoped that it may not be without permanent and increasing value, when bound as a volume.

PROSPECTUS.

In this connection, it may be stated, that this publication is not begun hastily, or from any momentary impulse. It has been in contemplation for several years, and has been postponed partly on account of the pecuniary embarrassments of the country, and for other reasons which need not be here mentioned. There are many indications in the present state of Christendom which seem to demand the radical discussion of certain topics in biblical and theological literature. There are vital questions connected with interpreting the Bible, which do not seem to be satisfactorily settled. Usages and opinions, adopted in various periods and by different portions of the christian church, appear to be again awakening earnest attention. Some of the essential doctrines of the christian system are also subject to new attack.

In these circumstances, it is hoped that this publication will be favorably received by those for whom it is especially designed. There is a large amount of materials in two or three of the languages of continental Europe, which, after undergoing the necessary modifications, will, it is thought, be of essential service in aiding the investigations of our theologians and biblical scholars. These materials will not in general be transferred by means of translations into the English language, but will be so modified and altered as to meet the wants, and correspond to the modes of thinking which prevail in Great Britain and the United States.

Valuable contributions for the illustration of the Scriptures may be expected from Rev. Eli Smith and other missionaries in Palestine,—a department of biblical learning so successfully occupied by Dr. Robinson.

It may here be stated, that the Bibliotheca Sacra has already several hundred subscribers in Great Britain. A number of writers in that country and in Germany will contribute to the pages of this Review.

As the conductors of this Review commence their undertaking, they wish to say, that they entertain the most friendly sentiments towards those who are already engaged in the same general department of labor. The BIBLICAL REPOSITORY has long held a distinguished place in the religious literature of the present age. Its merits have been acknowledged by the most competent judges abroad as well as at home. The NEW ENGLANDER, though published but one year, has attained a high and well merited character, as admirably fitted to the existing condition of society, and to the wants of the great body of intelligent laymen as well as of clergymen. May both these publications be more and more serviceable to the cause of sound literature and vital Christianity.

Amos 1888

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THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

NO. I

FEBRUARY, 1844.

ARTICLE I.

THE ASPECT OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES,
AS COMPARED WITH EUROPE.

By E. Robinson, D. D., Prof. of Bib. Lit. in the Union Theol. Sem., New York.

It is a trite remark, that the most successful and distinguished men, are often self-made men. Without ancestry, without friends, without external means, alone and apparently helpless in the world, they are nevertheless often able, through the force of innate energy and a spirit of indomitable perseverance, to triumph over all obstacles; to open for themselves a way to influence and fame; and to enstamp in living characters upon their age the impress of their names and power. While others in their career have had only to follow beaten paths, winding through flowery meads and verdant lawns and venerable groves, they have been compelled to take a shorter course, to climb Alps and stem torrents, in order to arrive at the same goal; and the spirit of energy and enterprise, which has hurried them on and vanquished all difficulties in the outset, is still to them the earnest of future and higher success. In this spirit,—in the deep workings of an irrepressible, innate power,—lies the secret of the whole matter. Such men are successful and become distinguished, not *because* they are self-made, but in spite of the privations and hindrances, which they have had the energy to overcome.

It does not however follow, that men attain to eminence and fame solely or chiefly by having to struggle against adverse cir-

cumstances. The same energy and perseverance which they have expended in order to vanquish obstacles, whether in public life, or in the calmer retreats of literature and science,—to how much higher and more perfect results might these qualities have led them, had they been surrounded not by obstacles, but by facilities and encouragements? If Shakspeare stands forth preëminent as the child of nature in his own "wood-notes wild," how greatly nevertheless might he not have improved the mass of his writings, had he enjoyed the influences and the training which aided to form Milton and Goethe? If our own Franklin obtained distinction in the walks of science, still, how much more might he not probably have accomplished, had he possessed that early discipline and those advantages, which were the lot of Newton and Laplace?

As with individuals, so with nations. A youthful people, with vast resources and gigantic enterprise, may rush at once upon the arena of the world, and stand forth in the full possession of all the elements of physical and moral power. And yet the very conditions and circumstances of its existence and growth may be such, that these elements have not been and cannot be as yet wrought into that harmony and completeness of combination, which can alone avail for the full development of its resources and the perfection of its powers. Both in arts and arms there is perhaps a want of discipline, a want of unity of plan and purpose, and of course so far a want of efficiency and of high result. The youthful Minerva springs forth indeed in vigour; but her stature is not yet full grown, nor her armour complete. Older nations in the course of ages have learned a more thorough discipline; they have heaped together materials; they have acquired more unity of plan and steadfastness of purpose; and thus they have brought forth more decisive results. With them Minerva has grown to her full stature, and is armed cap-a-pie.

These general remarks may serve to introduce the subject, which I propose to discuss in the present essay; viz. The aspect of literature and science in our own country as compared with the old world. I have been led to treat of this topic, partly from the fact of having had some opportunities for personal observation; and partly because there is among us a prevalent disposition, on the one hand, to decry our own literary institutions and progress in comparison with those of Europe; and on the other, to cry them up extravagantly, at the expense of those of all other nations. Both of these extremes appear to me to be unjust. But

a rational and careful estimate of the actual circumstances and prospects of literature and science in the United States, as compared with Europe, has, so far as I know, never been attempted. At the same time I would desire to guard against every expectation of novelty or completeness. To treat the subject in detail, would require a volume, which might doubtless be made exceedingly instructive; but I can here of course only sketch an outline of some of the main points; and those relating to causes now in operation, rather than to actual results.

Our country is indeed a youthful giant, leaping forth in his strength. Little more than two centuries have passed away, since the white man's foot was first planted on our soil; or since the forest ceased to wave over the fair scenes on every side, where now rise so thickly the habitations of wealth and taste, the halls of science, and the temples of the living God. For more than a century and a half, the original settlements of our land remained separate and feeble colonies, dependent on the mother country, and nursed with a step-mother's care; until at length the rod of oppression caused them to band together, and with one effort they were free. From that movement of national freedom and national unity, commenced the march of national development. With a rapidity wonderful in itself, and unexampled in the history of nations, this development has advanced with gigantic strides, until in some fifty years its progress has very far outstripped all that had taken place in the whole period of our previous existence. Instead of thirteen feeble colonies, we now have six and twenty powerful States; instead of a population of three and a half millions of souls, we now have seventeen millions; instead of being confined to the coasts of the Atlantic, the track of our pioneers of civilization has already touched the Pacific; and the sails of our commerce whiten every sea in every clime. But in the midst of these enormous physical developments, could it be expected that the cultivation of the national mind should advance with equal pace? or, that, while, through the force of circumstances, every energy has been strained to triumph over obstacles and secure an external prosperity, there should be time and opportunity in a like degree for the abstractions and calmer enjoyments of literature and science? Such a state of things would, at least, have presented a phenomenon far more anomalous and imposing, than any recorded on the historic page.

Turn for a moment to the European world. We see there an

assemblage of nations, whose foundations were laid in the earliest periods after the overthrow of the Roman empire, and whose birth dates back not less than ten or twelve centuries. True, their political and civil divisions have been subject to many changes; and the forms of their external existence have undergone many a revolution; yet the great national characteristics of the various races stand out every where in bold relief, and are not to be mistaken. The agitations and fierce passions of the crusades roused the mind of Europe from its state of lethargy, and prepared the way for the reviving dawn of letters to break over ages of darkness; and then the era of the Reformation brought in a new flood of light, not only directly upon the Protestant world, but indirectly also upon the Papal nations. True, the kingdoms of Europe have lived on in wars and conflicts with one another and among themselves; their vast physical resources, when developed, have been swallowed up and exhausted in struggles for conquest or for existence. Yet these resources have been developed; and in the midst of all these scenes of peril, institutions of learning were early founded and have been cherished; and, in the masses of a crowded population, there has always been a class eager to devote themselves to the charms, and to the advancement of letters, sciences and arts. There often exists indeed in the old world no outlet for intellectual energy in the ordinary channels of an active, practical, business life; and thus men of aspiring and enterprising minds have been and still are driven to the cultivation of learning as the only remaining means of acquiring fame and influence and fortune. It is to this class of men, thus devoted to letters and the sciences, which has now existed for centuries in the old world, and surrounded itself by degrees with splendid means and materials of learning, that we must ascribe the difference, if any exists, between the aspect of literature and science in the old world and in these United States. Such a class can scarcely be said as yet to exist in our own land; or, at most, is only in its infancy.

Let me dwell for a few moments on some circumstances in our condition and character, which have operated and must still operate to prevent among us the formation of such a class.

One of the most prominent of these circumstances, is the vast extent of our territory and of its physical resources as yet undeveloped, in comparison with the amount of our population. The consequences of this disproportion are so obvious, as hardly to need enumeration. The great demand is for an active, enter-

prising, labouring population, in the various practical departments of society. And such is the extent of room, that no one active class is jostled by another; but ere the demand is satisfied in one place,—so soon as the bones and muscles of society are there formed, and ere the flesh has come up upon them,—there is a great emigration to another quarter, and the process of formation is again and again repeated. Fifty years have hardly elapsed, since from New England the tide of population began to roll in upon Western New York and Ohio, then covered with primeval forests. These are now the rich and thrifty abodes of intelligent lords of the soil; and themselves send forth their swarms to people in like manner other more distant States and Territories, Missouri, Michigan, and Iowa. But suppose all this mass of population, instead of thus seeking out new scenes of active life and national development, had from the force of circumstances, remained pent up within the limits of New England? Would not her less fertile soil have been more richly tilled? Would not her fleets have spread out still more canvass upon every sea? And especially, and what is more to our purpose, with all her schools and seminaries of learning, would not some portion of this surplus population naturally have turned its attention to arts and sciences; and the class of literary and scientific men have become far greater than at present? We are warranted in drawing this conclusion, from the fact, that those, who thus went forth, carried with them the “precious seed,” of religion and learning; and wherever they settled down, churches, and schools, and colleges were planted. Within these fifty years, my own Alma Mater has grown up, where then the forest waved;* and numerous other Institutions of learning have followed throughout all the regions of the West. Would this spirit have been checked, had these emigrants remained at home, surrounded by older institutions and more extensive means? Would not rather the density of population, and the want of other occupation, and other opportunities for enterprise have caused this spirit to become still further developed and still more universal? and thus learning and the arts have been more widely and highly cultivated?

In another aspect too, the disproportion between our territory and our population, operates against the cultivation of letters. When the great and absorbing demand is for active and enterprising labourers in the *practical* departments of society; there is of course comparatively little demand in those which are less

* Hamilton College, Oneida Co. N. Y.

practical. And this state of things is further upheld by the circumstance, that the main objects after which every man strives, reputation, influence, wealth, or at least the means of livelihood, are with us so much more easily secured in these practical departments. No parent in our land in selecting a course of life for his child, would think of training him to the career of letters; for it can hardly be said to exist; or at best it is the most irregular and uncertain of all. Few young men, in entering upon life, would choose to depend on literature for their bread. How very small is the relative number of those who obtain even a collegiate education? And of this small number, how few love learning for its own sake, or afterwards pursue it? They live through their four years or more of elementary toil, not for the purpose of cultivating literature and science in after life, but as a course of honourable preparation for a career of professional activity, which shall bring them in, not the consciousness of having enjoyed the fruits of science, or of having enlarged its boundaries, but a rich reward of wealth and influence. Who could as yet look to science or to letters in our country with such hopes?

A second important and very comprehensive feature in our condition, which operates against the building up of a literary and scientific class among us, is the very form and constitution of society and government. With us, all power, all influence, all offices of trust and profit, all institutions for the welfare and progress of the community, emanate from the people themselves; and are intended to operate upon, and for the benefit of, the people as a whole,—for the poor as well as for the rich; for the unlearned as well as for the learned; for the labourer in the field and the artisan in his workshop, as well as for the merchant at his desk, the scholar in his study, or the statesman in his bureau. The whole government, in theory and in practice, is in the hands of the great mass of the people; it emanates from them, and at short intervals returns to them. It is therefore the sentiment of the whole community,—an enlightened and vigorous public sentiment,—on which the whole fabric of our social and political institutions must rest; and whatever be the predominant character of this public sentiment, such will naturally be the character of the institutions springing from it.

There are probably few persons in this country, who would be inclined to doubt, that this is, theoretically at least, the best and only true foundation of human society and government; or that the unpretending paper drawn up in the cabin of the *May-flower*,

laid the corner-stone of a great and hitherto successful experiment in the science of social and political economy, such as the world has never elsewhere beheld. Our pilgrim-fathers were men of no common minds, nor common training. If they were enthusiasts, it was in a great and noble cause, and for an object which was to promote the welfare of the world,—one of those great causes, indeed, like our own revolution, which can be carried on to a successful issue, only by the mighty efforts and sacrifices of a profound and well-regulated enthusiasm. They swept away at once the ancient forest of deep-rooted prejudice and despotic institutions. They digged deep and planted their vineyard of freedom and hedged it about; and now for two centuries it has grown luxuriantly, and its leaves are “for the healing of the nations.” For two centuries we have known no king, no lordly nobles, no despotic laws; the labourer at his plough, and the smith at his forge, are as free, and may become as noble as the dukes and princes of other lands. We know not among us the idea of rank; and the tendency doubtless is, to resist and spurn all adventitious claims, which in the diversified phases of society, may occasionally be set up. Perhaps it is to this habitual feeling of equality and independence, imbibed in our earliest infancy and nursed through life by all external circumstances, that we are to look for the maintenance of our institutions,—it may be, in an equal degree with the cultivation of intelligent public sentiment, or the virtue of our public men.

Let this all be as it may; and let public sentiment be as highly cultivated as possible; still, as it must be the sentiment of the mass of the community, it cannot of course outstrip the cultivation of the mass itself, nor lead to higher general results than it is able to comprehend and appreciate. But however far the cultivation of society may be pushed, it is now and will forever remain the fact, that the great mass of every community will not be men of high education. The statesmen, the professional men, the men of property and leisure, ever constitute but a small proportion of the population; while the great body,—and in our country, where every man's vote is equal, the commanding body,—will be made up of those who follow agriculture, the various trades, and commerce. Now these may be as a body, enterprising and enlightened;—and they are in this country more so, I believe, than in any other under heaven;—but as a body, they can never be learned. They can see, in our own case, the propriety, and judge of the effect of measures for bringing out and cultivat-

ing the great resources of our country;—which shall tend to remove taxes from themselves and furnish a ready demand and market for their labour and their products; which shall increase their physical comforts and enjoyments, diffuse the blessings of general education, and thus go to render us a great and happy people. All this the great mass among us can and do comprehend; and they will, and do ordinarily vote for men to carry out such measures. Indeed, it is in no small degree to the prevalence of this enlightened public sentiment, that we must already attribute our rapid development as a nation; and also the standing which all these classes here hold in comparison with other nations. It is no patriotic delusion, no self-flattery, to say, that in all these respects our own country takes rank of every other upon earth. The class which forms the lowest order of all European society,—the class of peasantry,—has here, no existence;—its squalid poverty and physical discomfort, and boorish ignorance are alike unknown. I may safely make the remark, without the fear of being contradicted at home or abroad by those acquainted with the facts, that in no country of Europe, and still less in Asia, and Africa, is the great body of the community so well informed, or their physical wants so well supplied; in short, no country, where the great mass will bear comparison as to intelligence and physical comfort, with the same classes in our own land. I will not say, that there is not more *enjoyment* elsewhere, among even the poorest classes; because it is our national characteristic to be always striving for something future, and so to forget or be dissatisfied with the present; while even the poor peasant of foreign lands, like the poor slave upon our own soil, having no higher hopes of what is yet to come, gives himself up to enjoy that which he can grasp of the present.

Now all these considerations have a strong bearing upon the point before us. In a country like ours, where the public sentiment of the great body is the chief regulator of all public measures and public tendencies, and where this sentiment is as yet, from the nature of the case, necessarily directed almost wholly to practical interests; we cannot expect it to suggest or even to encourage measures for cultivating merely the public taste, or for promoting what may be called the luxuries of intellectual life; we cannot expect it to do more than yield a cold protection to the efforts of taste, or to the culture of literature, science and the arts; except so far as these may subserve other more practical interests. To expect more, would be as illogical in theory, as it

would be contrary to the teachings of experience. Rome rose from slow beginnings; and although the stern virtues of the republic made her the mistress of the world; yet her literature and the magnificent remains which have come down to us, were chiefly the work of later times and of imperial patronage. The fickle and splendour-loving Greeks were easily persuaded by popular leaders, acting upon a religious sentiment, to undertake great national works; but these were regarded as the works of the leaders and not of the nation; and the Parthenon, in its mournful ruins, still proclaims, not the intelligence and enterprise of the Athenian people, but the taste and the glory of Pericles.

While it was thus possible in Athens for a popular leader during a long series of years, to lay his plans and seize his opportunities and collect the treasures necessary for public works on so grand a scale, a totally opposite principle has been introduced into our own political constitution, which cuts off all opportunities for any similar manifestation. The periodical return of all power to the people after short terms of official trust, while it prevents, as was intended, the usurpation and retention of unlawful power, operates at the same time as a bar to all permanent system in our public policy, and necessarily imparts to it an air of instability and fluctuation. This is true even in our great material interests, our commerce, our manufactures, our currency, our lands; in respect to which one administration hardly has time to devise and enter upon some scheme of policy, before it is succeeded and its works swept away by another. Still less therefore can we expect the permanency, or even the general establishment of any system, which shall foster education or promote the growth of a literary and scientific class, beyond the extent to which it may be appreciated by the popular intelligence.

If now we turn our eyes to the old world, we behold only the reverse of the whole picture. From the autocracy of Russia down through various modifications to the mixed monarchies of France and Great Britain, the fundamental principle of society and government is, that power and influence are permanently in the hands of the few; while the great body of the people are without influence and without voice in all the measures relating to national policy and national welfare. Their part is only to receive protection and to bear the burdens. In the pure despotisms of the north and south, this state of things exists in its full force, except as mitigated by the patriarchal character of individual monarchs. In the constitutional sovereignties, so-called, of middle Europe, it

is modified in name, but not in fact; for the estates which are to represent the people, are themselves dependents, not on the people, but on the sovereign; they have no power to propose measures, and can at most but disapprove of those proposed by the government. Even in France, with her charter, with more than thirty millions of people and less than a hundred thousand voters, how many of these last give their voices independently of the strong influence of government or aristocratic wealth? In England too, the enormous wealth of the aristocracy, acting in union with the power and influence of the crown, ever has and probably will very long be able to bear down the popular voice, or at least shape it to its own purposes. And if in the movements of recent years, the disunion of the crown and nobles has enabled the people in some degree to triumph, still the separation is unnatural and cannot be regarded as a settled principle. In these fierce contests, where the highest questions of public right and constitutional order have been at stake, the appeal has notoriously been, not to an enlightened public sentiment, but to the weight of direct personal interest and to venal gold. Wherever the victory may for a time have been, there can be little question, that it will ultimately and long remain upon the side of wealth and power.

All this is in total contrast to our own institutions; and the same contrast runs on throughout the whole vast range of detail. With us, the government has no power, except such as is directly delegated; in Europe, the governments possess all power, except such as is expressly withheld. With us, the government, itself resting upon the intelligent support of the people, must make the welfare and general intelligence of the people its great end. In the old world, every government naturally strives to build up in every way its own strength; and when for this purpose it wisely takes also into the account the welfare and intelligence of its people as a whole, it nevertheless takes care to do it in such a way, as to induce no encroachment upon its own policy and power. It takes care to draw around and make dependent on itself, all the elements of influence and power existing among the people. Men distinguished for their wealth, their talents, their skill, their learning, their wisdom, are sought out, and become its instruments. The church and her ministers are in every country of Europe a part and parcel of the State, and under its control; and religion thus comes to the people, not more to purify and bless them, than to inspire them with devotion to their king.

Here then is the sphere of public sentiment in the old world. It is not the feeling of the whole community proclaimed in reference to topics with which all are conversant; but it is the voice of the few,—of the higher and more cultivated classes, which the government draws out and around itself, and which alone it deems worthy to be regarded as the supporters of its moral strength. What does the government of England care for the opinion or the voices of its colliers and the operatives of its factories, except as being the cry of vast masses of brute force? What deference would the czar pay to the expressed opinions of the millions of his serfs; or even the emperor of Austria to the voices of his peasantry?

Thus, while with us, the whole commonwealth in all its members is the State, and the government its dependent; in the old world the government is the State, and the whole community dependent upon it. The apothegm of the French monarch, "I am the State," was not spoken at random, nor without the feeling of its profound truth. The throne and its attributes are the central point, the heart, to which the life-blood of a nation is attracted from every quarter, and which again gives it forth in pulses through infinite ramifications to every extremity of the body politic.

Now this is a state of society, which we, as a people are not apt fully to appreciate; and the effects of which, those who have not visited foreign countries are not perhaps prepared duly to estimate. The remark holds equally true, *vice versa*, as to Europe; where it is very rare to meet with individuals who can understand and fully appreciate the state of things in this country. We are prone, and justly prone, to regard our constitution of society as most of all in accordance with the rights and well-being of mankind. We believe too, and with equal justice, that we as a people are happier under this form of society, than we could be, under any other. But when many of us likewise are ready to extend this proposition further, and to suppose that the nations of the old world, with their present habits of thought and life, need only to assume our forms of society and government in order to enlarge and secure their welfare; we are reasoning without sufficient data, and it needs only a few years or even months of personal observation to dissipate the illusion. So too when some of us look forward to the speedy downfall of thrones and principalities in Europe, and the formation of a great family of republics, this view seems to arise from an imperfect acquaintance with

the state of society there. Tempests of popular fury, and storms of revolutions, may indeed, as they have done, burst forth and sweep over the face of the nations and lay waste many a realm; and republics may arise from anarchy and for a time be nursed in blood; but there are causes, I apprehend, deeply seated in the very life of man in the old world, which for a long time to come will work out the overthrow of all such self-formed States. England and France have already once gone through the like process of revolution, with results almost entirely parallel; and although in both these kingdoms the elements of strife and downfall seem now again at work, yet the same deep causes are also operating in both to turn aside the catastrophe, and to maintain still the supremacy and stability of ancient forms and institutions. Let me here pause for a moment, and direct attention to a few of these obvious conservatory causes.

I have already remarked, that we are to look for the permanency of our own institutions, to nothing more, perhaps, than to the habitual feeling of equality and independence, which has for more than two centuries been nursed in our bosoms. The same principle of habitual feeling flows out in the old world in the opposite direction; it is there the feeling of loyalty. The earliest accents to which there the infant listens, while it still lies upon its mother's breast, are those of respect and veneration for the sovereign. As the child increases in years, the voice of religion mingles with that of parental and public instruction, to enstamp upon his heart the precept: "Fear God and honour the king." The one is to him as binding as the other; and thus it comes to pass, that in riper years, even in the battle-cry of the patriotic warrior, "For King and Father-land," his sovereign stands before his country. Here now, right or wrong, is an idea deeply seated in the earliest and best feelings and principles of the human heart; a loyalty cherished from the first dawn of intelligence, which has "grown with the growth and strengthened with the strength," of each individual; and which therefore is so far just as potent and active for the maintenance of the institutions of the old world, as is the opposite habit in our case for the upholding of those of the new.

Besides all this, around the monarch cluster all the loved and venerated institutions of antiquity, all the cherished associations of patriotism and history. This veneration for antiquity we have not; for we have no antiquity; and we can therefore hardly estimate the powerful influence of the feeling in many parts of the

old world. There the history of each country is often but the biography of its line of monarchs; its institutions but the record of their acts and grants; its poetry and romance, often the rehearsal of their exploits; and thus the personal character and influence and deeds of its sovereigns, are interwoven with the whole texture of history and literature and national feeling. So too the institutions and forms under which each individual grows up, and by which his character is moulded,—the institutions perhaps of ages,—cannot lightly be thrown away. They may indeed have become in part obsolete, or even have in time degenerated into abuses; yet still they are from habit cherished even because they are thus old. And yet more are they preserved, because, intertwined as they are in the texture of all other social institutions, they cannot be torn away without causing a wider rupture and perhaps danger to the whole fabric. This too is a consideration, which in this country we can hardly appreciate. The framework of our society is so simple, that it is easy to adjust a beam here, or to supply a brace there, and thus add strength to the edifice without marring its symmetry; while in the constitutions of the old world, it might be difficult to cure a slight evil without inducing a greater, to remove an excrescence without destroying a limb or even endangering life itself.

Powerful as these causes are for the prevention of revolution or even great change in the kingdoms of the old world, another still stronger lies in the *personal interest* and influence of the higher and more intelligent classes against all such change. I have already alluded to the fact, that among these classes exists the only public sentiment which finds its way to the ears of princes; and that to these alone the governments of the old world look for their moral support. As a necessary consequence, it is the policy of all those governments to bind these classes to them by all possible ties; and not only to secure their influence, but to cultivate and enlarge it as far as possible. Hence, as the throne is the source of all honour and power, it has come to pass that not only in military and naval life, but also from the minister of State, down to the petty schoolmaster of the village, every occupant of a place of trust or profit is an immediate dependent of the government; holding his post either by its direct gift, or else by virtue of qualifications of which the government has constituted itself the judge. Thus, on the continent at least, all educated men who are in any measure dependent for support on the exercise of a profession, ministers of the gospel, priests, physicians and sur-

geons, and teachers of every name and degree—all are compelled to look for that support to the favour of the government; to say nothing of those other honours so liberally bestowed in the form of titles and ribbands. If in Great Britain this is not so much the case in form, still the same effect is brought about as really in a less direct way. And when to all this, we add the influence of standing armies with their thousands of officers eager for promotion, and the still more numerous thousands of those interested in providing for the maintenance of these hosts; we find thrown around the existing forms of European society and government a wall of self-interest, which under ordinary circumstances the chafings and struggles of popular discontent will hardly suffice to overthrow.

In looking back to the circumstances of our own revolution, and thence arguing to the introduction of similar results in Europe, we are apt to overlook the fact, that with us, not one of all these counteracting causes was at work. We had no king; or at least he was so far removed as to be no object of veneration, and was known to us only through what we called oppression. We had no ancient institutions to be overturned. We had no like motive of self-interest to operate against the change; for with us all the wisdom and talent and learning of the land were already on the popular side. Our sole object was to secure that which we already possessed. How different the case in Europe! Let revolution once stalk forth upon her soil, and the monarch falls on the block or is driven into exile; the venerated institutions of ages are overthrown, the strongest ties severed, and the very foundations of social life and civil law are broken up; life, liberty, and property become the sport of popular frenzy; and yet from these elements and this chaos of horrid anarchy are to be drawn out the pure and simple principles and forms of liberty and peace! Our own high privileges were not achieved in this manner.

To return from this digression,—which however has a bearing upon the topic more immediately before us, as tending to bring out with greater distinctness the difference between the constitution of society in the new and old world. It follows from the survey we have thus taken, that, so far as the governments of the two hemispheres can be expected to promote the claims of education, literature, and science, the attention of government among us would naturally be directed to the diffusion of education and learning among the mass of the community to the full extent to

which the popular intelligence could appreciate these blessings; while the equally natural tendency among the governments of Europe would be to neglect the masses of the people, and concentrate learning and intelligence among the few. We see all this more or less exemplified in the actual state of things. It is one of our noblest themes of boasting, that the spirit of popular education is abroad and active among us; and that this spirit has operated and still operates upon our legislative assemblies to provide means and carry out plans for bringing the privilege of common schools home to every man's door. And what, though some of these among our mountains and our forests, are not at this moment all that we could wish, yet on the other hand I know not where to look for better or more efficient models than in the public schools of our large cities. Every native citizen among us, therefore, can read and write; and what is more, *he does read*; and, as a people, we are a reading and a thinking community. In Europe there exists a great diversity in different countries. While England, proud and wealthy England, does comparatively very little for the education of her lower classes; while France until recently, has done nothing for her peasantry, and Russia still does nothing for her serfs; the German States, and especially Prussia and Austria, have bestowed great care on the common education of the people, and their systems of schools in this behalf, exhibit models from which we and other nations ought to be eager to copy. They have even ventured to make laws on the subject, such as the independent spirit of our own country,—independent for evil as well as for good,—would not brook; and they can, and do compel every parent under a penalty, to cause his children to attend school for a term of years. Yet with all these advantages, the lower classes of those States are not a reading people; they have neither a supply of books nor newspapers adapted to the popular taste and wants; nor is there among them that activity of mind and general intelligence so prominent among ourselves. In Austria, where the system of public schools is supposed to be the best and most fully carried out, this deadness of the intellect, this stagnation of the popular mind, is more especially to be remarked.

When on the other hand, we regard the protection and aid furnished by governments to the higher interests of education and to literature and science in general; it is obvious, as already suggested, that we can look to our own government, founded on popular sentiment, for no such aid, beyond the extent which the popular intelligence and will point out; while on the contrary,

the monarchies of Europe have a direct interest in the more extensive cultivation of science and literature, and the protection of those devoted to such pursuits. In other words, *the higher branches of literature and science, and also of the fine arts, so far as they have not a direct bearing on the practical interests of the community, with us are left to the operation of the voluntary principle; while in the old world they are protected by the interests of the State and sustained by its power and resources.*

In this last remark, I apprehend, lies, after all, the gist of the whole question between us and the old world; and I proceed to review some of the greater facilities and means which are actually developed in the old world, by such a state of things, in behalf of the higher branches of intellectual culture, and the formation of larger classes devoted to literature and science.

One obvious and prominent remark is, that the monarchical governments of Europe are in a situation to produce a far greater demand for high intellectual culture in the various walks of literature and science, than is possible among ourselves. On this side of the ocean we cannot hope that the public demand will ever be in advance of, or even be equal to, the great public wants. We have a navy, and every American is proud of its character and deeds; but where is the naval school, in which its future heroes are acquiring that science which shall enable them to sustain and augment its renown? We have but the shadow of an army; and how much more do we therefore need the skill and science of officers trained in the noble seminary at West Point, and scattered throughout the land, ready to answer in a moment, to their country's call? Yet year after year, that seminary,—our only national institution of science,—is scarcely able to bear up against the cavils and efforts of many in our public councils, who are bent on its destruction. When too a stranger bequeaths to the nation a magnificent legacy for the establishment of an institution for general science, so little is the public demand and so slight the pressure of public sentiment, that after years of delay, the question is even yet not decided, what that institution shall be; and the whole matter is apparently laid aside to sleep forgotten, until some new excitement shall again call it into notice. The true source of this delay, and especially of the lethargy of public sentiment in this particular case, is probably the conviction wrought by experience upon the public mind, that legislative bodies, representing such a diversity of interests and subject to perpetual change, are not the proper organ to have the direct

control of literary and scientific institutions, nor for imparting to them vigour or permanency.

How is it in Europe? There every nation has its naval, and its military schools, in which the appropriate sciences are carried to their utmost extent, by professors and teachers of the highest name. And not merely these, but often likewise all those studies which go to qualify and adorn man in civil life are superadded and taught with great fidelity and effect. In the great military academy of Berlin, for instance, many of its regular instructors are also among the noblest ornaments of the university; and read before the youthful officers their courses of ethics, philology, geography, and all the physical sciences. The military surveys of the Austrian service, and the works published from them, are distinguished by the utmost degree of accuracy and elegance. Nor in this respect is Russia far behind, though she has published less. The naval science of England is created and called into exercise in her public ships, in the surveys of her own and foreign coasts. In the Levant, in the Red Sea, in every part of the globe, how much does the world, how much do our own navigators, owe to her perseverance, her science, and her skill? Expedition after expedition has been sent forth to seek after the northwest passage; and now, when the voice of science, coming from other lands, proposes to pry into the secrets of the magnetic influence, by long continued simultaneous observations in various and opposite parts of the globe, her ships go forth at the call, bearing scientific men furnished with the most delicate instruments; and observatories arise in every region to which her influence extends. True, all these outreachings of science stand in close connexion with her vast practical interests as a mighty maritime and commercial nation; yet the great mass of her population do not perceive this intimate relation; and she thus acts only through the medium of a permanent and enlightened government, possessing in itself both the power and the resources to form and carry out its plans. Are not these same great interests also our interests? Do not these inquiries and experiments stand in the same intimate relation to our own advancement? Yet in these recent movements of science, what have we done? And what could we as a nation do?

In like manner, the influence of the governments of Europe in creating a demand for science and literature in the walks of civil life, is not less manifest. We have seen that a wise policy constrains them to draw around and make dependent on themselves, all the elements of moral strength,—the nerves and the sinews,—

of the body politic. Thus from the monarch as the head, there reaches down a train of dependency through all the members of this body, to the base on which it stands. As in the army, so in the State; from the highest minister down to the lowest police-officer; from the chief dignitary of the church down to the very sexton; from the professor whose fame extends through the world, to the petty schoolmaster of a village, the government controls directly or indirectly every post of honour and profit, and fixes the qualifications which are to be the condition of office. These qualifications too, are no empty name; on the continent, at least, wherever there is any hope of eminence, they embrace a university-education; and this is essential to entering upon either of the learned professions. Whoever will become a divine, a medical man, a jurist, or a statesman, must have gone through this long course of mental and moral training; and his acquisitions must be put to the proof in protracted examinations before tribunals composed of high names in literature and science. As too, in the army, so in the State; the youthful aspirant must ordinarily begin his career at the lowest step of the ascent, and work his way upward under the eyes of watchful superiors and jealous rivals, where negligence or a false step might blast his hopes forever. Such, with some exceptions, is the ordinary state of things; and hence it has come to pass, that at the present day, the leading politicians of Europe are trained statesmen; and all her men of eminence in station and in fame, are such as have drunk deeply at the fountains of learning before entering upon their career, and have since been sustained and encouraged and led on by the favour of the State, and by the sympathy and aid of a learned and educated class around them. Indeed, the efficiency of this whole system to raise up and foster such a class, is too obvious to need comment. Nor does it require to be pointed out, how all these feelings clustering around a throne contribute in a high degree to its moral strength and permanency; though too often, unquestionably, at the expense of the nobler feelings of personal independence and dignity.

Besides the general patronage of a literary and scientific class in society, the same encouragement and aid is held out by the governments of the old world, in very many cases, to individuals of the same class. I need not here dwell upon the posts of honour and profit, or the titles, or the pensions, conferred upon scholars of high renown; these are rather the rewards for victories already won, than aids for the achievement of further conquests.

But I refer more particularly to the encouragement afforded beforehand for the accomplishment of individual plans and personal objects; such as the higher improvement of a public teacher by travel and study abroad; the examination of libraries and archives, and public collections, and the gathering of literary materials in other lands; in short the ready promotion even of private literary or scientific enterprises. There the individual need not go forth unaided and alone; he finds it easy to obtain the sanction and aid of his government or of public bodies acting under its authority. Thus Niebuhr was sent as ambassador to Rome, to study and write out upon the spot his history of the ancient mistress of the world. Thus Ranke, when in the prime of his youth he set out on his voyage of discovery, to gather up documents from beneath the dust of centuries, which now in the vigour of manhood he is working up to give new aspects to history,—went forth in the name and at the charge of the Prussian government. So too Russia has her literary, like her political agents, surveying almost every land. Even now her professors are travelling at the public charge throughout Germany, and the southern Slavic nations, Bohemia, Hungary, Servia, and the rest, studying, comparing, and making collections in the Slavic languages and literature as developed in those countries. So likewise in the case of oriental travellers. The elder Niebuhr and his companions were sent out at the public charge of Denmark; Seetzen drew his support partly from Russia and partly from the duke of Saxe-Gotha; Burckhardt was in the employ of a public society, patronized by the English crown and sustained chiefly from the wealth of the English aristocracy; and even very recently Olshausen of Kiel set forth on a journey to the Holy Land, under the sanction of the Danish monarch and aided by a specific grant from the public coffers.

How is it in this respect among ourselves? When the historians of our own country desire to consult the archives of England or of France, or collect materials in other lands, they may do it and have done it at their own risk and expense. Or when the legislature of a single State is perhaps roused so far as to make an appropriation, barely sufficient to cover the transcription of foreign records relating to her own history, than it becomes a matter of petty intrigue and political charlatanry, who shall be sent out as agent. Or if, again, one of our number desires to visit any land of oriental renown, to search out its aspect and relations, in their bearing upon the history and geography of former times, he may

do it at his own responsibility and cost, at the sacrifice of his salary and perhaps of his post,—unaided and uncheered except by the sympathy and counsel of a select few; and he may return home again with the consciousness that the results of his labours are understood and appreciated by the learned and the wise in foreign lands, far better than in his own.—How much more would not our own scholars be able to effect, could they be cheered by the same encouragement and aid, so readily proffered to those of Europe?

Another prominent general remark, which indeed includes all I shall have to say further upon this part of the subject, is, that it obviously lies in the interest and the power of the governments of Europe to supply and cherish to a far greater extent public institutions and means, both for the formation of the learned classes, and for the general and higher cultivation of literature and science in their various branches. I refer here more particularly to institutions for the liberal arts and sciences,—to universities, public libraries, and public scientific collections. All these indeed are sometimes comprehended under one general name and form, the university; but more frequently each is of such magnitude as to require its own separate establishment and supervision. Thus while the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Göttingen embrace all these departments within themselves, that of Berlin has only its scientific collections. The British museum indeed unites a library with its collections; but the noble libraries of Paris, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, and Copenhagen are independent foundations; as are also the magnificent scientific museums of the Jardin des Plantes, of Vienna, of St. Petersburg, and of various other capitals.

The influence of universities for the cultivation and extension of literature and science,—for awakening and stimulating the dormant energies of national mind and intelligence;—for furnishing the opportunities and means of climbing the heights of mental culture and surveying the boundless regions which at every step open upon the view,—this general influence requires not here to be dwelt upon; for it is everywhere spread out upon the pages of modern history, and may now be regarded as an axiom in the science of social and political economy. With the exception of Oxford, which delights to trace its slight and doubtful beginnings to the magnanimous Alfred, all the oldest universities of the old world sprung up during or soon after the period of the crusades, when the mass of mind in Europe was in the process of fermenta-

tion and transition, from the darkness of its former state to the dawn of the revival of letters. In those ages all learning was in the hands of the clergy; and it was the influence of the clergy over the governments in behalf of learning, that led to the foundation of the universities. And however widely at the present day theology may often be separated from the other sciences, by reason of the immense extent to which these are cultivated and the division of labour which has been introduced, yet such was formerly their intimate connection, that the introduction of light and truth into theology became the occasion and the source of the highest improvement and progress in general science. The dawn of light and spiritual emancipation arose with Wickliff at Oxford in the fourteenth century; it gleamed and brightened in the beginning of the fifteenth, in the teachings of Huss and Jerome among the twenty thousand pupils of the university of Prague; and although for a time its brightness was there quenched in blood; yet the colony which went off to Leipsic scattered the seeds of inquiry in northern Germany, where they fell into good ground and were ever ready to spring up. In A. D. 1502 the university of Wittenberg was established; and before the lapse of twenty years there went forth from it the glorious Reformation,—that moral revolution, the influence of which has been felt, not only in religion, but with an equal power in literature, and science, and all the great social and intellectual interests of man.

Nor is the influence of foreign Universities at the present day less powerful or less extensive on the general interests of learning and of society; although this influence is altogether less prominently theological. Look at the venerated sites of Oxford and Cambridge, ancient but by no means antiquated, and observe the mighty influence which they wield, by their treasures as well as by their teaching, over the learning and the science,—yea, over the mind of Great Britain, and also of the world. Look at Göttingen, dating back but a few years beyond a single century; observe her Mosheim, her Haller, her Michaelis, her Heyne, her Blumenbach, and their compeers; what a power has gone forth from her halls for good, not only to the thousands of pupils who have gathered there, but even to the most distant regions! In Prussia, within the present century, in the days of her deepest national depression, her sovereign founded the university of Berlin. He gave it a palace as its seat; threw open for its use the royal library; called to its chairs men the most distinguished for learning and ability; and endowed it with the necessary means.

Five and thirty years have not yet elapsed; and now what a power and an influence is spread abroad from that university, with its corps of one hundred and fifty professors and teachers, and its two thousand pupils! And although all this is sustained by an appropriation from the government, amounting to sixty thousand Spanish dollars per annum; yet there is now no jewel of the Prussian crown, of which it would not sooner prefer to be deprived. In the same interval, the universities of Breslau and Halle have been resuscitated, and that of Bonn founded, under the auspices of the same monarch, on a less extensive scale indeed, but with a like noble munificence.

The system which runs through all the universities of the continent is, in reality, one and the same. Throughout France and Germany and northern Europe they are directly dependent on the governments; which appoint all the professors and teachers, and for the most part make direct annual appropriations for the support of the various departments. The case of Oxford and Cambridge is different; they being nominally independent corporations, maintained by their own endowments which have come down through centuries. It results from these different systems, that in the universities of the continent their funds can be appropriated in the manner best adapted to promote the general interests at the moment; while in the schools of England, where their revenues were originally tied up to specific objects, and these in the progress of time have undergone strange changes in their relative importance, we now sometimes find masters and canons and fellows receiving a princely income, while not seldom a professor of distinguished name, so far as the emoluments of his office are concerned, may regard himself "as passing rich with forty pounds a year." Yet neither in England nor on the continent are the universities always limited to their regular revenues. On every occasion where larger sums are requisite in order to secure an important object, the governments, and also in England patrons and alumni of enormous wealth, are ever ready to yield a helping hand.

We have heard much in this country of the entire freedom which prevails in the universities of the old continent; where every student, it is said, may pursue what studies he pleases, without responsibility to any one; and where, too, the result is supposed to be a far greater diligence and activity in study than is found in our own country. It has been argued, too, that were the same freedom of choice and manner permitted here, the result

would naturally be the same, and would be manifested in a greater devotedness and higher cultivation. It would seem, however, that this reasoning, if good in itself, is nevertheless founded on false premises. For, in the first place, the continental universities are all of them clusters of professional schools; and it is obvious that the students of theology and of medicine and of law must naturally pay their chief attention to the studies connected with these professions. Now among all these, there are certain classes of subjects and courses of lectures (*Brod collegia*) which are made by the governments absolutely essential; to which every one who will enter upon either profession must have attended. Thus far, therefore, the case is not very different from what it is with us; and the only option which the student has, is as to the order and time in which he will take up those prescribed studies. Nor, further, will a merely partial or superficial attention to these prescribed branches suffice for his purpose. We have already seen that government controls every avenue to public and professional life, and that the only passport to eminence in any profession, or even to an entrance upon it, is a university-education. The extent and sufficiency of this education is ascertained by rigorous examinations, under the authority of government; which has here the two-fold interest of obtaining able and well qualified servants for itself, and of excluding the pressure of importunate applications. If the student be able to sustain these examinations with credit, he may look forward to a course of honour and usefulness; if he fail at last, his hopes and fortunes are blighted forever. His toil and his years of study are lost; and nowhere, in his own country, can he turn them to account. In this way the governments of the continent, and indirectly also that of Great Britain, press with their whole weight upon the students of the universities; and compel a diligence which can know neither remission nor rest, until its great object be accomplished. In these circumstances, too, there lies not only a powerful check upon that entire liberty which has been represented as the characteristic of foreign universities; but also a mighty stimulus for acquiring early habits of extensive, profound, and accurate investigation.

Just here, perhaps, is one of the weakest points in all our own systems of education and professional life; since a popular government can naturally be induced to exert its authority in respect to personal scientific qualifications only in a slight degree. In the old world the student of theology who fails in his examination before one tribunal, can never be admitted before another; while

with us, he may first choose his judicatory, and then, if he fails, he has only to choose another, and repeat the process until he gains his end. The only approach, among us, to any like exercise of authority by government, is in respect to the professions of law and medicine; in which, in some of the States, a certain amount of preparation is required by the legislature or the courts. This is well, so far as it goes; but the requisitions are adapted and intended rather to exclude interlopers and quacks, than to draw forth talents and encourage learning.

Not directly connected with the universities, but still of a similar character and influence for the building up of learning, are the literary and scientific academies of the old world. True, they sometimes owe their origin to the voluntary combination of individuals; yet they nevertheless, in almost every case, look to the patronage and aid of the State for their chief means of activity and influence. With ample endowments to hold forth encouragement for the successful prosecution of laborious investigations, and to bestow rewards for brilliant discoveries, they have come to form, as it were, an aristocracy of literary and scientific merit, and thus act also as a powerful stimulus to persevering exertions. How different the lot of such institutions among ourselves; and how comparatively feeble in vitality and power! Here of course they can be nothing more than voluntary associations, without endowment and without the bond of public responsibility, with no external stimulus or aid to active effort, and no reward but the consciousness of well-meant intention. Who can wonder that, under such circumstances, our literary academies should only drag out a lingering existence; while, too, their members are necessarily compelled to spend their time and seek subsistence in the busy walks of practical and professional life.

I have adverted to the public libraries of Europe; and here it is perhaps most of all, that the eye of the American scholar pines away with longing, when he regards the infinite distance in which circumstances have placed us, in this respect, behind the old world. Some of these libraries are indeed the growth of centuries; yet all of them are younger than the universities, and appear to have sprung up out of the stronger thirst for knowledge awakened by the latter. The Vatican library, one of the oldest of modern times, dates back only to the middle of the fifteenth century; and was followed in the sixteenth by those of Vienna, Paris, the Escurial, and the Bodleian at Oxford. Yet others, again, are of far later date; and those at least of Berlin, of the British Museum,

and of Göttingen, are the offspring of only the last century. The library of Göttingen, for example, with its more than three hundred thousand volumes, like the university, has grown up in little more than one hundred years, and under the long administrations of Heyne and Reuss has been augmented, and extended, and filled out, with a wisdom and judgment which have rendered it the most select, as well as the most useful public library existing at the present day. And all, too, has been done by one small European State, numbering less than a million and a half of inhabitants; a country inferior in territory, in resources, in population, and in general intelligence, to several of the single States of our own union. Yet by means of its university, and especially of its library, Hanover has exerted a strong influence on the literature and science of Europe; and although at this moment under the reign of a madman, these institutions are shorn of their brightest beams, and languishing in temporary decay, yet prosperity will again return and their splendour be revived.

Would that we could go and do likewise! We could do so, if as a people we had the will; for the will would speedily provide the means. We must indeed send forth our agents to seek out and purchase books and private libraries beyond the sea; and we might also well have permanent agents abroad to improve every opportunity which might there occur. Our libraries even now, should they have so much as a few thousand dollars to lay out at once, might do well to despatch a skilful agent to select and make the purchases, rather than order books through the usual channels. The opportunity of selection and the saving in the cost, would ordinarily more than counterbalance the expenses of the agent. There is no reason, in itself considered, why we may not purchase books as advantageously and to as great an amount in the markets of Europe, as the Europeans themselves. Their vast libraries have indeed been collected when the cost of books was, in general, much less than at the present time; but we cannot hope, by waiting, to see a more favourable day. Indeed, the general extension of literature and science during the long peace in Europe, the corresponding demand for books, and even the increasing demand from the United States, has had the effect, within the last twenty years, very greatly to enhance the price of rare and valuable works.

In one species of literary treasures we can never hope to be rich; for they are limited in their extent, and are already gathered up and deposited in the older libraries of Europe. I mean ancient manuscripts, in which have been transmitted to us the literature

of Greece and Rome, and the code of our own religion as revealed to the Hebrews. Even the younger libraries of the old world, for example Göttingen and Berlin, have no such manuscripts of any value. Nor would it seem important for us to aspire after them, even were it in our power. Yet some of the brightest literary discoveries of modern times have had reference to these manuscript treasures; and none are now guarded with a more exact and ceaseless vigilance. Nor can we well or wisely acquire possession of the manuscript records of the middle ages, which in like manner lie treasured up or neglected, as the case may be, in the libraries and archives of Europe. In order to consult all these treasures of manuscripts, our scholars must be content to follow the example of the European scholar, and travel in person to inspect them in their various hiding-places. Would that we could do it under like sanctions and aids!

A question might arise in respect to public libraries,—a question, however, which we are not likely, in this country, soon to be called upon to decide,—whether, after all, such vast accumulations of books are of any importance, or are even, in themselves, desirable? The proper answer to this question would depend upon the proposed character of the library; whether it were to be professional and partial, or universal; whether intended to include only the essential books in any department, or all such as are important to it in all its bearings. Libraries of the former or partial class may indeed suffice for a practical acquaintance with, and the practice of, any profession; but if we wish to trace a science or a profession in all its bearings,—its theory and principles, its development and history,—we must be able to appeal to a wider range of books collected from every age and every land. Take, for example, the profession of Theology, and enumerate the volumes which properly belong to the elucidation of its great branches, Biblical Literature, Doctrinal and Pastoral Theology, Pulpit Eloquence, and Biblical and Ecclesiastical History; and those required for its illustration from the classics and classical antiquities; from philosophy and philology in general; from the history of the world, from geography and travels, and from the natural sciences. When we shall have gathered together all these,—and that too out of every nation where theology has been studied—could the volumes be set up and arranged within the public halls of Harvard or Andover or Yale? Assuredly not; for the amount would swell far beyond the sum of all these libraries taken together.

So too in the departments of jurisprudence, of medicine, of his-

tory, of belleslettres, of natural and moral science ;—if a library is to be universal in its character, it ought to be made the repository of the mental products of every country in all the stages of moral, literary, and scientific development. The scholar who would follow out a subject or a science in all its bearings, and extend its limits, must be able to take a survey of the whole field heretofore explored ; he must have access to all the results and hints which the efforts of preceding minds have been able to bring out ; for it is not until he is master of all these, that he has in truth prepared himself to judge of what is still wanting, and so to make further advances. He must first be able to climb up and place himself fully on the shoulders of his predecessors, before he can see clearly, either what they saw, or what lay beyond their ken.—And further, a great portion of the labour of him who toils for the advancement of learning, consists in clearing away the excrescences and the rubbish, which have accumulated in his path, from the ill-directed efforts of those who have been deficient in this very preparation. Yet all this rubbish must be searched through and sifted, in order to determine that it is mere rubbish ; and hence it is often as important for the scholar to wade through many volumes merely in order to ascertain and show that they are worthless, as it is to receive with delight the highest productions of the human mind.

Similar in their character, their objects, and their influence, are the immense collections in natural science, in antiquities, and various other branches, which now distinguish almost every capital of Europe. They are indeed leaves from the great book of nature, gathered from every quarter and brought together into a single volume, for the more convenient perusal of the observer of nature. The origin of such collections hardly dates back further than the last century ; and much of that, which in former times men have wandered over the world to find, the observer of the present day may study almost in his own closet. True, he might sometimes understand the specimens better, could he behold them in their original localities, surrounded by the concomitants which perhaps went to form or modify their character. But this to most is obviously impossible ; and there can be no question, that this eagerness for collecting scientific materials has aided more than anything else the advancement of the natural sciences,—partly by the direct means of observation and research thus afforded, and partly by the scientific voyages and travels to which this spirit has given rise.

All these collections again are the work of the governments of the old world. Indeed, national resources are requisite in order to endow them on an appropriate scale; and a princely munificence, in order to create and carry on the endowment. Or if individuals or societies have commenced such collections, it is the government which has taken them up and augmented them to a degree of completeness. Even the private munificence of the wealthy aristocracy of Great Britain has not been equal to the effort necessary to build up and sustain the British Museum. What private resources would be able to accumulate treasures like those of Berlin and Vienna? and especially the magnificent and unrivalled collections of the Jardin des Plantes?—In all such enterprises, we alas! must stand far in the back ground; for such an application of our own public resources is practically incompatible with the genius of our constitution. In the expedition to the South Seas, indeed, which public sentiment called forth and justified, a good beginning was made; may the example be followed!

The preceding remarks may serve to illustrate and sustain the proposition which I laid down, viz. that in this country the higher branches of literature and science, so far as they have no direct bearing on the practical interests of the community, are left to the operation of the voluntary principle; while in the old world they are protected by the interests of the State and sustained by its power and resources. This results among us, as we have seen, from the very circumstances of our social and political constitution; which makes the government to be the mere expression of the popular will. But there is among us also an aspect of the voluntary principle, which, even if it were itself disposed to rival European governments in their patronage of literature and science, would still render it comparatively inadequate. I refer to the far more equal division of property among us, in consequence of our customs of inheritance, and the abandonment of the law of primogeniture. Our statesmen, our professional men, our class of educated citizens, possess in general nothing more than a mere competency; and all these classes could not, if they would, bring together an amount of resources sufficient to place us on a par with Europe. Even among our merchants, there are comparatively few men of extensive wealth; they might indeed doubtless do more, could they be united and inspired for the purpose; but who shall persuade them to the sacrifice? They are all practical men, and understand great practical objects; and to these many of them contribute habitually and nobly. But as a class they do not claim to be learned men;

they are not in general men of liberal education ; and have therefore, as a class, no practical, or personal acquaintance with the interests of literature and science.

I have thus endeavoured to bring before the reader some of the main circumstances in our social and civil polity as a nation, which, as it seems to me, must operate to give to literature and science among us a standing entirely different from that which they hold under the monarchical governments of Europe. With us, where public sentiment is that of the people at large, the government is necessarily prevented from calling forth or patronizing a literary class, by the very nature of our institutions ; which necessarily cause its efforts to be directed mainly to the diffusion of a mere practical education throughout the whole mass of the body politic ; while we have had as yet neither the opportunity nor the means to call forth the voluntary principle into high and extensive action. In Europe, on the other hand, where public sentiment emanates solely from the educated portion of the community, and the will and the resources of a State are permanently in the hands of the few, it becomes the interest and of course the habit of the government to patronize and aid the higher cultivation and extension of science and literature, and of the class devoted to these pursuits. It seems to me, that to the operation of these main causes, we may trace all the different aspects of development in these departments, which are manifested here and abroad ; and also that the same causes, wherever found, have operated and do still operate to produce the same effects. Their influence is seen in the history of the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, to which allusion has already been made ; they may be seen still at work in the literary institutions and standing of modern Switzerland. The Swiss people of the more enlightened cantons, under popular forms of self-government, are acknowledged as outstripping in independence, in information, and in physical comfort, the peasantry of other European countries ; yet their public provision for higher cultivation and for literature and science in general are far behind those of the neighbouring States, and even behind our own. In all the modern movements of science, Switzerland as a nation has done comparatively nothing ; except as her distinguished sons have trained themselves amid the noble universities and collections of Germany and France.

If further we consider for a moment the different circumstances of the literary classes themselves, on the two continents, we shall perceive other sources of that inequality of effort and result which

belongs to our own character. One of these lies in the more systematic and complete training which the young scholars of Europe receive; partly in consequence of the greater opportunities and advantages afforded by their high schools and universities; and partly from the greater encouragement and stronger motives for unremitting diligence presented in their system of education. Education itself is there a science, carried out by men trained for this very purpose. The professors and teachers in all the various departments are men who have devoted themselves from the beginning of their course, to these very studies; and a part of whose own education it has been to learn how these branches may be best taught. The youthful mind, too, is there taken up in its best opening years, and is continually acquiring discipline and strength and the materials of learning; so that it has already amassed and arranged for future use large mental treasures, at an age when many of our volunteers in science are still earning their bread with the sweat of their brow. We alas! have no nurseries for raising up teachers for our higher schools of learning; and it is a frequent, if not a general fact, that a public teacher has first to qualify himself to instruct in his department, after he has entered upon the duties of his appointment. In all these respects, the literary classes of the old world are as the dense masses of a standing army, well-trained, well-armed, well-officered, and abundantly furnished with all the implements and munitions of war; while our own hosts are like straggling troops of undisciplined volunteers, supplying their own arms and their own rations, without orders and without control, fighting each for himself and in his own way, and banded together only by a general impulse, which leads them on to strive for victory in a noble cause.

Another cause which operates against us, is the want of that literary and scientific acquaintance and intercourse, that union, that *esprit du corps*, which prevails in foreign lands. Those individuals among ourselves, who have either vanquished all obstacles at home, or who have perhaps trained themselves in foreign lands to do honour to our own country, find themselves after all in comparative solitude, with few if any around them to appreciate their acquirements or to sympathize with their tastes. Or if their own pursuits need illustration from the arcana of other departments, how frequent is the case that they are unable to consult either the dead volume or the living teacher! But in the old world, the man of science and letters lives among his equals and his fellows; he enjoys and is inspired by their sympathy and

suggestions; he is encouraged and rewarded by their judgment and applause. In Berlin, for example, if the student have questions to propose in geography, he can go to Ritter; if in history, sacred or profane, he can apply to Neander or Ranke; if in Greek and Roman literature and antiquities, to Böckh and Zumpt; if in Sanscrit, to Bopp; if in the lore of the middle ages, to Jacob Grimm; if in natural history, to Ehrenberg; if in geology, to Humboldt and Von Buch; if in chemistry, to Mitscherlich and Rose; all of these names in the very forefront of science; and so throughout the rounds of all the sciences. The scholar feels that he is not alone, but in the midst of kindred spirits; and he can go on with energy and high resolve to make conquests in the realms of nature and of mind. Niebuhr struck out and first wrote his History of Rome in the Prussian capital, aided by the suggestions and cheered by the sympathies of Savigny, Spalding, Buttmann, and others; he was afterwards sent to Rome itself, thinking to carry on his undertaking under the best auspices; but there, away from his books and surrounded by men of other minds and other tastes, his spirit languished; and one of the most profound and remarkable works of modern times remains uncompleted.

If we turn now from the consideration of all these different circumstances in which literature and science and their followers in the old and new world are placed,—these different foundations on which they may be said to rest,—and fix our attention for a moment upon the actual aspect of letters and the sciences in the two hemispheres, we might naturally and *à priori* expect that in all those branches of learning in which success depends upon long training and access to extensive libraries and other collections, our own scholars must of course stand in the back ground; while in those other branches, which are connected with practical duties, or which depend more on personal training and observation, and in the general applications of science to the arts and to the uses of practical life, we might hope to appear on more equal terms with the nations of Europe. A very brief review must here suffice to show how far this anticipation is borne out in the reality.

In the allusions already made to the state of letters and the sciences in our own country, while attempting to elucidate the operation of the different social institutions of our own and foreign nations, I fear the tone has in general, perhaps, been too derogatory to ourselves. I have been led to speak of ourselves only with respect to the means and facilities of learning, and in *con-*

trast with Europe; and to look therefore only at the darker shades of the picture. If, however, we take a survey of actual results, the contrast, I apprehend, will not be found so marked. The volunteers of the new world; if neither so numerous nor so well-disciplined, as the marshalled forces of the old; are mostly self-made men; and their spirit of enterprise and perseverance has enabled them to vanquish difficulties, to improve to the utmost the advantages afforded them, and thus to place themselves in many respects upon a level with their European brethren. In elegant literature, at least, several of the names most widely known in the old world are native gems of our own soil; and the poetry of American bards kindles up the fire of the soul not only among the heather of Scotland, but likewise along the romantic borders of the Rhine.

Let us look for a moment at the state of the learned professions, as manifested at the present time here and in the old world. It is a natural and necessary consequence of the operation of the various causes which I have been endeavouring to unfold, that among ourselves the practical side of all these should be predominant; and such doubtless is actually the case. But have we any reason, on this account, to shrink from a comparison with European nations in respect to the whole range of professional life and professional learning? Look first at Theology; and I venture to say, after no limited opportunities of personal observation, that the clergy of the United States, as a body, hold a higher rank both in the science and in the practice of the profession as preachers, than do those of any country of the old world, with the single exception perhaps of Germany. In that country there certainly is more of learning; the different departments of theological science are followed out to their utmost limits by men who devote their lives to each, on the principle of the division of labour. Such men, however, are not always, nor usually preachers; and I hold that the power of American preachers over American mind, is greater and more effective than that of German preachers over German mind. In Great Britain, as is well known, both theological science and pulpit eloquence are comparatively in a low state of cultivation; and while the great body of her clergy, both in depth of thought and impressiveness of manner, must yield the palm to their brethren of the United States, it is no less true that several of their most current and scientific works for biblical and theological study, are also the productions of American scholars.

Look again at the profession of law, which among us neces-

sarily exhausts itself almost exclusively in legal practice; and against the scientific culture of which as a national study, a strong barrier exists in the different codes and practice of our six and twenty States. Yet even here, I have never heard it suggested, that our lawyers and judges, in all that regards legal acumen and skill, and in the requisite theoretical knowledge, do not stand at least upon a par with their brethren in England,—to say nothing of Scotland and Ireland. The body of English law itself is indeed but a single dialect in the great stock of historic national law, which prevails to a greater or less extent throughout the rest of the old world; and the jurists of the continent are wont to smile at English lawyers for confining their learning to the merely insular jurisprudence of their own nation. In this connection it has often struck me, that a wide field yet remains open for our own young and enterprising lawyers, in the study of the Roman law as still extant on the continent of Europe. If it was an honour to Mansfield to enlarge the limits of the English maritime law by principles borrowed from foreign jurisprudence, how much more might like principles which have thus borne the test of ages, be yet introduced to expand or to modify the codes of our own rising republics? It is just this field, that has been most of all neglected by our young scholars who visit foreign lands. While of course we can make no extensive claim to the historic and scientific law-learning of the continent, because, like the English, our attention has never been generally directed to it; yet in all that relates to the science of English law, the works of our writers, if not equal in number, may nevertheless well bear comparison in learning and authority with those of the mother country; and the decisions of Marshall and the volumes of Kent and Story, are perhaps as justly appreciated and as authoritative in the schools of London, as before the courts of our own States. In respect to the public law of nations, the current treatise of the present day on international law, which serves too as the manual of European diplomats, is the work of an American, who still does honour to his country as her representative at the most learned court of Europe.

In the medical profession, a life of laborious practice is unfavourable to the production of books; and the physical well-being of our people, by removing the necessity of immense public hospitals, cuts off at the same time one great means of scientific education. Hence the number of our students in medicine, who resort to the crowded schools of Europe; where we find not less than sixty or seventy annually walking the vast round of the Pa-

risian hospitals, fewer in London and Edinburgh, and still fewer in Vienna and Berlin. Even the professors in our schools of medicine have in general little time to become authors; yet I have often been interested in looking over foreign catalogues to observe the titles of American medical works in several of the languages of Europe, from our most distinguished men.

So far then as it regards the actual state, both of the science and the practice of the great learned professions, I do not fear to express the decided conviction, that we as a people can be subject to no reproach as compared with England and France, the great leading nations of the old world; to no reproach at all, indeed, to which those nations are not also subject as compared with Germany; where again the national mind exhausts itself in the science, while the practice often remains a lifeless form.

But on the other hand, in regard to those branches of science less directly connected with the great practical wants of daily and public life, and which too for their adequate cultivation require long discipline or accumulated treasures, the case with us is far different. Thus in pure mathematics, while we have teachers of high reputation, yet they have rarely made themselves known as authors, beyond the circle of books required in our schools. As yet, only the name of Bowditch has obtained a European fame as the commentator and coëqual of Laplace. The same remark and the same example hold good in scientific astronomy; while in practical astronomy our efforts have been comparatively few; and we have as yet neither a public observatory, nor adequate means for training up accomplished observers. The neglect of these branches of science is the more remarkable, because of their intimate relation to those pursuits of national enterprise, for which we are most distinguished,—navigation and internal improvements. Yet to this day our own wide territory remains without a scientific survey; and even our very coasts and harbours, up to this time, have not yet been scientifically explored. It is only within very recent years, that our most frequented harbour, that of New York, has been subjected to such an examination, and its deepest and safest channel thus discovered.

The great department of philology, whether ancient or modern, historical or comparative, has thus far been to us, in its higher walks, almost an untrodden field. Few are the individuals among us, who have been led to devote their lives to this branch of study; and still fewer those who have contributed to enlarge the means or boundaries of our knowledge. Yet even here some portions of

this wide field have not been left untilled. In all that regards the philology of the Scriptures, we certainly stand at least on equal ground with Great Britain; and in respect to the comparative philology of the American and Asiatic world, we find among our distinguished jurists able and well known coadjutors in the immense labors of a William Humboldt.

In the branches of general history and geography the case is, if possible, still worse; because the scholar is here met at every step with the want of extensive public libraries. Only a single library of our land has as yet made provision for the materials of the history of our own country, so far as printed books are concerned; and all the countless unprinted documents and records of the old world, relating to the same subject, lie yet uncopied and unknown, except so far as they have been examined by individual enterprise within the last few years. It is but yesterday that the spirit of our own historians has been aroused; and well have they begun their task. But a history of foreign lands,—who among us could undertake to write it? Where could he find the materials—where could he appeal to the sources of history, in regard to a single foreign country? In the only attempts of the kind yet made among us, those materials and sources were sought at great expense in the foreign countries themselves; and with such fruit, that the *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* has already found its way, as a standard work, into most of the languages of modern Europe, and the same remark will soon be applicable to the *History of the Conquest of Mexico*.—In the sister science of geography, we have nothing of the kind to show; nothing to compare with works like those of Rennell or Ritter, or scarcely with those of Malte Brun and Murray. We have beautiful maps; but, apart from some of those of our own continent, they are drawn from no original sources. In short, notwithstanding all our wanderings by sea and land, we have done almost nothing for the scientific progress of this most pleasing and popular of sciences.

On the other hand, if we contemplate for a moment those branches of science which depend more upon personal observation and invention, we may hope to find our scholars holding a more equal footing with those of Europe. Such are, in a great degree the natural sciences, so called, whose present expansion and cultivation reaches back hardly a hundred years. In all or any of these, indeed, we cannot hope that there should arise among us a Linnaeus or a Cuvier; unless indeed from individuals who shall have had an opportunity of training themselves

among the vast collections of the old world. Yet so far as the power and the habit of observing nature are concerned, I am not aware that our scholars would not and do not take a high rank in Europe. The most magnificent and accurate work extant on ornithology, is that descriptive of American birds; and a similar one upon our animals is announced from the same skilful hands. Our geologists and our chemists are known and greatly respected abroad. And if in the hands and with the powerful apparatus of European analysts, the electric fluid was first employed to compel nature to render up her secrets; yet our own Franklin, with beautiful simplicity, had already detected its identity with the lightning from heaven. In the present revival too and extension of the science of meteorology, we find Americans holding a leading place among these lords of the storm.

In like manner, in all the applications of science to the arts and to the uses of life, American invention and skill certainly take rank at least with those of Europe, and in many particulars outstrip them. In all that relates to naval architecture and navigation, to the models of our ships and to the skill, enterprise and discipline of our seamen, the United States confessedly stand foremost among nations. The grand invention of modern times, the source of the present mighty revolution in navigation and naval warfare, —which is converting seas into lakes, and contracting oceans to the narrow limits of seas,—the successful application of steam to ships, is due exclusively to American enterprise and perseverance; and steam-vessels swarmed upon our waters for years before they were slowly and cautiously introduced in the old world. The like application of steam to locomotive carriages was indeed first made in England; but these have been improved by American ingenuity; and locomotives from the new world now traverse the vast plains of Germany and Russia, and are said to be supplanting in England herself the best efforts of British skill. Foreigners of science and practical training now visit our shores to study the models of our ships and the construction of our rail-roads. And even England herself, if she owes to the simple invention of her Davy the safety with which her treasures of coal are mined in the bowels of the earth, is not less indebted, in respect to the material of her great staple manufacture, to the no less striking ingenuity of our own Whitney.

I cannot pursue this topic further. My limits do not permit, nor does my plan require it. But I may be allowed, in conclusion, to suggest, very briefly, a few points in respect to our cultivation of

literature and science, on which, as a people, it concerns us in our peculiar circumstances, to lay particular stress.

To the young men of our country who are treasuring up the elements of liberal knowledge, and to those to whom is committed the training of the youthful intellect and enterprise, I would say, Lay deep and broad and firm the foundations; that the structure which you shall hereafter raise, may be solid, symmetrical, and enduring. Our national tendency is to haste,—to accomplish with the utmost speed that which we undertake; without always stopping to inquire, whether it is thus done in the best manner. Everything among us bears marks of haste; our public works, our private enterprises, all are begun with reference to immediate use and present profit; we undertake nothing which does not hold out the prospect of a quick return; we act not for posterity. We may see this spirit at work even in the crowds who throng our literary institutions. How many rush forward into professional life with no love to learning or regard to science; but merely as a more respectable handicraft, or a more promising ladder for their aspiring hopes? How many of these would not, if they could, cast wholly away these years of preparatory toil? and how many strive, as it is, to curtail the time and evade the studies marked out before them? On this rock our national reputation for literature and science may easily make shipwreck. Let me then urge upon all to improve these precious moments of youth, these golden opportunities of youthful leisure and youthful activity, which will never again return;—when labour exhausts not, and care leaves no furrows, and diligence in pursuit is rewarded by the delight of acquisition. Lay broad and deep the foundations; accumulate rich treasures from every quarter; discipline the mind and memory to systematic and continued exertion; cultivate habits of exact and patient investigation; do all this, and you will not fail to reap your reward. When you shall have gone forth as actors on the stage of life; when the brightness of youthful hope shall have become dim, and the cares and the struggles of every day exhaust the soul; then will you feast upon those treasures which you now gather; then will you look back upon these days as the blossom of your lives; and if you shall have neglected to improve them to the utmost, great, hopeless, and enduring, will be your regrets.

To the little band of volunteers in literature and science among us, I would say, “Be not discouraged; but let your gathering-cry be, ‘Onward.’” If we cannot hope for honours and titles and high-places as the reward of our exertions, let us still cultivate

science for its own sake, and build up for our country an intellectual renown among the kingdoms of the world. Let us make good use of all our means, both public and private; yea gather up the fragments that nothing be lost. Let us cultivate an acquaintance with each other; and cherish a spirit of respect and courtesy and harmony among ourselves. In this way we may hope,—and we shall ultimately come—to exert as a body a more powerful influence upon public sentiment, and mould it more and more to a favourable regard for letters and learning. The germ is certainly within us as a people; it needs only a more perfect development. Our fathers sowed the good seed; all their earliest institutions looked to the culture of the arts and sciences; and this has never been forgotten, although the obvious circumstances of our social constitution have justly given a paramount claim to the diffusion of popular education. But we need not rest here. We have already many public institutions, chiefly the results of the voluntary principle, but recognized and fostered by legislative authority. Let us cherish these institutions, elevate their character, and carry out their usefulness to the utmost. Let us exert our influence,—an influence strengthened by our example and by the fruits we may gather from science—upon the wealthy of our land; that so they may still further endow our seminaries, and enlarge our libraries and our scientific lectures. By thus acting upon public sentiment, we act also directly upon our governments, and may hope the more confidently for their further aid. Let us strive by example and by precept, to impress upon all those who take part in our public councils, and also upon our whole body politic, the truth of the great axiom, that “knowledge is power;” knowledge not only as diffused through the mass, but also knowledge as pursued to its sublimest heights; and therefore, if we would acquire for our common country a supremacy of influence and power among the nations of the earth, let that power rest on KNOWLEDGE.

But while we thus urge that knowledge is power, let us also remember that, in itself and by itself it is a power for evil as well as for good. Knowledge in itself has nothing moral; it is the mere material on which the intellect works; it has no character of its own; and it becomes alike the instrument of good or evil according to the promptings of the moral man. To him whose moral nature is debased and wicked, knowledge affords only the means for the more facile commission of crime, and leads to surer infamy and deeper perdition. Yet where the moral powers are cultivated, knowledge in all its branches becomes one of the noblest helps

for higher cultivation ; and the philosopher who walks abroad and looks through all the forms of " nature up to nature's God," is capable of an enjoyment wider and more profound, than could otherwise have entered into his conceptions. I do not mean to say, that moral and religious sentiment in the heart of the unlearned man is not the same in nature and intensity as in the philosopher ; the wine-glass and the pitcher may be equally *full* ; but one holds many times more than the other. Let us then in all our efforts to increase knowledge, strive also to extend the influence of moral culture ; to implant and cherish moral principle and religious feeling ; so that while we incite others to observe and gather in treasures of knowledge from the natural and intellectual world, we may also lead them to regard these only as the means for higher moral trainings and enjoyment here, preparatory to the blessed rewards of an eternal hereafter.

Let us then go on our way rejoicing,—self-inspired and independent of all aid, but such as we can earn as a voluntary gift from enlightened public sentiment. We as a nation have been the first to cast off the union of Church and State ; and, as we believe, with manifest advantage to the best interests of religion and the church ; for where does religion, as controlled by the State, exert an equal influence in the hearts of the people ? In like manner, let us prove to the world, that literature and science also can subsist and flourish, sustained by the public sentiment of an enlightened people,—without dependence on the State,—without wearing either the fetters of a slave, or the livery of kings !

ARTICLE II.

LIFE OF ARISTOTLE.

By Edwards A. Park, Bartlet Professor in Andover Theol. Seminary.

THE following article has been compiled from several works and fragments of ancient and modern historians. The ancient biographies which have been employed are, first, that by Diogenes Lærtius ; secondly, that by Ammonius, who for distinction's sake is denominated Pseudo-Ammonius ; thirdly, that which is sometimes called the Latin Biography, and sometimes the Ancient Translation, the writer of which is unknown ; fourthly, that which

is usually designated as the Biography of the Anonymous Author and was first edited by Menage; fifthly, that by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; sixthly, that by Hesychius Milesius; seventhly, that by Suidas. All of these are contained in Buhle's Edition of the works of Aristotle, Vol. I. pp. 3—79. Of the modern biographies which have been examined, one is by Buhle in the above cited volume, pp. 80—104, one by Tennemann in the third volume of his *History of Philosophy*, pp. 21—39, one by Ritter in his *Hist. of the Ancient Phil.* pp. 1—32 (Morrison's Translation), one by Erdmann, and by far the most important, by Stahr.¹ To the treatise of the last named author is the ensuing memoir indebted more than to any other. Much of the arrangement which Stahr has adopted, and not a little of his style have been transferred to these pages. He has, however, omitted some notices which the writer of the present article has inserted. His arrangement, too, has not been followed in all instances; his opinions have not uniformly, although they have for the most part been acquiesced in; and his phraseology cannot be said to have been translated but to have been sometimes borrowed in a paraphrase by the present writer. This article, then, may be considered as written after a careful study of the above cited treatises ancient and modern, and chiefly, though by no means entirely, on the basis of Dr. Adolf Stahr's *Life of Aristotle*, contained in the first part of his *Aristotelia*, pp. 3—188.

In a journal devoted to theological literature no apology is needed for inserting the memoir of a man, who is called by Jerome "a wonder of the world," declared by Jonsius to have been "the most pious of all the heathen," pronounced "a saint" by some catholic divines in the sixteenth century, and regarded with so great reverence by many preachers in the middle ages, that they selected passages from his works instead of the Bible for the texts of their sermons. On the other hand, he has been the abhorrence of many divines on account of the supposed conflict of his philosophy with the spirit of the Gospel, and so resistless has been his domination over the theology of the church, that Martin Luther is reported² to have "trembled with rage when even the name of Aristotle was pronounced in his presence; and he went so far as to say that if Aristotle had not been a man, he should be tempted to take him for the devil."

¹ Author of "*Aristotelia*," in two volumes, formerly Teacher in the Royal Pedagogium at Halle, and more recently at Oldenburg.

² Merle's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 130. 7th Am. Ed.

BIRTH PLACE OF ARISTOTLE.

Aristotle was born in Stagira, and is therefore called the Stagirite. Herodotus, Thucydides and Strabo write the name *Στάγειρος*, in the singular, but Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pausanias, Tzetzes, Suidas, Pseudo-Ammonius, and others adopt the plural form, *Στάγειρα* -*ων*. Buhle asserts that Diogenes Laërtius and Eusebius write *Σταγείρα* in the singular, but this is a mistake. This form is seldom if ever used by the standard Greek writers. The plural termination is nearly universal among the Latins also.

The city lies in Chalcidice, on the coast of the Strymonic Gulf, at the point where the shore commences its southerly direction. It was but a few hours' sail from Amphipolis, and within a short distance from Argilos, Acanthus and Mount Athos. Its harbor was delightful, and the surrounding country picturesque and enchanting. It was originally peopled by barbarians, subsequently occupied by a colony of Andrians, and at a still later day by a colony from Chalcis. From this latter colony was the mother of Aristotle descended, and it was to Chalcis that he made his escape from the Athenians after the death of Alexander. It has been conjectured that some of his relatives on the maternal side, resided at Chalcis even in his own time.

The influx of Grecian colonists made Stagira at length the abode of refinement and taste. But its prosperity was checked in 348, B. C., when it fell a prey to Philip of Macedon. He razed to the ground thirty-two cities of Chalcidice, Stagira among the rest, and either slew or sold into slavery all the inhabitants who had not saved themselves by flight. Through the intercessions of Aristotle, the city of his birth was subsequently rebuilt by his friend, the king of Macedon. It never attained, however, any considerable distinction, except as it was the residence of the father of philosophy. By some writers it is called a city of Macedon, and by others, a city of Thrace; the former designation referring to it as it was *after* its conquest by the Macedonian king, the latter referring to it as it was *before* that conquest.

TIME OF ARISTOTLE'S BIRTH.

Aristotle was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, or in 384 B. C. This is the statement of Apollodorus, whose

chronology is preserved by Diogenes Laërtius,¹ and is generally adopted by the ancient biographers. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that Aristotle was born three years before Demosthenes, and assigns the birth of Demosthenes to the year 381 B. C. But it has been proved by Petitus and Corsini, and is now generally admitted, that the great orator was born either at the end of the fourth year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad, or at the beginning of the first year of the ninety-ninth. The time of his birth, therefore, was within a twelve month of the time of Aristotle's.

Here it may be fitting to remark that these two illustrious men died also in the same year, and at the same age. For a long time they resided in the same city, and yet probably had but little friendly intercourse with each other. Demosthenes was the leader of the party hostile to the Macedonians, and must have found it difficult to hold communion with one who, like Aristotle, was a favorite at the Macedonian court. The orator was at one time, according to reports detailed by Hermippus, a student of Plato, although Niebuhr thinks this improbable. But even if he were, he might still have avoided an intimacy with his fellow pupil who was a friend of Philip. Aristotle mentions the orator only once in all his writings, and then attempts to ridicule an attack which Demades had made upon him. How far the orator availed himself of his contemporary's Rhetoric, we do not know. It is singular that the ancients have written so little with regard to the personal relations of two men whose history, as the reader will perceive in the sequel, exhibits many coincidences beside those of their birth and death.

FATHER AND GUARDIAN OF ARISTOTLE.

The father of Aristotle was Nicomachus, who was the son of Nicomachus, the grandson of Machaon and, as Hermippus and Diogenes Laërtius relate, a lineal descendant of Æsculapius.² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Suidas and others agree with Diogenes Laërtius in tracing the Stagirite's ancestry to the father of medicine. But we must remember that as Nicomachus and his father and grandfather were physicians, they would naturally be called, by a figure of speech used even at the present day, descendants of Æsculapius; we must remember that all physicians were often

¹ See Arist. Opp. Ed. Buhle. Tom. I. p. 10.

² Arist. Opp. Ed. Buhle. Tom. I. p. 3.

termed Asclepiads by the Greeks, that the members of Aristotle's family, so long devoted to the science of healing, would with peculiar ease and emphasis acquire this appellation, and that the phraseology, so conformable to the Grecian tastes and manners, might come in process of time to be interpreted literally. We would therefore incline with Tzetzes and Buhle to the opinion, that Aristotle may have been an Asclepiad only by a figure of speech.

Nicomachus the father of the Stagirite, we have said, was a physician. He seems to have been a man of eminence in his profession. He was a friend and the body-surgeon of Amyntas the Second, king of Macedon, and father of Philip. According to Suidas, he was the author of six books on Medicine, and one on Natural Philosophy. Situated at the court of Pella, it should seem that he had great facilities for securing the accomplished education of his son, and he bequeathed to him, as there is reason to suppose, a considerable fortune. He probably introduced his son into the best society of the day; and, as Aristotle was of about the same age with Philip, there is reason to believe that the young prince and the young philosopher contracted an early acquaintance with each other. An intimacy in childhood may have been an occasion of the subsequent relations between these distinguished men.

It is natural to think, that the profession of Nicomachus was not without its influence upon the mind of Aristotle. It was one means, perhaps, of imbuing the future philosopher with a decided taste for the physical sciences. He certainly must have formed an early predilection for those studies, in which he afterwards became so accomplished. We know that in his time children, who were devoted to the medical profession, commenced their attention to it at a very early age. "I do not blame the ancients," says Galen,¹ "for not writing books on anatomical manipulation; though I commend Marinus who did. For it was superfluous for them to compose such records for themselves or others, while they were from their childhood exercised by their parents in dissecting, just as familiarly as in writing and reading; so that there was no more fear of their forgetting their anatomy than of their forgetting their alphabet. But when grown men as well as children were taught, this thorough discipline fell off; and the art being carried out of the family of the Asclepiads, and declining by repeated transmission, books became necessary for the student." It is probable that the young Stagirite was subjected to some such early disci-

¹ Quoted by Whewell, in his *Hist. of the Inductive Sciences*.

pline in physical science, and the eligible situation of his father must have afforded him many facilities for the prosecution of his favorite study.

We do not know, however, the length of time in which Aristotle enjoyed the benefits of his father's tuition. It is certain that he had lost both his parents when he was seventeen years old, and probable that he had some time before. There is indeed no reason for believing, with Schott, that he became an orphan at the age of three years, but we know that at the close of his seventeenth year he left his home, and that previously to this period he had been under the guardianship of Proxenus, and had received from him the attentions of a father.

Proxenus was a native of the Mysian city Atarneus, but had been for some time a resident in Stagira. His wife took the place of Aristotle's mother, as he himself took that of the father. That they must have been his guardians some considerable time before his seventeenth year, is indicated by the fact that Aristotle manifests the strongest sense of obligation to them, and he cannot well be supposed to have experienced a continuance of their kindness after his seventeenth year, when he no longer resided in their vicinity. He ordered in his last will that a statue be erected to each of these benefactors. He also took their son Nicanor when an orphan under his paternal care, provided for his scientific education, gave his daughter Pythias to him in marriage, made him the administrator of his estate, appointed him one of the guardians of his son Nicomachus, and in his will ordered a statue to his memory.

It has been thought singular by some, that Aristotle makes no mention in his will of any statue to his father. The probability is that this had been erected in his early life. It certainly cannot be supposed that he was deficient in gratitude to his benefactors. This is one of the virtues that shine brightest in his character, and he doubtless manifested it to his father as well as to his guardian.

MOTHER OF ARISTOTLE.

The name of the Stagirite's mother was Phaestis. She had three children, Arimnestus a son, and Arimneste a daughter, both of whom died before Aristotle. She was descended from a family who emigrated from Chalcis to Stagira. She has been supposed by some to belong to the posterity of Æsculapius. Pseudo-Ammonius has preserved a Greek epigram on "the divine Aristotle,

the son of Phaestis and Nicomachus, τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν." But this appellation, as has been already intimated, does not denote a lineal descendant of Æsculapius so often as a member of a medical family, and besides there is no sufficient reason to believe that, even in this figurative sense, it can be rightfully applied to the mother as it can to the father of the Stagirite.

It has been stated that Phaestis died when her son was yet a boy, certainly before he was seventeen years old. He seems however to have cherished her memory with long continued affection. He had a friend, Protogenes, the celebrated painter, whom he would fain persuade to immortalize his art by delineating the exploits of Alexander the Great, and whom he is said to have induced, long after the death of Phaestis, to paint her portrait, or rather to take a copy of an original likeness already in possession of the family. In his last will, Aristotle requested that a statue of his mother be set up in honor of Ceres at Nemea, or in some other more agreeable location. Here we see another evidence of the affection and thankfulness so often exhibited by the man, who is sometimes described as the impersonation of mere intellect.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND EARLY HABITS OF THE STAGIRITE.

It has been said by one of the commentators on Aristotle, that his character appears like a statue found amid the ruins of an antique temple. It is difficult to trace out the exact expression which it once wore. Some of its most beautiful features have faded away in the lapse of time, or have been defaced by the barbarity of enemies. It lies before us as the mutilated Torso lay before the greatest of the Italian sculptors, an object of the deepest interest, and deserving as well as rewarding the intensest study. We should restore the original lines of beauty which have been covered over and distorted by corrupters of the truth, and in place of which the most odious features have been delineated; and even when we cannot determine what were some of the precise shadings of the likeness, we can easily determine what are the Vandal-like disfigurings of it, we can easily see that the head of a Thersites should not be placed upon the shoulders of an Agamemnon, and that the minute representations of a character should accord with its whole spirit and genius.

The maligners of our philosopher have begun with his physical constitution. They have represented him as small of stature,

and bald-headed. Diogenes Laërtius repeats the rumor that he was *ἰσχυροκέλης*, from which and from his well-known feebleness of health we may believe him to have been of meagre habit; also that his eyes were small, from which Pisistratus infers a *μυροψυχία*; that he wore beautiful raiment, costly shoes, rings withal, and used the tonsure. According to some writers, the consciousness of his unpleasant personal appearance induced his peculiar attentiveness to dress. The best statues represent him as beardless or shaven, and this peculiarity is thought to have been the offspring of pride. Some of these statues indicate the sarcastic expression complained of by Plato. Like his contemporary Demosthenes, he had an organic defect of the vocal organs. He was unable to articulate distinctly the letters L and R, and this imperfection is probably the sole ground of his being called a stammerer by Plutarch, Diogenes and others.

Athenaeus, Aelian and Eusebins, relying solely on the assertions of Epicurus, a very unsafe guide, have narrated that in his minority the Stagirite wasted his inheritance by extravagant living, then betook himself to the army, and afterwards sought to regain his lost character and peace of mind by philosophical studies. Timaeus of Tauromenium adds that, having reduced himself to poverty, Aristotle earned his subsistence by the sale of medicines, and he is sometimes called in reproach "the medicine-vender." That he early began to practise the healing art may be readily admitted, for by some acquaintance with the practical application he could best learn the theoretical principles of therapeutics. Indeed the science of medicine was learned in ancient days almost entirely from the practice of it. Nor need it be denied that he may have found a pleasure in administering relief to the sick, while he was in his novitiate. But that he was driven by poverty to such an expedient, and that his poverty was the result of his early extravagance are at the best gratuitous conjectures. It seems improbable that he could have been so grateful to Proxenus, if the guardian had permitted the ward to indulge in such ruinous excesses. It seems improbable that he could have run the rounds of such a course of dissipation, so early as his seventeenth year; and we know that in this year he commenced his regular philosophical training. We have reason to believe that in his riper youth he purchased a valuable library for himself, and such a purchase in such an age is full proof that he had not squandered his estate. The reporters of this scandal do not appear to attach full credit to it themselves; some of the most vio-

lent foes of Aristotle do not endorse or even mention it; no credible historian represents Aristotle as ever in a state of poverty; on the contrary, the faults ordinarily ascribed to him are those which are connected with a state of affluence. There is no reason then for crediting this tale of Epicurus. There is, on the other hand, good reason for believing that our philosopher's early habits were those of a student. He was a rational student, not a book-worm; a thinker and observer, but no recluse. He was fond of dress and attentive to the fashions of the day. Far from being a disciple of Diogenes, he chose to appear as a man of the world, to live as a scholar not yet metamorphosed into a library. His regard for external appearance may have savored too much of the courtier, still it may have counteracted the tendency of his studious life to induce an unhealthy and morbid tone of sentiment.

FIRST RESIDENCE IN ATHENS.

It is related by Pseudo-Ammonius, that Aristotle received his incitement to engage in the pursuits of science, from a decision of the Delphic Oracle in favor of his doing so. But he was not the man to wait for such impulses to study. His mind was philosophical in its structure. He had an inborn desire to learn the nature and causes of things. Instead of assigning his pecuniary distress, or his deference to an oracle, as the occasion of his devoting himself to science, it were safer to assign the cravings of his inner nature, his constitutional inquisitiveness and love of analysis. Desirous of enjoying the best possible instruction, he repaired to Athens, the garden even of Greece. He was attracted hither by the fame of the Athenian philosophers, and particularly by that of Plato. He had nearly completed his seventeenth year, when he became a pupil in this city of the arts and letters. He remained here twenty years, from 367 B. C. to 347 B. C.

It has been said, that he could not have selected this residence for the purpose of enjoying the society of Plato, for he came to Athens at the very time of Plato's temporary departure from it, at the time of his taking his second journey to Syracuse, where he remained from the second year of the one hundred and third Olympiad, to the fourth year of the same or perhaps still later. But no one knows, that Aristotle was apprized of Plato's intention to be absent three years from the city at this time. And when he found it impossible to sit down *immediately* at the feet of him whose instructions he prized above that of others, what wiser

course could he pursue, than to remain among the disciples of that great man, and in the city where were teachers of kindred spirit though of unequal merit. While the master of the academy was absent, his place was supplied by Heraclides of Pontus, and it was perhaps under the tuition of this sage that the Stagirite passed his first three years in Athens. Pseudo-Ammonius and the Latin biographer and Olympiodorus assert that our philosopher, on his arrival at Athens, did not at once avail himself of Plato's teachings, but remained three years under the instruction of Socrates. These writers had probably read, that before he attended the lectures of Plato, he studied three years with some Socratical philosopher, and they mistook the designation of a disciple (*Σοκρατικός*) for the name of Socrates himself, who had been dead fifteen years when Aristotle was born.

Eumelus asserts that our philosopher was in his thirtieth year when he became a pupil of Plato. This error was perhaps suggested by the remembrance, that Plato recommended the age of thirty years as the most fitting for the commencement of the higher philosophy, not however for all branches of study. It may also have received some sanction from the report of Epicurus, that Aristotle pursued a course of dissipation until he had wasted his patrimony, and it seems not very probable, that he would have satiated his alleged vicious propensities before his thirtieth year. But the best of all authorities, that of Apollodorus,¹ with whom the majority of historians agree, establishes the fact that the father of metaphysics commenced his studies at Athens in his seventeenth year, and consequently that he became a disciple of Plato in his twentieth, or thereabouts. He did not, however, enjoy the instructions of this "wisest pupil of the wisest teacher" without interruption. As we have seen, Plato returned from Syracuse in the year 365 B. C. or the beginning of 364; but about four years afterwards he took another journey, making his last visit to his friend Dionysius, and he remained absent from 361 until the latter part of 360 B. C., when he resumed his duties in the Academy.

LITERARY LABORS DURING THE PERIOD OF ARISTOTLE'S PUPILAGE AT ATHENS.

The twenty years of the Stagirite's first residence at the seat of Grecian learning must have been a period of intense and extensive study; for it was the season of his preparation for labors

¹ Preserved by Diogenes Laërtius in his *Life of Aristotle*, Opp. Om. Arist., ed. Buhle, T. I. p. 6.

which, in difficulty and magnitude, have been seldom if ever equalled. Nor does he appear to have confined himself to private and merely preparatory investigations. He published some works at this time which are now lost. One was a Treatise on Rhetoric, chiefly historical in its character, and highly commended by Cicero. Another was a Collection of Proverbs; for Aristotle placed a high estimate on these compressions of popular wisdom. A third was an explanation of the principles of civil law, and entitled *Ἀκαιοῦματα πόλεων*. A fourth work was an historical account of one hundred and fifty-eight States, (according to others, one hundred and seventy-one; according to the Latin biographer, who probably refers to the same work, two hundred and fifty States.) There is also reason to believe, that during the latter part of his residence at the Academy he gave public instruction in rhetoric and philosophy. One of his hearers at this time was Hermias, governor of Atarneus, who continued long afterwards a faithful friend of the Stagirite. Hermias was also a hearer of Plato. Probably many other pupils of the Academy attended the lectures of Aristotle; not because he appeared as the rival of his master, but because they desired, like the men of Athens in a later age, to hear as well as to tell some new thing. Having an original cast of mind, and having reduced to system a large mass of multifarious reading, it was natural that he should desire to make some use of his acquisitions; nor does he appear to have displeased his teacher by instituting a lecture of his own.

From the lost works of Hermippus there is a quotation, preserved by Diogenes Laërtius, from which it appears, that Aristotle toward the end of his first residence at Athens, was sent on an embassy by the Athenians to Philip of Macedon. But what was the object or the result of this embassy, we are not informed. Buhle¹ ascribes to Hermippus the account, that for Aristotle's success in his mission to Philip, he was honored by the Athenians with a statue upon the Acropolis. But this account seems to be falsely ascribed to Hermippus, and this conjecture, that he was rewarded by the Greeks for political benefactions, is corroborated by no valid testimony. The Latin biography declares, that the Athenians erected a statue to the philosopher as a token of their gratitude for his favors to them; but does not specify the particular favors. Pausanias states, that he had seen at Olympia a statue which had no inscription, but which was said by his guide to have been

¹ Opp. Om. Arist. Tom. I. p. 92.

erected for Aristotle. "Perhaps," he adds, "the statue was raised by a scholar of the Stagirite, or by a warrior; for Aristotle was held in high esteem by Alexander, and afterwards by Antipater." It is to be regretted, that we cannot determine how much and with what success the philosopher mingled in the political affairs of the Athenians, and how far he ever allowed his literary pursuits to be interrupted. On the one hand we know, that in order to accumulate his immense stores of knowledge he must have been a severe applicant to study. We are told by Diogenes, that wishing to avoid a drowsy state of the system, he was accustomed to hold a brazen ball in his hand while reading, and to keep a bowl or basin in such a position that, when sleepiness relaxed the muscles of his fingers, the ball would fall upon the basin and the noise would startle and wake him.¹ On the other hand, we know that he was not a recluse, uninterested in the passing events of life, but that he regarded himself as a man among men, and therefore may be well supposed to have concerned himself with the affairs of State.

PERSONAL RELATIONS OF ARISTOTLE AND PLATO.

It is supposed that, before Plato's return from his last visit to Dionysius in the year 360 B. C., he had not paid much attention to the superior claims of the Stagirite. But he did not remain ignorant of them a long time. The young philosopher having silently accumulated his learning, was unable to remain in concealment. In process of time, as Philoponus relates, he was so far honored by his teacher as to be called by him "the philosopher of the truth," and again, "the soul of the Academy (*τὸν τῆς διατριβῆς*)."² Pseudo-Ammonius says, that Aristotle's house was called by Plato "the house of the reader (*οἶκος ἀναγνώστου*)."³ The Latin biographer⁴ relates, that when the young philosopher was absent from the Academy, Plato would say, "Intellectus abest; surdum est auditorium."

But this pleasant relation between two so distinguished men seems to have been not entirely undisturbed. The ancient biographies contain reports, which must have arisen from some want of sympathy between the teacher and the pupil. The reports are

¹ Opp. Om. Arist. Ed. Buhle. T. I. p. 15. Ammianus Marcellinus relates the same anecdote of Alexander the Great; "perhaps the pupil," says Buhle, "imitated the teacher in this habit;" vide Buhle's *Vita Arist.*, Opp. Om. A. T. I. p. 104.

² Opp. Om. Arist. p. 55.

exaggerations of the truth, but there was truth enough to make exaggeration possible. It is indeed very difficult to determine on this and on other subjects, how much credit can safely be attached to the historians of antiquity. They have been well described by Ast,¹ as fruitful in inventing stories, especially about great men, and so much the more fruitful when the men were retired in their habit of life. The want of actual fact was supplied by imaginative tales, and a trifling hint was amplified into a history. We must therefore be cautious in examining the narratives which are related in reference to celebrated philosophers, whose fame excited the fancy of the historians, and whose life was so hidden that nothing but an inventive imagination could detail the particulars of it. Such, for example, are the fictions which are recorded concerning Pythagoras and Socrates.

Particularly cautious should we be in examining the charges which are made against Aristotle; for he devoted so much of his time to the refutation of his predecessors in philosophy, that he embittered against himself such of his contemporaries as adhered to the old masters. Lord Bacon says,² "*Aristoteles regnare se haud tuto posse putavit, nisi, more Ottomanorum, fratres suos omnes contrucidasset.*" A controversialist whose hands had been raised against so many, must expect that some hands would be raised against himself. The most virulent of his opposers were Epicurus, Timaeus of Tauromenium, who for his slanderous propensities was denominated *ἐντίμαρος*, Alexinus the Eristic, Eubulides, Demochares, Cephisodorus, and Lycon the Pythagorean. Among the ancients, who have noticed the alienation said to have subsisted between Aristotle and Plato, the most conspicuous are Eubulides, who was a pupil of Euclid and a teacher of Demosthenes; Aristoxenas who was, according to Suidas, disappointed and chagrined because he did not succeed the Stagirite in the Lyceum, Aristocles, Ælian, Diogenes Laërtius, Origen, Cyril, Theodoret, Augustine, Eusebius, and others.

It is said by Ælian, that Plato disliked Aristotle's attentiveness to the outward life, his love of dress and finery; and that he stigmatized the pupil's regard for personal appearance as unfit for a philosopher. It must be conceded, that having been resident at the court of Macedon, and wishing perhaps to relieve a disagreeable exterior, the young metaphysician may have contracted a habit of attention to form and apparel, which must seem extra-

¹ Vide Platon's *Leben und Schriften*.

² De Augm. Scient. III. ep. 4.

gant to one living like Plato in the spirit more than in the body. It was not unnatural for a mind, precise and definite like Aristotle's, to become punctilious in reference to personal habits. Some of our gravest divines have transferred their habits of minute exactness, from the "*corpus theologiae*" to the "*corpus proprium*." Still it is not impossible that our metaphysician's fondness for outward beauty was less of a foible, and Plato's disapproval of it less decided and severe, than has been given out by the garrulous biographers. One thing is certain, the Stagirite, though a great reader, did not indulge in those negligences of etiquette, which some men rely on as the sole evidences of their genius. He acquainted himself with practical life in a practical way, and acquired common sense from common objects. His writings show, that he was busied not with idle theorizings so much as with actual observation; that he watched the outward movements of men and the outward workings of nature. His taste for the physical sciences may have appeared to Plato disproportionate, and his attention to the matters of daily life may have seemed unphilosophical. The venerable sage may have disliked to see his pupil so much a man of the world and so much inclined to enjoy life, even though the pupil indulged in no vicious excesses. Diogenes relates that Aristotle's maxim was, "not apathy but moderation," and we can easily conceive how a young man, acting on this maxim, may have incurred the displeasure of a father in philosophy who lived more aloof from the world, and how this displeasure, perhaps slight in degree, and expressed with reserve, may have been distorted by fabulists into an abhorrence of Aristotle's foppery and extravagance.

Ælian further narrates that there was not only a sarcastic expression in Aristotle's countenance, but also a loquacity in his intercourse, which were highly offensive to his teacher; and that his ingratitude to Plato was so marked as to cause the latter to compare him to a colt, which kicks at its mother when it has once satisfied its cravings for milk.¹ He also relates² the following instance, in which the Stagirite's ingratitude toward his teacher was very disgracefully manifested. On one occasion Xenocrates took a journey from Athens to Chalcedon, and Speusippus was confined to the house by illness. These two Academicians, having been the main supporters of Plato when he would defend his system from assaults, and having now left him to refute opposing sophisms

¹ Indeed some of the words of Ælian seem to imply that Plato, at one time, refused Aristotle permission to attend lectures in the Academy.

² Var. Hist. III. ep. 19.

without the aid of his expert disciples, himself also being now in his eightieth year and having lost the vigor which he once possessed, and in especial degree the readiness of his memory; thus infirm and defenceless the old philosopher was assailed by the Stagirite proud of his youthful alertness and vigor, was plied with subtle and almost unanswerable questions, and at length compelled by his pupil's perseverance in the rencontre, to leave the groves of the Academy, and retire for the delivery of his lectures into a private apartment. Having thus compelled Plato to abandon his beloved walks, the Stagirite took possession of them as his own theatre of instruction, and established a school in opposition to his former master.¹ Three months afterward Zenocrates returned, and in his indignation at the Stagirite's treatment of Plato attacked Aristotle, and forced him to relinquish the Academy in favor of its former occupant. One would almost infer from *Ælian's* language, that Xenocrates used physical violence for the expulsion of the intruder.

This narrative seems to have originated from a misinterpretation of a passage in the life of Plato by Aristoxenus, surnamed Musicus. He relates that during Plato's absence from Athens, and while he was journeying to and fro in foreign lands, certain aliens established a school in opposition to him. "Some have supposed," says Aristocles, "that this statement of Aristoxenus refers to Aristotle, but they do not consider that the author of the statement never speaks of Aristotle, except in the most respectful terms." He might have added, says Stahr, that the words of Aristoxenus refer, in all probability, to a period of Plato's absence which was previous to Aristotle's first residence in Athens, and of course those words could have had no reference whatever to the Stagirite. Thus has the prolific imagination of the Greek biographers erected a large superstructure upon a mere point. The fact, that Xenocrates was in after times one of the most intimate friends of Aristotle, would appear sufficient to refute one part of *Ælian's* narrative; and the whole of it is rendered improbable by the daily life of Aristotle,² which exhibits a benevolent gratitude as one of the cardinal virtues of his character. He often extols friendship as one of the chief blessings of life, and manifests toward his family and associates and even slaves a degree of af-

¹ That Aristotle did not institute a school in rivalry of Plato is proved by Ammonius, *Vid. Opp. Om. Arist. Tom. I. p. 45.*

² Ammonius speaks of him, as "wonderfully gentle in his manners," *Vit. p. 49.* The structure of his mind would imply the same.

fection, which, in so intellectual a man, is remarkable. The codicil to his last will is a monument of his grateful affection to all who had done him service; and the person, who in his old age retains so warm and generous a spirit, could not have been in his youth a cold-hearted and close-handed egotist. "Ingratitude," says Goethe, "is always a species of weakness; I have never found that clever men have been guilty of it." In speaking of Aristotle's kindness to benefactors, Stahr quotes "the short but excellent description of the philosopher, which is given by the physician Bernard Dessenius Cronenburg, the able opponent of Paracelsus. Aristoteli, says he, *jucunda suavisque compositio, non aliter quam musica harmonia, suis numeris figuraque absoluta; fuit enim in dicendo facilis, in componendo promptus, in elocutione splendidus, in loquendo affabilis, in victu magnificus, in vestitu exquisitus, amicis fidus, inimicis infensus, philosophiae disciplinae observantissimus.* He is indeed accused by the Platonic philosophers of avarice, arrogance and heartlessness, but we must remember that his accusers were jealous of his growing fame, and eager to prevent its eclipsing that of their master. Many of them penned their calumnies after an interval of centuries from the period which they described, and were not careful to compose a narrative from authentic records, so they could fill it up with sketches of the fancy. They knew that Plato makes no mention in any part of his writings of Aristotle's name, although Aristotle was by far the most eminent pupil of the Academy. They knew that Plato appointed Speusippus¹ as his successor at Athens, although the Stagirite had far higher claims to such an honor. Here were indications of Plato's want of sympathy with Aristotle, and the garrulous historians tasked themselves to invent causes for such a reserve. They knew also, that Aristotle in his writings often opposes and sometimes ridicules the Platonic philosophy, and they were unable to divine how an inquirer after truth could reject a theory without hating the theorist. They understood little of that pure mindedness which can be earnest in

¹ This appointment seems to have had an undue influence over the modern biographers of Aristotle, as Tennemann for example; (see his *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Band III, S. 27.) It must be remembered that Speusippus was the son of Potona, Plato's sister, (see *Arist. Vit. Ammon.* p. 46,) and the aged philosopher might naturally prefer to be succeeded by his nephew rather than an alien; especially so, when the nephew was a supporter of the Platonic system, and the alien an opposer of it; when also, it may be, the personal manners of Speusippus were more congenial to Plato's taste than those of Aristotle.

refuting an argument, and yet reverential in separating the person of the antagonist from his errors in logic.

We are indeed compelled to admit, that there may have been but little congeniality of feeling between Plato and Aristotle. The latter was a man of sharp discrimination, of accurate and minute attention to individual phenomena whether of matter or mind, of a strong taste for physical sciences, of severe and logical ratiocination; while the former lived within himself, strove to elevate his spirit above the world and its low realities, and preferred the sublime to the exact, a refined sentiment to an observed fact. The latter strove to understand the reality of things, and to decypher the laws by which actual existences are at present regulated; the former strove to emerge from the grossness of reality and to live in a world of ideas. Aristotle wrote in prose and abhorred figures of speech; Plato's prose is poetry, and his philosophy as well as style must have appeared to the Stagirite, as the work of the imagination. The former would be called by some a man of the understanding; the latter, a man of the reason. We can easily imagine how much the style of Plato may have disgusted the Stagirite, who wished to look at once through the language to the fact which lay beyond it. So must the arid style of Aristotle have been equally distasteful to Plato, who loved the freshness and luxuriance of speech as well as of thought. The mind of the abstract logician must have been often dissatisfied, oftener unsatisfied, with such reasonings as captivated the poetical philosopher, and the latter must have been wearied, if not disgusted, by the rude and dry syllogisms of the former. It is possible too, that Aristotle was impatient of the intellectual dominion of his teacher, that he could not brook submission to the authority of any man, that he possessed a consciousness of strength which made it appear unworthy in him to regard himself, or suffer himself to be regarded, as a follower even of Plato. To his aspiring feelings the enthusiasm, with which the master of the Academy was admired and extolled, may have been unwelcome. Nor is it on the other hand improbable, that Plato in his old age looked with some distrust upon the acute logician, so dissimilar to his teacher, and promising or rather threatening to eclipse all his predecessors.¹ He may have shrunk back from that sharpness of judgment and that cold analysis, which would never be satisfied with a flower when the search was for fruit. He may have dreaded him as the

¹ Vide Arist. Vit. per annos digesta, Opp. Om. Arist. p. 37 : et Tennemann's Geschichte der Phil. B. III. pp. 27, 28.

founder of a new, opposing and triumphant school in philosophy. All this may be, yet all warrants no more than the admission, that there was not between these two men such a congeniality of feeling, as is essential to the truest inward friendship. It does not involve the necessity of supposing them to have been mutual enemies. Enlarged minds like theirs, how great soever the discrepancy between them, may yet cherish a deep-seated esteem for one another. Each may be often disgusted with the peculiarities of the other, and still in many respects admire the character so dissonant from its own. Nor are the petty rivalries of an hour allowed to interrupt that reciprocal esteem, which the very existence of a rivalry presupposes. The tendency of science is to liberalize the mind, and give an appreciation of excellence which it may not itself possess, and which indeed may occasionally come athwart its inclinations. History furnishes many examples of friendship, which has been formed by a union of opposite characters, like the union of positive and negative poles in electricity.

Not only the pervading tone of Aristotle's spirit, but also many expressions in his writings indicate, that he was not ungrateful nor inimical to Plato. He criticises often, and sometimes with severity, the theories of his teacher, but he does it without bitterness, and takes no occasion to asperse the character of the antagonist when he had the power, if he harbored the disposition, to defame. He writes in the spirit of a proverb, which has been said by some authors to have originated with him;¹ "*Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas.*" When in his *Nicomachean Ethics* he attempts to refute the Platonic Theory of Ideas or Archetypal Forms, he expresses his reluctance to say aught against it, because it was originated by men who were dear to him, *φίλους ἀνδρας*. "Yet," continues he, "it seems to be our duty, for the sake of preserving the truth *to sacrifice even our own families*, especially as we are philosophers."² Now such expressions as the preceding, made by so abstract a contro-

¹ Opp. Om. Arist. pp. 45, 89. The Ancient Translation, p. 57 states, that Aristotle in disagreeing with Plato harmonized with Plato's maxims, "*Quod magis oportet de veritate curare, quam de aliquo alio;*" and, "*Amicus quidem Socrates, sed magis amica veritas;*" and, "*De Socrate parum est curandum, de veritate multum.*"

² *Ethic. Nic. I. ep. 6.* Ritter in his *Hist. of the Ancient Philosophy* says, that Aristotle evinces at times a bitterness "in his attacks upon the system of Plato;" but must we not distinguish between bitterness against the system and ill will towards the person of a philosopher? See Morrison's Ritter, Vol. III. p. 7.

versalist, have a deeper meaning than if made by a writer of more exuberant sensibilities. It is a tacit and so much the more sincere disclosure of attachment to the character of one, with whom after all he could have but little inward communion. Nor does history refuse corroboration to our belief that the Stagirite cherished a feeling of friendship rather than enmity towards his old master. Pseudo-Ammonius, quoting from a life of Aristotle now lost, says that the pupil erected an altar to the memory of his teacher, with the following inscription;

This altar was erected by Aristotle to Plato,
A man whom it is not fitting for the bad to praise.

Buhle¹ has shown that the substance of this inscription appears to be made out of an elegy to Eudemus, and therefore to be improperly ascribed to Aristotle. Still this philosopher may have reared the marble for his teacher; he may have written an inscription of the same tenor with that above cited; there is as much reason for crediting the essential parts of this report in favor of the Stagirite, as for crediting the reports of an opposite character; it proves at least that the testimony of the Grecian story-tellers is divided, and that in the midst of their self-contradictions we must be influenced by the internal verisimilitude, or the want of it in their narratives.

Even if we admit that Aristotle entertained feelings of hostility to his teacher, we must regard it as very improbable that he should have manifested them as he has been accused of doing. He was so much younger than Plato and so much less favorably known in Greece, that he must have lost his characteristic shrewdness to have openly opposed the very idol of Athens. He was a foreigner at the seat of Grecian learning, and on that account must have been undervalued by the Athenians, who looked with contempt upon metics or aliens. How then could he have ventured to enter the lists of rivalry with the sage, who was not only a citizen of Athens but also related to some of her most illustrious men, as for example, the generals Chabrias and Timotheus.² It is not in

¹ Vid. Arist. Vit. per ann. dig. p. 90.

² This argument, employed by Pseudo-Ammonius, to prove that Aristotle never ventured upon the establishment of a school in opposition to Plato's, is set aside by Ritter, on the ground that Chabrias and Timotheus were deceased at the time of the Stagirite's residence in Athens. But a consanguinity with such men may often have more influence when the men are numbered with the dead, than while they are living.

keeping with the prudence and circumspection which are ascribed to the father of logic, that he should have hazarded the unequal contest between an obscure and alien pupil on the one hand, and a far-famed teacher as well as an aristocratic citizen on the other. While then it is not to be presumed that there existed an intimate confiding friendship, an inner commingling of the mind and heart between Aristotle and Plato, it is likewise not to be believed that there existed an open animosity between them, or any want of personal esteem. They were mutual well-wishers though not brothers. They lived neither in rancorous hatred nor in fervid love toward each other. They were kind opponents; and philosophical, controversial friends.

PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ARISTOTLE AND ISOCRATES.

The accounts of a personal feud between the Stagirite and the celebrated rhetorician, Isocrates, are liable to less objection than those which relate to Aristotle and Plato. Isocrates had not the authority nor the character which Plato possessed, he had far lower claims upon the esteem of the Stagirite, had exerted but little influence over him, and had imposed upon him no especial obligation. Hence we need not cross-examine the Grecian historians so rigidly, nor receive their narratives with so great reluctance in the present case, as in that to which we devoted the preceding section. Their narratives, besides, are not so discrepant from one another, nor from internal probability, as they are in the case which we last considered. They unite in the report that these celebrated rivals contended with one another, and exhibited a degree of excitement not easily reconcilable with the dignity of their station.

Isocrates was regarded by Aristotle and by other men of letters, as deficient in comprehensiveness of mind and power of thorough analysis. His mode of teaching rhetoric was thought to be empirical, he was accused of not understanding the principles of the science which he professed to explain, condemned for applying the rhetorical art merely to panegyrical orations, and not to judicial speeches; for treating not so much of forensic and civil causes, as of mere elegance of speech.¹ When, therefore, Aristotle perceived that Isocrates attracted crowds to his lectures, that among his hearers were some of the nobility, as, for example, Timotheus the son of Conon, and that he was lauded by

¹ Vid. Cicero de Orat. VII p. 36.

the multitude as the chief of the rhetoricians, the indignation of the young philosopher was roused. He applied to the rhetorician a verse from the *Philoctetes* of Euripides, a play now lost. The poet had said, "It is shameful to keep silence over the whole camp of the Greeks, and to let the barbarians speak." Aristotle modified the quotation thus, "It is shameful to keep silence, and let Isocrates speak." He therefore did not keep silence. He commenced a rival course of lectures on the art of rhetoric, although he had previously undervalued the art. He endeavored to supply the deficiencies of his opponent, by discussing the principles of eloquence philosophically and fundamentally. He also connected with his instructions a system of practical exercises. "Curavit, says Cicero,¹ et illustravit doctrinam illam omnem, rerumque cognitionem cum orationis exercitatione conjunxit." It is probable also, that in this period he published the lost work on rhetoric, which has already been referred to, and that in this work he commented with severity upon the literary merits of Isocrates. He seems to have made some enemies to himself by these sallies against his rival, but still he displayed such force of mind in the contest as to establish his reputation for solidity and depth of genius. From a passage in Cicero de Oratore,² it would appear, that the efforts of Aristotle at this time attracted the notice of Philip, king of Macedon, and contributed to recommend the philosophical rhetorician to that monarch, for the office of tutor to Alexander the Great. Still, the spirit which Aristotle breathed in this controversy is said to have been violent and bitter, and his treatment of his antagonist not always candid. "Quorum uterque," says Cicero, speaking of the two rivals,³ "suo studio delectatus, contempsit alterum." Cephisodorus, or Cephisodotus, a pupil of Isocrates, appeared in defence of his master, and published a work in four books against Aristotle. He attacked the moral character of the Stagirite with great vehemence, and laid peculiar stress upon the fact that Aristotle had published a book of proverbs. The authorship of such a work he condemned as unseemly for a man of science. From the pertinacity with which he insists on this charge, we may infer the paucity of the materials which were at his disposal. If a man's innocence can be proved from the foolishness of the accusations which his enemies urge against him, then we need no better guaranty for the virtue of our philosopher than the fact that his accusers, when they wish-

¹ De Orat. VII. ch. 35.

² I. Lib. VII. § 35. See also Instit. Quinct. Lib. I. § 1.

³ De Officiis I. I. § 4.

ed to calumniate him most forcibly, accused him of editing a collection of apothegms. Such apothegms are ever the delight of men, who love to reduce the varieties of truth to the most comprehensive generalizations. They are, says Lord Bacon, "not only for delight and ornament but for real businesses and civil usages; for they are, as he said, *secures aut mucrones verborum*, which by their sharp edge cut and penetrate the knots of matters and business; and occasions run round in a ring, and what was once profitable may again be practised, and again be effectual, whether a man speak them as ancient or make them his own." Aristocles Messenius and Numenius speak disparagingly of this work of Cephisodorus against Aristotle, but Athenaeus commends it, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus pronounces it *πᾶν θαυμαστόν*. It is probable, that so extended a comment on the Stagirite had reference not merely to his oral lectures and book of proverbs and treatise on rhetoric, but also to several other works which have not come down to us, but which he had given to the public before this altercation commenced. It is also probable that many other volumes were written against him at this time, and that many of the scandals relating to him originated from this contention. St. Croix alludes to a letter of Isocrates in which the orator endeavors to prejudice the mind of Alexander in favor of the study of rhetoric, and against that of logic, and this letter is supposed by that critic to be a secret attack upon Aristotle, and designed to injure his influence with the court of Macedon.

There has been some debate with regard to the time of this altercation between the younger and the older rhetorician. Buhle supposes¹ that it occurred during the period of Aristotle's second residence in Athens, but Isocrates had been dead at least three years before this period commenced. Consequently the rival school must have been established, while Aristotle was a pupil of Plato at the Academy. From a statement made by Diogenes Laërtius it should seem, that the latter part of our philosopher's first residence in Athens was the time of his contention with Isocrates, and we should infer that he was emboldened to engage in such a rivalry, by his success in the embassy on which he was sent by the Athenians to Philip. At this period, Isocrates must have been at least eighty years of age, for he died in the year 338 before Christ, at the age of ninety-eight, and Aristotle left Athens in the year 348, ten years previous to his rival's death. The Stagirite himself could have been not much more than thirty

¹ Vita Arist. p. 95.

years old at the time of this competition. It appears singular that one so young should have been so jealous of the fame of an octogenarian ; and this is one reason which induces Buhle to assign a later date to the rivalry,—a period when Aristotle was about fifty years old, but when unfortunately the rival had been deceased at least three years.

DEPARTURE FROM ATHENS TO MYSIA.

Having resided twenty years at the academy, Aristotle left it in the thirty-seventh year of his age ; in the year 348 B. C., which was the first quarter of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad. This was the time of Plato's death. Some suppose that he quitted Athens, because the demise of his teacher had removed the chief attractions of the place ; others, that he left it in indignation because Speusippus, instead of himself, was appointed Plato's successor in the academy. Both of these accounts imply that no violent animosity had existed between the teacher and the pupil, for if Aristotle had contended with his master, as he is reported to have done, he could not have so long cherished the expectation of receiving from his injured foe the honor of succeeding him in an office, which, though not the most lucrative, was in many respects the most exalted in the literary world.

It is impossible to decide with confidence on the motives of Aristotle for leaving Athens, but we are authorized in rejecting the slander which some have circulated, that he was influenced by a desire of gratifying his sensual propensities at a foreign court. He had previously possessed ample means for satiating these propensities, if he had been disposed to deny himself the gratification, to him far more intense, of storing his capacious mind with the knowledge which it craved. He may have thought that he had remained long enough in one city, and that his education would be more complete, if he should change for a season his habits of thought and life. It was at this period that Philip was ravaging Greece ; he had just laid Olynthus in ruins, and struck terror into the hearts of the men of Athens. Demosthenes was exerting his influence to rouse his fellow-citizens against the Lacedemonian conqueror. They were inflamed against Philip and against all who acknowledged his sway. They knew that he often employed his subjects as spies in foreign lands, and that his stratagems were as formidable as his arms. One of his subjects was Aristotle, the father of Aristotle was the intimate friend of

the father of Philip, and the son of Nicomachus was known to be a favorite of the son of Amyntas. This alien from Macedonia was also reported to mingle political discussions with his literary teachings. He had incurred the enmity of Isocrates, and of the numerous supporters of that venerable orator. Plato no longer lived to shield his illustrious pupil from popular suspicion. It is not at all improbable, that the Stagirite foresaw a storm of Grecian indignation rising against him, and that he fled before it to seek shelter in other lands. Or if he had no fear of popular violence, he might have been impelled by his patriotism to abandon a people, who were becoming almost frantic against his friend and sovereign. Be this as it may, he quitted Athens, accepted the invitation of his friend Hermias, governor of Atarneus, and took up his residence in that city, or according to Strabo in the neighboring city of Assos,¹ the birth-place of Cleanthes the Stoic. He was accompanied thither by his friend Xenocrates, the same who is said by Aelian to have assumed so hostile an attitude to him in the pretended controversy with Plato. This fact is another indication, that the severity of that contest has been exaggerated by partizan historians.

Atarneus and Assos were cities of Mysia in Asia Minor, on the shore of the Ægean sea, and opposite to the island Lesbos. They were in that part of Asia, hallowed beyond almost any other by classical recollection, and affording a delightful retreat to the student, be he a poet or a philosopher.

CHARACTER OF HERMIAS; HIS CONNECTION WITH ARISTOTLE.

By his intimacy with Aristotle, Hermias was raised to an elevation in the literary world, which he would not have attained by his individual merits, great as these must have been. In this conspicuous position has he been "chattered at, and pointed at, and grinned at, by the whole rabble of satyrs and goblins" among the Greek biographers. Strabo and Demetrius of Magnesia, who are followed by Diogenes Laërtius, call him a Bithynian, a slave of Eubulus, and a eunuch. That the last appellation is not rightly applied to him, has been shown by Ilgen in the *Schol. Græcor.* p. 162, and is virtually contradicted by those historians, who affirm that his daughter became the wife of Aristotle. That he was no slave, in the proper sense of that term, may be readily admitted,

¹ As Atarneus and Assos were under the same government, the Stagirite may have resided in each of these cities alternately.

if we consider that every subordinate officer was often termed, by the Greeks, a slave of his superior in command. In an army, all who occupied subaltern stations were, in this sense, slaves of the commander in chief. Hermias was a friend of Eubulus, and as such was entrusted by him with many important offices.

That we know so little of Eubulus is matter of regret, for he was evidently no ordinary man. He evinced genius and tact. According to Strabo he was once a banker; he amassed great wealth, and acquired great influence over his fellow citizens. He is called by Suidas a philosopher,¹ and appears to have spent much time at Athens, in the society of her teachers and sages. By his affluence and intellectual vigor he obtained the government of Assos, Atarneus, and the circumjacent regions. Hermias, who had aided him in securing this elevation, was appointed by him to the government of one or both of these cities, Assos or Atarneus, and thus was he the slave, or subordinate general, of Eubulus.

It has already been remarked, that Hermias attended the lectures which Aristotle delivered during his first residence at Athens. But he availed himself of other literary privileges, particularly of the instructions of Plato. He resided at Athens for the purpose not of mental acquisition merely, but also of superintending the extensive pecuniary concerns of Eubulus. That he was, during this period, on terms of intimacy with Aristotle and Xenocrates, appears probable from the fact of his subsequently inviting these philosophers to spend so long a time with him, at his residence in Mysia. He must have left the city some years before Plato's death. He may have been called away from the academy by the political agitations of his adopted land. Having united with Eubulus in the attempt to rescue a part of the Mysian territory from the Persian yoke, and having been rewarded with an honorable office for his success in this attempt, he certainly deserves great credit for persevering in his scientific predilections, and calling to his palace two of the most promising philosophers of his time. It has been conjectured that he wished their aid in draughting a code of laws for his subjects. This too is honorable to a governor raised but recently to his dignities, and by no means secure in their possession. He held his dominion amid great popular excitement and in defiance of the immense power of Persia. Although many of the cities of Asia Minor, as well as Egypt and Syria, had risen against Artaxerxes Ochus, yet was their struggle for freedom re-

¹ *Λυδοστροφὴ καὶ φιλοσόφου.*

sisted not merely by the Persians, but also by mercenaries from among the Greeks, who were under the skilful guidance of Memnon of Rhodes.¹ Eubulus fell at last a prey to violence. His death was probably the result of Persian intrigue. It has been ascribed by Demetrius of Magnesia, and after him by Diogenes Laërtius, to the treachery of Hermias; but this is mere slander. Hermias reigned in the stead of Eubulus, maintained his authority with consummate skill, until he was entrapped by the Persian general Mentor. He trusted the oath of that perfidious commander, and consented to a peaceful interview with him. The oath was violated, Hermias was seized, delivered over to Artaxerxes Ochus, and put to death by strangulation. Tertullian is supposed to relate, (in a passage, however, of doubtful genuineness,) that the death of this governor was occasioned by the treachery of Aristotle; a statement made not only without evidence, but against the united testimony of writers, who on this subject are far more deserving of credit than the author of such a calumny. The philosopher appears to have mourned the sudden exit of his friend. He reared to his memory a monument, or as some affirm a cenotaph at Delphi, and Diogenes Laërtius² has preserved its inscription: "Slain in sacrilegious violation of the sacred laws of the gods, by the tyrant of the bow-bearing Persians; not openly, with the spear, on the bloody battle-field, but by the treachery of a deceitful man." The Stagirite, on occasion of the death of Hermias, wrote an ode also, of which there have been several metrical translations into the Latin and German languages,³ and the following is an unmetrical version in the English. "Oh virtue (*Ἀρετή*, *virtus*), hard to attain by the race of men, but yet the fairest object of pursuit in life! For thy beauty, oh virgin, is it an enviable lot even to die in Greece, and to endure without fatigue the severest toils. Thou givest man the enjoyment of immortal fruit, which is better than gold and noble birth and soft sleep. For thy sake, in search of thine honor, toiled the divine Hercules, and the children of Leda. Longing after thee went Achilles also, and Ajax, down to Hades. On account of thy lovely form Hermias too, the nursling of Atarneus, deprived himself of the light of day. Therefore shall his exploits be renowned in song, and he shall re-

¹ Buhle says that Mentor was the leader, and not Memnon. All other biographers of Aristotle say Memnon. Vit. Opp. Om. p. 91.

² Arist. Vit. p. 7.

³ For the original of this ode, see Arist. Vit. Auct. Diog. Laërt. in Opp. Om. Arist. edit. Buhle, Tom. I. p. 8. See also p. 24 for a Latin version; Stahr's Arist. B. I. p. 80 for a German version.

ceive an immortal name from the muses, the daughters of memory, when they pay adoration to Jupiter as the Protector of the rights of hospitality (*Διὸς ἑστίου*), and bestow on faithful friendship its fit reward."

The whole style of this ode indicates a sincere veneration for its subject, as a man of moral not less than of mental excellence; and could not have been written by one who associated with Hermias as Aristotle is reported to have done, for the purpose of beastly self-indulgence. This is not the lamentation of one sensualist over the misfortunes of another, for it bespeaks a kind of respect which libertines rarely entertain for libertines. Although we should not infer from the abstract character of the Stagirite's genius, that he would have ever attempted a metrical composition, we are yet pleased to find that his sensibilities were so active as to seek an outflow in poetical effusions, and especially that his love to his friends poured itself forth in such a channel. True, he seems not to have been born a poet; but we admire him the more that he tried, it matters not with what success, to make himself one. He is said by Diogenes Laërtius¹ to have composed some epics as well as elegiacs; and thus he seems to have cultivated his mind not exclusively in its philosophical propensities, although these promised him the highest eminence.

But when a man has so far eclipsed his former rivals as Aristotle appears to have done, he cannot, even while suffering the pain of bereavement, escape their envy, but will be wounded in all circumstances in all his vulnerable points. For the ode in which he gave vent to his grief for Hermias, the philosopher was, some years afterward, prosecuted before the Areôpagus. He was denounced as having indited sacrilege and blasphemy. He was accused of paying to his friend the honors which are due to the gods only. It is true that he represented Hermias as receiving honor from superior natures, and receiving it at the same time with Jupiter Xenius; but he wrote in the language of feeling, and his words are not to be pressed to all the conclusions or implications which may logically be wrung from them. He wrote, moreover, after the fashion that was common among the Greeks of his time, and his scolium (for such rather than pæan is the true description of the ode,) was no more blasphemous than the scolia which were sung every week at banquets in Athens. He must indeed have lived a

¹ Opp. Om. Arist. T. I. p. 24. So likewise the anonymous biographer, Vit. p. 65, 66.

virtuous life, if all his enemies, after searching more than a quarter of a century for his foibles, could find nothing more reprehensible than his use of a few extravagant phrases, in a lamentation over a murdered friend. Even if we admit that the style of his ode was not logically or theo-logically conformable to the standards, still we cannot but find some apology for his surrender to the impulses of feeling, in the domestic relations which he was at this time assuming, and which will be detailed in the next section.

MARRIAGE OF ARISTOTLE.

At the time of penning the obnoxious ode to the memory of his friend, the Stagirite was cherishing an affection for Pythias, who was intimately connected with the departed Hermias. Some say that she had been the concubine of the governor of Assos; others, that she was his sister; a third party say, that she was his real daughter; but the best authorities represent her as his adopted daughter, and, it is sometimes added, his sister also. Aristotle married her shortly after the death of Hermias; but as his mourning for the adoptive father was the cause of fresh vituperations, so was his hymeneal bliss with the daughter disturbed by his enemies. He was so severely scandalized by the Greek tale-bearers, for his marriage with Pythias, that he felt himself obliged to explain, in a letter to his friend Antipater, his reasons for such a union. Aristocles, who knew the contents of the letter, gives the following explanation of the matrimonial engagement.

After the sudden discomfiture and death of Hermias, the treacherous Mentor sought to occupy with Persian troops the cities which had been subject to the Mysian commander. Aristotle and Xenocrates were obliged to save themselves by flight. If they had left Pythias in Mysia, she would have fallen into the hands of the Persians, and in all probability been slain. Unwilling that she should be thus sacrificed, and having previously entertained a high regard for her character as a "modest and amiable woman," *σώφρονα καὶ ἀγαθὴν*, the Stagirite took her for his wife, and by a rapid flight saved her from the enemy. He has been censured for the extravagance of his affection for Pythias, and accused not only of composing a hymn in honor of her father, as if he were a god, but also of presenting offerings to Pythias, as if she were a goddess, offerings like those presented by the Athenians to Ceres. Diogenes Laërtius¹ derived this tale from Lycon; yet Lycon represents

¹ Opp. Om. Arist. ed. Buhle, p. 5.

our philosopher as paying these honors to his wife, not soon after her marriage, but soon after her death. Had not the envy of his inferiors been fertile in libels, Aristotle might easily have been suspected of coldheartedness in his conjugal relations; but such a suspicion is removed by the fact, that nearly all the charges against his domestic character are of the opposite complexion; and although we do not trust these calumnious details, we may yet regard them as indicating, in the general, that the philosopher's home affections were ardent rather than torpid, that he gave more occasion to the reproach of idolatry than to that of cruelty, and that Burke's oft-quoted description of a thorough-bred metaphysician cannot apply to the father of metaphysics. As he is not accused of indifference toward his wife or her adoptive father, but rather of an idolizing attachment, we may yield so much credit to his maligners as to concede, that he cherished full as much of the household tenderness as could be expected from the "inventor of syllogisms." That he cherished more, the readers of his *Logic* may believe hardly.

Aristocles, who is probably indebted for his information to the correspondence of Aristotle with Antipater, has described Pythias as worthy of her husband's love. Her affection for him was manifested in her request, that his bones after his death should be placed by the side of her own; a request which he noticed in his last will, and with which his surviving friends were ordered to comply. In such an incident does virtue assert itself, revealing its sway over the affections, although it had been nearly concealed by obloquy from the view of the world.

ARISTOTLE IN MACEDONIA, TEACHER OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Having remained three years at the court of Atarneus or Assos, Aristotle fled to Mitylene, the capital city of Lesbos, and the birth place of Pittacus, Alcaeus, Sappho, Terpander, Theophanes, Hellenicus, and other illustrious authors. It is conjectured that Hermias left friends surviving in Mitylene, who would gladly receive and defend his former guest. How long the refugee remained in this city, and whether, as Buhle supposes, Xenocrates remained with him, we know not. He repaired thither in 345 B. C., but accepted in 343 B. C. a call to superintend the education of Alexander the Great at the court of Philip of Macedon. He was at this time forty-one years of age, and his pupil was in his thirteenth year.¹ Apollo-

¹ It is difficult to conceive on what grounds Ritter asserts, that Alexander

dorus says, that Alexander was at this time in his fifteenth year; but certainly he was born in 356 B. C., and commenced the government of Macedon in 336 B. C. when he was twenty years old, and died in 323 B. C., at the age of thirty-two years and six months. In the year 343 then, when he commenced his studies under the tutorship of Aristotle, he could not have attained the age specified by Apollodorus. If it be said, contrary to the most authentic records, that the Stagirite may not have commenced the instruction of Alexander until 341 B. C., it is replied that he had finished this instruction in 340, and it cannot be supposed that in a single year he had accomplished so much for his royal pupil, as he is represented to have done during his tutorship.

It has been already stated, that one of the reasons which induced Philip to select Aristotle as Alexander's tutor, may have been the early intimacy between the king and the Stagirite, when the two were boys together at the court of Pella; and another reason may have been that assigned by Cicero, the distinction which Aristotle acquired at the academy, particularly in his competition with Isocrates. The report of Hermippus, that Aristotle was sent by the Athenians on an embassy to Philip, and that he obtained for them the favors which they had desired; that he was also while at Athens in the habit of epistolary correspondence with the king, and had thereby rendered important services to his friends,—these and other circumstances indicate that the court of Macedon had been long disposed to honor the Stagirite. Aulus Gellius and Dio Chrysostom have preserved a letter, which the king is said to have written Aristotle, and from which the following is an extract. "I feel myself bound to thank the gods, not so much that a son is born to me, as that he is born in your day; for under your tuition he will become, I hope, worthy to succeed me in the government of Macedonia." St. Croix and other writers have denied the genuineness of this epistle; and some have supposed that if genuine, it is the letter by which Aristotle, thirteen years after the birth of Alexander, was invited to take immediate charge of the prince's education. But the whole style of the epistle evinces, that it was written in the early infancy of the prince. Why should Philip have announced to his friend, "Know that a son is born to me," when not only this friend must have known the fact thirteen years before, but even the whole nation and all

was but three years old at this time, such an assertion being contrary to the united testimony of other historians. See Morrison's *Ritter*, Vol. III. p. 8.

the surrounding countries must have been as familiar with the name of Alexander as with household words?

Why Aristotle was not actually employed in the education of the prince during the early childhood of the latter, we are not informed; but why he was not allowed to defer for a still longer period the duties, which had been proposed to him thirteen years before, may be more easily conjectured. The teachers of Alexander had now developed their incapacity to control him; and it thence became needful to secure some sagacious disciplinarian, who might save the boy from moral ruin. One of his former teachers was Leonidas, a near relative of Philip's wife Olympias, and a man of Spartan severity of manners. He was accustomed to search the prince's trunks and wardrobe, for the purpose of discovering any article of luxury or superfluity, that might be concealed amid his clothing; and when Ada, the queen of Caria, sent for his service some of her best cooks and bakers, he replied that "he had no need of them, for he had been supplied with better cooks by his tutor, Leonidas; a march before day, to to dress his dinner; and a light dinner, to prepare his supper." The influence of Leonidas tended to encourage a ferocity and roughness in the character of his pupil, and these faults, though buried for a season, were never entirely eradicated,¹ but sprung up again near the close of his life.

Lysimachus, the Acarnanian, had been another of Alexander's teachers. He was a flatterer, and offered the most ruinous adulation to his pupil. He was accustomed to call himself Phoenix; Alexander, Achilles; and Philip, Peleus. By such flatteries he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the court, but he contributed much to the strengthening of that self-willed and headstrong temper, that egotism and love of praise, by which the fame of the monarch has been so sadly tarnished. It is then not unnatural to surmise, that Philip perceiving the increase of his son's coarseness under the tutorship of the former teacher, and the increase of his son's obstinacy under the tutorship of the latter, felt the need of procuring without delay the services of the only man, who could control the imperious spirit of the prince.

No sooner was the Stagirite summoned to his high duties, than he gave a new proof of his amiable and benevolent tendencies. He exerted his influence with the court to procure the rebuilding of his native city Stagira, the restoration of the inhabitants who were in exile, and the redemption of those who had been

¹ Quint. Inst. Or. I. ch. 1. § 8, 9.

sold into slavery. It is thought by some, that he made the rebuilding of the city a condition of his accepting the tutorship proffered him by Philip. It is stated by others, that he obtained the desired favor not from Philip but from Alexander. This statement, however, is contrary to that of the most creditable authorities, and may be explained by the conjecture, that he was aided in his petitions to the father by the intercessions of the son. Valerius Maximus assigns this agency of Aristotle for the benefit of Stagira to a much later period, even to the old age of the philosopher; but Stagira was destroyed five years before Aristotle was invited to the tutorship of the prince, and why should he have neglected, during all his residence at Pella, the charity which, after the lapse of twenty years, must have lost so much of its interest to him? It is reported by some that Aristotle framed a code of laws for his native city, when it had been rebuilt; but it is so common for the ancients to ascribe the preparation of systems of law to such men as Aristotle, that we are not prepared to credit the report. Still it may be true. It seems probable that he established a school in the resuscitated city, and that his fellow citizens instituted a festival to his honor and called it, *Aristotelia*, after his name. They are also said to have assigned his name to one of the months of the year, perhaps the month of his birth, or according to Pseudo-Ammonius, that in which the festival occurred.¹ They denominated the month, *Ἀριστομένης*.

INFLUENCE OF ARISTOTLE OVER ALEXANDER.

The Stagirite found his pupil a rough and boisterous youth, more disposed to tame a Bucephalus than to cultivate letters, and fired with an ambition of conquest rather than a love for the arts of peace. But the keen-sighted philosopher had not studied the human mind in vain. He knew the sensibilities to which he could appeal for the introduction of a better discipline, and so skilfully did he adapt the influences of which he was master to the refining and humanizing of his pupil, that the spots of the leopard seemed for some time to have been nearly washed away. True, the improvement was not so radical as to be permanent, but a good, even if but temporary, is better than a continued evil. The crown-prince was so sensible of the benefits which he had received from the Stagirite, that he honored his teacher not less than he honored his father; for from Philip, he said, he received

¹ Vid. Arist. Vit. Auct. Ammon. Opp. Om. Arist. Edit. Buhle. p. 47.

life, but from Aristotle he received all that gave value to life. The remarkable talents, with which the prince had been endued by nature, were now applied to objects worthy of them. He studied history, logic, rhetoric, ethical and political philosophy. To the physical sciences, the favorite studies of his teacher, he devoted himself with singular ardor. He was so enthusiastic in his attention to medicine, that he derived pleasure even from the practice of the art. He became attached to the society of philosophers, and took a deep interest in philological and scientific discussions. He was so precocious, that probably before he entered upon his seventeenth year, he became enamored of the higher metaphysics, even the esoteric or acromatic mysteries of Aristotle. Aulus Gellius and Plutarch have recorded, that when the hero was in his Asiatic campaign, and immersed in his efforts for the subjugation of Persia, he addressed a letter to Aristotle, in which he complained that the philosopher had published his esoteric lectures, and had thus made known to the many what the ambitious hero had desired to retain, as the distinction of the few. But his teacher endeavored to subdue his agitation by assuring him, that the lectures "were published and not published;" that they were indeed communicated to the people, but still could not be understood without the oral comments of their author.

We are authorized to believe that Aristotle composed some volumes expressly for the personal use of his pupil; as the work *περὶ πρακτικῆς*, of which Diogenes Laërtius and Pseudo-Ammonius speak. It is also probable that he wrote for the prince, the outline and general principles of many other works, particularly on education, rhetoric, ethics, and politics. This outline he filled up during his leisure at Athens, and then published in their complete form the systems which he had used in compends for his pupil.

He also took pains to interest Alexander in the writings of the Greek poets. There are many indications of his success in this design. When the hero was occupied with the destruction of Thebes, he gave orders that the house of Pindar should be spared; for he had been inspired, as we may suppose, by the Pindaric odes for his martial exploits, and felt a consequent reverence for their author. When he was in his Asiatic campaign, he commissioned Harpalus to send him not only the works of the historian Philistus, but also the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles and Æschylus, and the dithyrambs of Telestes and Philoxenus. He preferred Euripides to all other tragedians, and had an enthusiastic admiration for Homer's Iliad. The exploits of Achilles

inspired him with new love of conquest. In his various campaigns he carried with him a copy of this Epic, which had been corrected for him by Aristotle himself. He placed it at night, according to Plutarch, by the side of his dagger under his pillow, and when it was disputed what use should be made of a splendid casket found among the spoils of Darius' camp, the conqueror ordered that it should be used as the depository of his favorite volume. Hence was this copy of the Iliad called *ἡ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου θηκος ἔκδοσις*, or *διόρθωσις*.

To the art of music also was Alexander not altogether inattentive under the guardianship of Aristotle; yet he made at this period of his life but little progress in the art, and had but little inclination for it. It was one of the Stagirite's principles, that the mind of a young student should be relieved occasionally by music, but not much occupied with it.

Plutarch supposes, that in his project of subduing the world, Alexander received more aid from Aristotle's instructions, than from all the means of conquest left him by Philip. John Von Müller,¹ says, "It is not improbable that Alexander designed to unite all the subjugated nations of the earth in one Grecian empire, and to raise them to the rank of civilized humanity. For this purpose, he sought to establish colonies, to intermingle different races, and to assimilate their manners. He wished also to accustom the inhabitants of different countries to regard each other as fellow citizens; and for this end to diffuse a common religion and to establish commercial intercourse. As a disciple of the generalizing Aristotle, Alexander had more of inclination and ability than other conquerors to enact general laws." But it is objected that the Stagirite had advised Alexander to conduct himself as a *commander*, *ἡγεμονικῶς*, with the Greeks, but as a *despot*, *δεσποτικῶς*, with the barbarians; and that according to his work on politics,² all who are not qualified for freedom should be held in slavery. How then could he design to diffuse among mankind a feeling of their common interests and common citizenship? The reply may be, that Aristotle justified slavery only where men were not qualified for any other state, and he might consistently recommend that all nations be amalgamated and united by a bond of brotherly love, just so far, and so fast, as they were fitted for such an exaltation. It cannot, indeed, be satisfactorily determined that Aristotle exerted any direct influence, in exciting Alexander to his schemes for conquering the world. He seems

¹ Allg. Geschich. Bd. I. § 160.

² B. III. ch. 9. l. ep. i. VII. ep. 6.

indeed to have inflamed the ambition of his pupil, and not to have guarded sufficiently against the evils which might ensue, from an attempt to gratify this ambition at any sacrifice, and from the satiety of it when the world had been vanquished. Hence the pupil was left without resources, after he had subdued all nations to himself, and he sunk into debauchery from the pinnacle of earthly greatness. We must indeed lament, that Aristotle had not discovered more of those principles of education which were so clearly unfolded in Greece but a few centuries after his death;¹ still we find much to admire in the refining and ennobling influences which he exerted over the prince. Had there been no Aristotle, there would have been no Alexander the Great. The remarkable enterprise, sharp-sightedness and magnanimity displayed by the youthful hero, the features of a liberal and delicate spirit which he often manifested, his high sense of honor, his reverence for the arts and sciences, the prudence and sound judgment with which he governed the nations that he had subdued, his wisdom in calling around him the fittest counsellors, in detecting the peculiar characteristics of his associates, and making the best use of the various materials which his warriors and statesmen afforded him,—all these attainments in the youthful monarch, who had been predisposed to little more than rude and boisterous sports, seem to justify the quaint epigram of Owen,

Maximus hic regum, doctissimus ille Sophorum,
Magnus Alexander, Major Aristoteles,
Doctus Alexandrum meliorem reddidit ille,
Non hic majorem magnus Aristotelem.

Doubtless through this single pupil has Aristotle exerted an influence over the world; and had he been known merely as the teacher of Alexander, he would have shared the immortality of the hero. But he has a distinct immortality of his own. He was a conqueror in the kingdom of science, subjecting to himself the do-

¹ In particular must we lament the disposition of Aristotle to flatter his pupil, with the intention, as it should seem, of elevating his taste above sordid vices. Thus according to Ælian, he strove to allay the most wayward propensities of the prince, by exciting the feeling of superiority to others; by saying, "The indulgence of vehement passions, and especially of anger, is appropriate only towards higher natures, not towards equals. But you have no equals." It must not be supposed, however, that he indulged in such flatteries, to the extent which has been charged upon him by Lucian and others. See St. Croix, *Ex. Crit.* pp. 203, 204. His adulation seems to have been, designedly, utilitarian.

main of ancient literature, extending this domain in all directions, giving it metes and bounds, dictating laws which were obeyed for almost twenty centuries, and even now have not entirely lost their authority. The dominion of his pupil endured, perceptibly, but for a few days, and over only a few nations; it was a dominion over the bodies of his subjects, retained by the sword and spear, and the traces of it are now in a measure lost; while the dominion of the teacher is felt at this day, and on this continent; it has been more despotic over mind, than Alexander's over matter; and posterity, in every succeeding age, will probably reap more of advantage and less of detriment from Aristotle's works, than has been thence derived in ages gone by.

**DURATION OF ARISTOTLE'S TUTORSHIP; PLACE OF HIS RESIDENCE;
HIS OTHER PUPILS; HIS DEPARTURE TO ATHENS; STATE OF HIS
FAMILY.**

The influence of Aristotle over his pupil appears the more remarkable, when we consider the shortness of the period in which it was exerted. He remained in Macedonia eight years, from 343 to 335 B. C. But in 340, Philip marched against Byzantium, and his son was called from his studies to conduct, for a time, the government of the empire. During this regency he was engaged in founding a city which was to bear his name, and also in subduing, by arms, the rebellion of some of his subjects. He could not, being a youth of sixteen, have combined philosophical researches with political engagements so important and absorbing. Soon afterwards we find him aiding Philip in the subjugation of Greece, fighting among the foremost at Chæronea. In 336 B. C. he ascended the throne of his deceased father; and having only reached his twentieth year, he cannot be supposed to have retained his literary habits, amid the excitement of his honors and especially his wars. Doubtless he often refreshed his mind by intercourse with his teacher, and enjoyed the benefit of Aristotle's general superintendence; but this is a different thing from a close and systematic attention to books and lectures. He could not have continued his regular application to study after the year 340 B. C., and therefore could not have received the systematic instructions of Aristotle more than four years; perhaps not much more than three.

Aristotle remained almost a twelvemonth in Macedonia, after his precocious disciple had ascended the throne. But before Alexander's march into Asia, in 335 or the spring of 334 B. C., he

had left the empire. It has been a matter of dispute, in what part of the kingdom he resided during, as well as after, his intimate connection with the crown-prince. Buhle conjectures that his home was at Stagira in the Nymphæum, and that this gymnasium was erected by Philip expressly for the residence of Aristotle and Alexander. The latter statement is favored by Plutarch; but still neither the city nor the Nymphæum were built when the Stagirite commenced the education of the heir-apparent; and we learn from an epigram of Theocritus of Chios, that Pella was the residence of Aristotle, some time at least after his departure from Mysia. This epigram describes the philosopher as in the academy at the mouth of the Borborus; and such was the name of a stream that flowed near the seat of the Macedonian court. Subsequently, however, when Stagira was rebuilt, Aristotle seems to have removed his residence thither. He would naturally desire to study and to teach in the retirement of such a gymnasium, rather than amid the tumults of the court. Plutarch informs us that in his own day the stone seats of Aristotle in the Nymphæum, and his shady walks were shown to the visitor. Aristotle himself, too, is thought by some to confirm the supposition, that he spent at least one part of this period in his native city; for he is quoted in the work of Tiberius de Elocutione, § 29, as saying, "I went from Athens to Stagira on account of the great king, and from Stagira to Athens on account of the great tempest."

At the same time with Alexander he instructed Theophrastus, Callisthenes, and Marsyas of Pella. The expression which Plato made in reference to the Stagirite and Xenocrates, that the former needed the bridle and the latter the spur, is also said to have been made by Aristotle in reference to Theophrastus and Callisthenes. The former was personally known and esteemed by Philip, and was greatly beloved by Aristotle. His native city, Eressus, when threatened by Alexander, was saved from ruin by the intercessions of the Stagirite.¹ Callisthenes was a relative of Aristotle. He accompanied Alexander in his marches, partly for the purpose of giving him advice when needed, and partly for the purpose of writing a history of the hero's exploits. Marsyas was brother of the king Antigonus, was both an author and a warrior. He composed a work on the education of Alexander, under whom he had served as a general. In this work, which is now lost, doubtless much was recorded of especial interest in relation to Aristotle.

After the heir-apparent had left the Nymphæum, he may have

¹ Diogenes Laërtius, *Opp. Om. Arist.* p. 47.

often visited his teacher at Stagira, but his teacher never seems to have visited him at Pella. Family dissensions had made the residence of the king unpleasant to a guest. Philip was soon assassinated; Alexander began to equip his forces for the conquest of Persia; Callisthenes had departed from Stagira, that he might share with his fellow pupil the hazards of war; and Aristotle sighed for the literary atmosphere of Athens. He was solicited by the Athenians to resume his residence in their city, according to the testimony of Diogenes Laërtius,¹ who adds that the Stagirite united with Xenocrates in the superintendence of the academy. This addition is doubtless false; but the report that the Athenians requested the philosopher's return to their city is not improbable. He had been their benefactor; and by his influence over the hero of Macedon, he might again promote their interests. It were natural for them to welcome within their walls the first philosopher of the age; and we accordingly find that this philosopher began his second residence at Athens in the year 335 B. C.

It is thought that some time during his residence in Macedonia, and perhaps near its close, Aristotle was called to mourn the death of Pythias. He was left with one daughter, who bore her mother's name, and survived both her parents. This daughter was thrice married; first, in compliance with her father's will, to Nicanor, the son of Proxenus and adopted son of Aristotle; secondly, to Proclus, a descendant of the Spartan king Demaratus, by whom she had two sons, Proclus and Demaratus, both eminent Peripatetics, and pupils of Theophrastus; and thirdly, to the physician Metrodorus, by whom she became the mother of a son, named Aristotle. After the decease of his wife, the philosopher lived with Herpyllis, formerly a slave of Pythias. In what relation he stood to her is doubtful. Some suppose it to have been the state of a left-handed marriage, such as was authorized by the laws of Greece between persons belonging to different kingdoms. This kind of marriage was called semi-matrimonium, and conjugium inaequale among the Romans, and was recognized as legal even so late as in the laws of Constantine and Justinian. But that the Stagirite was ever thus united with Herpyllis is not expressly stated by historians.² He is nowhere censured on account of his relationship with her, which seems to have been something accordant with the spirit of his age; and in his testament he honors

¹ Vit. Arist. Opp. Om. B. I. p. 47.

² She is called the *παλλαξ* of Aristotle; and this term was often used in a sense not dishonorable, before the spread of Christianity.

her memory with the apparent consciousness of his own innocence in regard to her. She was the mother of his son Nicomachus, who was educated by Theophrastus, and to whose memory that philosopher ordered, in his last will, a statue to be erected. This son is said, by Aristocles, to have died young in war; but by others to have published some valuable philosophical works. Suidas ascribes to him six books on ethics, a fragment of which Diogenes Laërtius has preserved. Cicero pronounces him to be the author of the Nicomachean Ethics, which are, however, generally and correctly attributed to his father.

SECOND RESIDENCE OF ARISTOTLE IN ATHENS; HIS LITERARY OCCUPATIONS.

Speusippus having named Xenocrates as his successor and that of Plato in the academy, it became necessary for Aristotle to select a new position for his residence and school. He accordingly repaired to the Lyceum, in the vicinity of which had been, in former days, the parade-ground of the soldiers.

This spot was called the lyceum from its proximity to the neighboring temple of the Lycean Apollo. It was surrounded with shady walks, *περίπατοις*; but it was not on this account, as some have imagined, that the followers of the Stagirite were called Peripatetics; for the ancient philosophers, in general, selected such dwelling-places as were surrounded with pleasure-grounds; and the lyceum was not, in this respect, distinguished from the academy. Neither did the name Peripatetic originate from the circumstance assigned by Diogenes, that while Aristotle was connected with Alexander, and the pupil was recovering from sickness, and needed the exercise of walking for the benefit of his health, the teacher imparted his instructions during the time of this exercise. But the origin of the name is that assigned by Cicero,¹ "Qui erant cum Aristotele Peripatetici dicti sunt, quia disputabant inambulantes in Lycio." Most teachers, though not all, were accustomed to deliver their instructions in a sitting posture; why Aristotle chose to walk backwards and forwards during his lectures, we know not. It is conjectured by some that his feeble health required such a movement to and fro. He met his pupils twice in the day, morning and evening. Aulus Gellius distinguishes the two lectures by the names morning and evening walk, *ἑωθινὸς* and *δελρινὸς περίπατος*.

¹ Academicor. I. 4. 17.

Our philosopher is said by Diogenes to have adopted in the lyceum the same practice, which Xenocrates had adopted in the academy, that of appointing one of the pupils to preside over the school for ten days, and then to be succeeded by another. Many surmise that the president (*ἀρχων*), thus selected, was obliged to defend some previously assigned thesis against all the objections, which were alleged by his fellow-pupils; and that after having been, for ten days, the single antagonist of the whole lyceum, he came down from his elevation, and united with his comrades in a similar contest with another president. We are aware that skill in debate was a favorite attainment in the school of the Stagirite, that he disciplined his pupils rigidly and systematically to the art of extemporaneous and independent thought; and hence it is by no means a groundless conjecture, that he adopted the above-named practice of disputation, a practice which was long preserved in the universities of Europe, and some remains of which exist at the present time. We are also aware that Aristotle, when lecturing in rivalry with Isocrates, held certain exercises with his pupils for the purpose of promoting rhetorical skill, and these may have been of the same kind with the discussions at the lyceum.

Still, we can pronounce no definite opinion with regard to the design of this system of rotatory presidency and self-government; nor can we decide whether it were adopted for all the pupils, or only, as some conjecture, for the more accomplished of them. It is well known that Aristotle, like other teachers of antiquity, divided his hearers into two classes, the more and the less advanced. The former attended him in his morning walk; all attended him in the evening. To the former he lectured on the deeper and more abstruse parts of science; to the latter, in the presence of the former also, he discoursed on the less difficult subjects of study. Hence he divided his philosophical books into the esoteric or acroamatic and the exoteric; the former defining the nature of things, and including the more fundamental parts of natural philosophy, of dialectics and theology; the latter delineating the circumstances and forms of truth, and embracing the simpler elements of logic, rhetoric, and politics.¹ The circle which heard the acroamatic instructions was, of course, smaller and more select than that

¹ Vid. Buhle, *De Libris Arist. Exot. et Acroamat.* Opp. Om. T. I. p. 152. Ritter supposes, that the acroamatic instructions of Aristotle were philosophical in their nature and arrangement; whereas, the exoteric were general, and designed chiefly to enable his pupils to form a judgment of learned works; see Ritter's *Hist.* Vol. III. p. 21.

which heard merely the exoteric, and was favored with some peculiar privileges.

One of these privileges was, that of enjoying the social entertainments which Aristotle often gave to his literary friends, and of interchanging their philosophical opinions with freedom and vivacity, amid the festivities of the table. The effect of such banquets was to humanize the manners, and develop the social affections of men, who without such an influence were prone to contract a coarse and cynical habit of feeling as well as acting. For these scholastic festivities, Aristotle, as also Xenocrates, issued formal written laws, (*νόμοι συμποσιακοί*), which took cognizance of even the minutest details of etiquette. One of these codes is preserved by Athenaeus, and indicates the solicitude of the logician in reference to the demeanor of his pupils. Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor in the lyceum, bequeathed a sum of money for the purpose of defraying the expenses of such entertainments after his death. They were continued a long time at Athens; but at length lost their intellectual character and degenerated into scenes of debauchery.

Some assert, that Aristotle discarded altogether from the lyceum the method of teaching by question and answer, and introduced that of systematic and formal lectures. Buhle supposes, that the regular lecture was delivered in the morning, and the Socratic plan adopted for the evening. It should seem, however, that the conversational mode were better fitted for the select circle, than for the promiscuous evening assemblage. It may indeed be doubted, whether the Socratic method were entirely abandoned either in the exoteric or esoteric instructions. That method was so harmonious with the Grecian character, was so inspiring to a pupil who loves to have an independent activity in his search of truth, that it may have been to some extent intermingled with the new plan of Aristotle. We cannot suppose that this philosopher adopted the *ex cathedra* style of modern professors; a style which has indeed its advantages, but tends to allay the inquisitiveness of the youthful mind, and to make a copyist of one who was intended for an investigator. The want of talent for extemporaneous discussion is one of the apologies for the modern system, when adopted to the exclusion of the Socratic; but it is an apology which was seldom heard of among the ancient sages, and probably no such want was felt by Aristotle.

The second residence of our philosopher in Athens, commencing with the second year of the one hundred and eleventh Olym-

piad, ended with the third year of the one hundred and fourteenth. During this period he published the greater part of his works. He was essentially aided, in his search as well as communication of truth, by the munificence of his pupil Alexander. This prince is said by Athenaeus to have given Aristotle eight hundred talents, nearly a million of dollars. Such a report would appear improbable, did we not know, that by his conquest of Persia Alexander came in possession of treasures, from which it would be a relief rather than a sacrifice to impart so large a sum to his instructor. By such funds, united with those bequeathed him by his father, and with those which he may have earned by his lectures, Aristotle was enabled to procure a literary apparatus unequalled in his day. He purchased a library, which opened to him sources of information inaccessible to his predecessors. It breathed into him a literary spirit, which a secluded student can seldom attain. His was a systematizing genius, and this extensive collection of the works of others presented the materials for compact and well-ordered sciences. Without his familiarity with the false as well as true theories of preceding scholars, he could not have constructed those substantial systems of philosophy, which have been text-books for so many centuries. And without the benefactions of his affluent pupil, he could not have obtained access to such a collection of literary treasures. For the writings of Philolaus alone Plato was obliged to pay a hundred minae, or according to another account, three Attic talents, that is, either about 2000 or about 3500 dollars. Such a library then as Aristotle's, is a monument of the indebtedness of literature to the beneficence of affluent men.

Nothing, however, gives us a loftier idea of the advantages which learning derives from wealth, than the aid which Aristotle received from his pupil in prosecuting his investigations in physics and natural history. The elder Pliny informs us,¹ that Alexander, himself an enthusiastic student of nature, ordered some thousands of men to give their aid to Aristotle, summo in omni scientia viro, and bring before him specimens of all the animals, which they could find by hunting, fishing, fowling; of all which were preserved in parks, fields, ponds, aviaries and apiaries; so that nothing which was to be found in the whole world should be unknown to him. Thus were amassed the materials for almost fifty volumes, which according to Pliny he published concerning animals. The difficulty of communication, at that early period,

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. VIII. 17.

between Athens and the remote regions from which these specimens were brought, must have swelled the expenses of the transportation more than we can easily estimate.

In reducing to system the immense mass of materials which the royal bounty had thus laid at his feet, Aristotle may have availed himself of foreign aid, particularly that of Theophrastus, of some other pupils in the lyceum, and of his educated slaves. Still he must himself have superintended their labors, corrected their processes, verified their results. His industry seems to have equalled his genius; for these extensive researches were made in conjunction with diversified duties in other departments of science, and with the management of the most important school then in the world. In the short space of thirteen years, and with a feeble bodily constitution were these exploits achieved, and their results given to the public. The scholar too, who thus toiled, had been an inmate of the most splendid courts on earth, and might have lived in affluent ease, had he not chosen to endure the severities of original research.

It must of course be understood, that many of the volumes, which Aristotle published during this period, had been the subject of severe previous study. He had expended much labor while in Macedonia on his *History of Animals*. He received, as *Ælian* relates, large sums of money from Philip for the promotion of physical science. This money was partly expended in completing the philosopher's museum of natural history. The time which he passed in Stagira, after Alexander had left him, is thought to have been devoted to the examining and the perfecting of this museum; and he had at this time so much power over the heart and the treasury of Philip, that he allowed no interest of science to suffer through want of gold. Still, all the labors which he performed at this early period must have undergone a revision, and received their finish at Athens, when the liberality of Alexander had surpassed even that of his father in enlarging the apparatus for scientific research.

The first half of Aristotle's second residence at Athens was the culminating point of his life. No philosopher, perhaps, either before or since his day, has attained so high a degree of relative prosperity. With a consciousness of possessing a creative talent, and almost universal learning, he united the assurance that he should want no means of scientific progress, which regal generosity could present to him. The value of this assurance can be well estimated by the literati in a republic, from their experience

of the want of it. His fame had now extended over the whole learned world. Among his pupils was one to whom the nations paid homage, and who in his turn, cast many of his honors at the feet of the sage, who had transformed him from a boisterous rioter into a friend of philosophy. For a long time had this sage been the victim of envy, but now he was raised above the reach of his inferiors. He had been obnoxious as a Macedonian to the men of Athens; but now the Macedonian party was triumphant, and he enjoyed the smiles of popular approbation. At the centre of Grecian refinement, he was surrounded with pupils who revered him as their father, and his lyceum was the resort of scholars from all quarters of the civilized world.

ARISTOTLE IN SOCIETY.—HIS HABITS OF CONVERSATION.

We have already spoken of the symposium, which our philosopher instituted for his pupils and literary friends. At this feast of reason were often assembled his acroamatic disciples, such as Theophrastus, Eudemus the Rhodian, Phantias, Aristoxenus of Tarentum, Dicaearchus, Theodectes, Clearchus, Jerome of Rhodes, Heraclides Ponticus, Meno, Echechratides, Adrastus of Macedon, Eurytheus, Pasocrates, and others. Interesting indeed were such interviews, especially if Xenocrates, Diogenes, Demosthenes and other illustrious contemporaries ever blended their fascinations with those of the master of the feast. It has been surmised, that what with Aristotle's laboring accent, and what with his abstractness of mind, he was but a sorry member of a conversing club. Many, who consider his intellect to be the greatest which a man ever received from his Maker, think also that it absorbed all other portions of his being, except a withered body; that it changed him into a kind of exsiccated monster, a petrification of an enthymeme. But an enlarged view of human nature shows us that monsters have their dwelling-place in our prejudices, oftener than in the outward world. There is sterling truth in the remark of Lady Montague, who said that she had travelled much among the nations, and found that all of our race are men and women. The father of metaphysics was not bereft of his social sensibilities, but appears to have been as popular in his address and even convivial in his habits, as is seemly for a doctor in the schools. We have seen that he was censured by Plato for loquacity; and Ælian charges the same fault upon him. But freeness of speech, in a man of his various reading and observation, must be more useful

to the listeners than disgraceful to the talker. Plutarch, in his comparison between Aristides and Cato, commends the eloquence of the latter, and adds, "For Antipater bestowed the same encomium upon Aristotle the philosopher, in what he wrote concerning him after his death, that among his other qualities he had the very extraordinary one of persuading people to whatever he pleased." Also in his life of Coriolanus, Plutarch gives the following extract from Antipater's letters; "That great man (the Stagirite) besides his other extraordinary talents, had the art of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with."

From the style in which Aristotle wrote, one might infer that the character of his conversation was apothegmatical; exhibiting not so much an easy flow of remark, as a condensed energy, raciness, pith. The subjoined quotation from Diogenes Laërtius illustrates the idea, which the writings of our philosopher would give of his private converse. The expressions which are here ascribed to him were probably reported by his earlier biographers. Some of them, however, are found in his existing works. "Many of the finest apothegms," says Diogenes,¹ "are traced back to his authorship. Being asked, What is the gain derived from mendacity, he answered, That of not being believed when one speaks the truth. He was once reproved for bestowing alms on a bad man, and he retorted, I showed him favor, not because he was bad; but because he was a man. [This translation does not give the spirit of the original, οὐ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡλέησα. A similar paronomasia occurs in another retort, given by Aristotle on a like occasion, οὐ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔδωκα, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ.—Tr.] Among his friends and disciples and wherever he was, he was wont to say, As the eye receives light from the circumambient air, so does the mind from learning. Often, contending against the Athenians,² he observed, They have both wheat and laws; the wheat they make use of, the laws not. He remarked of education, Its roots are bitter; its fruits sweet. Being asked, What soon grows old? Gratitude, was his reply. To the question, What is hope, he answered, The dream of a man awake. Diogenes once offered him a fig, and had prepared a pithy retort for him, in event of his declining to accept it. Aristotle, apprized of the design, took the fruit, saying, Now has Diogenes lost both his retort and his fig. At another time when the cynic offered a

¹ Arist. Vit. pp. 15—19.

² He disliked the democracy of the Athenians, and often expressed his disapproval in such innuendoes.

fig to him, he took it in his hand, held it up as a child would do, cried out, Great Diogenes, and then returned it to the giver. Three things, he remarked, are needful for becoming a learned man, talents, instruction, practice. Having heard that he had been reviled by a certain one, he exclaimed, Let them scourge me, while I am absent from them.—When asked, What is the difference between the learned and the unlearned, he replied, The same as between the living and the dead. In prosperity, he said, is learning an ornament; in adversity, a refuge. To the question, What is a friend? he answered, One soul dwelling in two bodies. Some men, he remarked, live as sparingly as if they were never to die, others, as prodigally, as if they were to live no longer. To the question, Why do we love to converse with beautiful persons, he replied, It is the question of a blind man. What good have you received from philosophy? was once asked him, and he responded, I have learned to do of my free will, what others do through dread of the laws. How may learners make the greatest progress, was another question which he answered thus, By following those who go before, and not waiting for those who come after. To a loquacious man who had poured forth many words in his presence, and then inquired, Have I not wearied you, he replied, *Mà Ai'* no, I have not been listening to you.—To the query, How ought we to treat our friends, his response was, As we wish them to treat us." The last is one among the many *morceaux* of this heathen sage, in which he feebly anticipates the wisdom of an after time.

[To be concluded in the next Number of the Review.]

ARTICLE III.

INTERPRETATION OF THE NUMBER 666 (ϡϡϡ) IN THE APOCALYPSE (13: 18)
AND THE VARIOUS READING 616 (ϡιϡ).

By Ferdinand Bönary, Professor of Theology in the Frederic-William University, Berlin.
Translated from the "Zeitschrift für speculative Theologie," 1836. Vol. I. Part II. By Rev.
Henry Boynton Smith, West Amesbury, Ms.

AFTER the almost innumerable interpretations and applications which the "*number of the beast*," (*ἀριθμὸς τοῦ θηρίου*) has received since the earliest Christian antiquity, from Irenæus to our own

times, it may appear difficult, if not impossible, to succeed in a new attempt. Many may think it only a fruitless task. But, so long as we have not a satisfactory interpretation, the introductory challenge of the author of the Apocalypse, "*Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast,*" still sounds as a living warning in our ears. Hence the diligent reader, and, above all, the careful interpreter, will ever feel himself impelled anew to the solution of the proposed problem; and this feeling should be strong in proportion to the importance of such a solution to the right understanding of the whole book. The later commentaries have made a great advance towards a correct interpretation of this part of Scripture.

It is not necessary to give the many unsuccessful interpretations of this passage, as preliminary to the exhibition of our own views. J. C. Wolf, and the works which he cites, as well as Hartwig and Heinrichs, give a very copious, although somewhat incomplete register of them. We will begin at once, from what we consider the correct position of the matter, as Ewald has stated it. He justly remarks, that the general application of the number presents no difficulty; for, the name of a Roman emperor, perhaps of Nero himself, must necessarily be contained in it. But there is a two-fold difficulty attending the elimination of the *definite* name. For, in the first place, the reading is questionable, as is well known. Irenaeus found not only the common reading, 666, but also the number 616. And, secondly, it may be questioned, whether John based himself upon the Hebrew or the Greek language; and, hence, in determining the number, $\chi\epsilon\varsigma'$ or $\chi\iota\varsigma'$, whether we are to make use of the numerical value of the letters of the one alphabet or of the other. On this account, Ewald has reduced the choice to only two interpretations; which he, at the same time, divides between the two readings and languages. 1. According to the usual reading, and the value of the letters in the Greek language, we have, *Ααρειρος*, that is, $30+1+300+5+10+50+70+200=666$. This, as is well known, is the interpretation given by Irenaeus. 2. According to the other reading, and the value of the letters in Hebrew, we have, קיסר רומ *Caesar Romae*, [Emperor of Rome,] that is, $100+10+60+200$ and $200+6+40=616$.

Considering for a moment, these two interpretations, apart from the reading, we think that the second is to be unhesitatingly preferred. For, in general, it seems improbable, that an artificial designation, current only among the Jews, should be reckoned in the Apocalypse by the value of the letters in a strange language. Ev-

ery interpretation, then, is to be rejected, which is based upon any other value of the letters, than that which they have in the Hebrew language. A special reason against the first interpretation is also to be found in the vagueness of the designation—Latin; for, in the number, as must be acknowledged, is intended to be concealed a designation of an individual, as definite as possible.

The second interpretation, Caesar Romae, that is (Caesar being taken as the designation of the imperial rank) emperor of Rome, comes nearer to satisfying this intention. But it presupposes the correctness of the reading, 616; and rejects the usual reading, 666, which Irenaeus found in all the ancient and exact manuscripts. And it rejects this reading as spurious, on almost the same grounds, on which it is received as genuine in the first interpretation; that is, that it originated in the desire to get a round number.

Our own interpretation is as follows. In the number, we have the value of the letters in Hebrew, that form the name of Nero himself, as this is given in the Talmud, and other rabbinical writings: $\text{נֶרֹו קֶסֶר} = 50 + 200 + 6 + 50$ and $100 + 60 + 200 = 666$. And when we add, that along with the Grecian and Hebrew pronunciation of his name, the shorter Roman pronunciation also existed, Nero Caesar, and that this, in Hebrew, is written $\text{נֶרֹו קֶסֶר} = 50 + 200 + 6$ and $100 + 6 + 200$, which together make up 616; the ancient various reading is also entirely accounted for.

The correctness of this interpretation has, thus, a double voucher.

ARTICLE IV.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW.

By Dr. C. A. Harless, Professor of Theology in Erlangen, Bavaria. Translated by Rev. Henry Boynton Smith, West Amesbury, Ms.

[The following dissertation was published, as a University Programm, at Erlangen, in 1842. Its author is principally known by his elaborate Commentary upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, which appeared in 1834. This has been cited, even by German critics, as being the model of a commentary. And it is no less dis-

¹ The fuller form, נֶרֹו קֶסֶר , is usually found in Jewish writings; e. g. Thalm. Bab. Gittin. Fol. 56 a. But this comes from the same effort to be clear, which makes them, in the same place, put נֶרֹו קֶסֶר for נֶרֹו קֶסֶר , etc.

tinguished for its orthodox character, than for its logical and philosophical acumen. In 1842, Dr. Harless also published a system of Christian Ethics, which in four months came to a second edition. He is likewise the editor of an able periodical, devoted to the interests of "Protestantism and the Church."

The essay here translated, is the second of a series. The first is chiefly occupied with a discussion of the famous passage from Papias, so often cited in favor of a supposed Hebrew original to the Gospel of Matthew. The subsequent numbers, not yet published, are to be devoted to an "exposition of the difference between the leading idea of Matthew and that of the other evangelists; and to the arguments which may thence be derived for the general nature and truth of the evangelical history."

The whole question of the authenticity of the canonical gospels is now undergoing the severest scrutiny from German theologians. Most of the recent criticisms move within the sphere of two false hypotheses. The one is, that the evangelists copied from each other. Here the question remains, which is the original gospel? Each one has its advocates. The other hypothesis is, that they have all re-written some original gospel, or gospels, now lost. Either of these theories might explain the coincidences, but neither of them explains the diversities of the evangelical narrations; and both deny the independent validity of the four witnesses.

If now, the coincidences of the Gospels may be sufficiently explained by their having the same subject-matter; and their diversities, by the different leading purpose of each evangelist; and if such a distinct leading idea can be traced through each, so that he shall be thus proved an independent witness; then all tolerable basis, derived from internal evidence, for either of the above theories, will be taken away.

The chief value of the following dissertation, is the attempt to show that the first canonical gospel is constructed according to a legitimate and definite design.—*Tr.*]

SOME deny the authenticity of the Gospel according to Matthew, on the ground of external testimony. This error, upon a previous occasion, we have endeavored to refute.¹ But in determining the whole question of authenticity, our decision should be based, not

¹ In a university Programm, published on the day that commemorates the nativity of Jesus Christ, "ubi de fabula agitur, quam secuti Matthaeum librum suum Syro-Chaldaice scripsisse perhibent." Erlangen, 1841.

only upon the testimony of witnesses, but also upon the nature and characteristics of the book itself. The signs of its origin should be seen impressed upon its very face. But that the Gospel called by the name of Matthew, is deficient in these signs, is virtually affirmed by all, who with Schleiermacher, Lachmann and others maintain, "that this book was at first made up of a collection of the sermons of our Lord Jesus Christ, into which other narratives were afterwards interpolated." Such a statement can be grounded only upon one of two positions; either that the narrations in the book do not proceed in a methodical way; or, that the events are described with a marked difference in style and language. And since there are, confessedly, no dissimilarities in style, the only ground left for the inference, that this Gospel is the work of several authors, must be a supposed deficiency in that consecutiveness and arrangement, by which we recognize any work as the composition of one author and the same mind.

But, now, it must needs be confessed, that this same gospel of Matthew is justified and lauded by some theologians, in the very respects in which it is blamed by others. It is not a little remarkable, that a book, which some critics describe as a confused medley, is especially signalized by others for the very reason, that the author goes on in a methodical course, arranges everything well; and, having a definite object in view, accurately recounts, if we may so say, the ebb and flow of the whole history.¹ Now, that a book should be highly eulogized by one for the possession of a given quality, and blamed by another for defect in the same quality, is explicable only on the supposition, that theologians are not agreed as to the meaning of the terms of the inquiry—what is the proper arrangement to which a canonical author should adhere in the narration of events. So far from straining every nerve, to prevent a surreptitious application of any other arrangement, than that which the *author* himself intended, and which the *rationale* of the book demands; it seems to have been thought sufficient, in passing judgment upon the Evangelists, to follow the general norm of

¹ While many agree in giving this praise, they disagree in defining the mode in which the author has accomplished his object. Among the more recent writers, may be compared, Credner, "Einleit. in das N. T. Th. I., S. 60—68;" Schneckenburger, "Ueber den Ursprung des ersten kanon. Evangel. Stuttg. 1834. S. 100;" Kern, "Ueber den Ursprung des Evangel. Matthaei. Tübing. 1834. S. 42;" a little work by Schlichthorst, "Ueber das Verhältniss der drei synopt. Evang. u. s. w. Gött. 1835; and the remarks of Ebrard, in his "Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte u. s. w. Erste Lieferung. Frankf. a. M. 1842. S. 76 fgg."

historical compositions; and, according to this rule, to decide, which one of the canonical authors has best unfolded the whole subject—which one is more copious, and which more chary in handing down and describing events—which has adhered to and which abandoned the chronological order—or, generally speaking, which has discharged his functions as an historian, better or worse, according to the current notion of the proper rule and method. Thus, by putting the apostles and witnesses of Christ, upon the same level with the writers of annals, and measuring the apostolical method by the profane method, the whole subject has been weighed, not by its own, but by a foreign standard.

Assuredly, so long as critical men proceed in such devious ways, so long we must despair of coming to an agreement about the true nature and dignity of the gospels.¹

A proper discussion of the subject demands, that in instituting an investigation respecting the whole evangelical narration, or the individual authors, we should first of all diligently seek for the original conception or leading idea, which the author had in his own mind, and the mode in which, in his writings, he has intended to express this conception. Thus, in the separate parts, peculiar to each author, we may be able to distinguish that special conformation of the members and that distinct arrangement of the lineaments, by which the writer has endeavored to give, as it were, an express image of the idea he had framed in his own mind. For although the Evangelists may not have handed down, what things they saw and heard, according to the rules of art, or the historical method, yet each of them clearly gives the definite reason, which induced him to construct his Gospel in the particular form in which it is given to us.

We proceed now to the investigation of the applicability of these positions to the *Gospel of Matthew*. For if this book is constructed according to a leading idea, it will at least establish the position, that it can have only *one author*.

There is one circumstance apparent at the first glance, which ought not to be passed by in silence, though it may seem of minor importance. The whole book is distributed into distinct members, of which the *commisures* and joints may be detected in the phrases, where the author, speaking in general terms and wider propositions, either ends or begins the narration of particular events. By a due observance of these, we can distinguish *five*

¹ This point has been well discussed by Ebrard, in the work above cited.

parts in the whole Gospel. The **FIRST PART** ends at the close of the fourth chapter. The author, having previously described the birth, the infancy, the baptism and the public teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ, concludes this portion by the words in the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and fifth verses. Here, in general terms, he certifies to the readers, that Jesus Christ went about all Galilee, great multitudes of people following him, and his fame daily increasing; teaching in the synagogues, announcing the coming of the kingdom of God, and healing all manner of sickness. In like manner, we find the end of the **SECOND PART** indicated in the ninth chapter, in the words from the thirty-fifth verse to the thirty-eighth, where we are told that our Lord, "going about all the cities and villages, teaching in the synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people," saw their wretched condition, and the extreme need of divine assistance to relieve so much misery. For the author, having in these words concisely summed up the state of the case, pauses a while, as it were, that he may incite the mind of the reader to the recollection of what has gone before, as well as to the expectation of what is to follow. In almost the same fashion, the words in the last four verses of the fourteenth chapter denote the end of the **THIRD PART**. The author, having shown at some length, that although Jesus, by his divine works, had approved himself divinely commissioned for his office, he was nevertheless exposed to the wiles and machinations of enemies, here declares, in general terms, with how much love and faith the inhabitants of the land of Gennesaret received him; how they sent into all the country, and brought to him all that were diseased, and that great numbers "who touched but the hem of his garment were made perfectly whole." Not less pertinent are the words in the nineteenth chapter, the first and second verses, where we are told, as if in a summary, how great crowds followed Jesus when he departed from the borders of Galilee; and how many sick he cured in the province of Judea. In these passages, the author, interrupting the series of particular narratives, and comprising much in a few words, pauses, that his readers may see in these words, that one stage of the narrative is closed, and that an introduction to what follows is carefully prepared. Therefore we shall not err in saying, that, in this passage of the nineteenth chapter, the **FOURTH PART** is so concluded that the author may, at the same time, pass over to the last portion of the history. This portion, then, is so arranged, that what our Lord did before his entrance, in solemn pomp,

into Jerusalem, is separated by the words in the twentieth chapter, the seventeenth and following verses, from what he afterwards achieved in words and deeds, in his death and his resurrection. These last things are narrated in the concluding portion of the book, from the twenty-first chapter to the twenty-eighth.

But if we would make a just conclusion from what we have thus far discussed, we must inquire more particularly, whether it was by design or by accident, that those passages were written, from which we have inferred that the book was composed by one author, in a definite method, if we may so say, in distinct members. And this can only be accomplished, by seeing whether these supposed ligaments of the narration cohere most fitly with the whole course of the story, and with the matter and arrangement of the whole book. That this is so, we think can be demonstrated by a more accurate investigation of the features of the gospel.

In ancient times it was correctly acknowledged, that what the author had chiefly in view in the composition of our gospel, was sufficiently evident from the words which stand as an inscription to the book. "*The gospel according to Matthew*," says Irenaeus, "was written for the Jews; for they desired most earnestly a Christ from the seed of David. Matthew, having this same desire in still greater intensity, strives in every way to lead them to an entire conviction that *the Christ was from the seed of David*," etc.¹ Now, although the book takes a much wider range, yet its general design may be not inaptly inferred from its inscription; *βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ*. Beyond all controversy, the writer here means to assert, that he could demonstrate, that all things which the Israelites had been divinely taught to hope and expect, God had already made present and manifest in this Jesus, the offspring of David and Abraham. With this in view, beginning with the Davidic extraction of the Lord, he so describes his course of life, as to include the words and deeds, by which he proved his origin and mission to be divine, from his birth, to the moment of time, when being about to leave the world, he declares, in the most solemn manner, that all power is given to him in heaven and in earth. That the more frequent citation of the prophecies of the Old Testament in this Gospel, agrees well with its peculiar characteristics, many writers have seen and excellently said. Fewer seem to have understood, that

¹ See Irenaei fragment. e Possini catena patrum in Matth. cap. 1 et 3. p. 3 et 39. coll. Iren. Opp. ed. Massuet. Paris. 1710 fol. T. 1. p. 347.

it would have been inconsistent with the design of the author in giving a narrative of the deeds of our Lord, to follow out the course of his whole life, or hand down in exact chronological order, the events of every day or year.¹ And, in fine, what is of chief importance, very few seem to have clearly seen, correctly defined or satisfactorily proved, that although the author does not assume the character of a historical narrator, he has nevertheless distributed and arranged his materials according to an appropriate scheme, peculiar to himself.

If we see aright, Matthew makes the sum of the whole matter, upon which the progress and process of his narrative depend, to consist in this; he will show his readers, that the very works by which Jesus proved himself a defender of the ancient truth, and fulfilled the promises of the Old Testament, WERE IN DIRECT CONTRAST WITH THAT PERVERSE DISPOSITION, WITH WHICH THE ISRAELITES WERE THEN INFECTED. And hence the same divine majesty in doctrine and deeds which extorted the admiration of some, would arouse the deadly hatred of others; and this would be increased in proportion to the authority and estimation which Jesus might have among the people, and in proportion to his open rebukes of the depraved customs and opinions of the people and their teachers, and to his disclosure of those divine mysteries which were repugnant to them. And this was the reason, that with so much opposition and hatred, they would advance to such a degree of audacity and insanity as to conspire to kill Jesus; and that, having found the opportunity, they would execute this inhuman and flagitious deed. It is our persuasion, that such was the course of thought in the mind of Matthew, which he wished

¹ Admirable are the words of Chemnitz, in describing the general characteristics of the Evangelists. "Since it was the main design of the Evangelists, as John (20: 31) declares, to commit to writing such of the sayings and deeds of Christ, as would best instruct, confirm and propagate the faith of the church—that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that those who believe should have life through his name: 'they have always, in composing the evangelical histories, had a special regard to this end, rather than to strict arrangement and chronological exactitude. And hence it is, that although they preserve the highest and holiest agreement, as to the reality of the sayings and facts, yet in the context and course of the history, each one pursues his own order and peculiar method; conforming to the others, in particulars, only so far as he judged to be congruous with the simplest development of his leading conception.'" Harm. IV. Evangelist. ed. Genev. 1645. T. I. p. i sq. In respect to Matthew, in particular, may be compared, among recent authors, Kern, p. 32 of the book already cited; Olshausen, p. 27 of a programm published in 1835; and, still later, Ebrard, in the passage quoted in a previous note.

to set clearly before his readers. For, as it cannot be denied that all the Israelites would hear and know of these most important and weighty matters, so does this view, in which we say the author wrote, agree best with the structure of his book. To demonstrate this opinion, it will not be necessary to give a recension of each part, but only to refer the reader to the general course of argument, which constitutes the structure of the narrative.

No one can fail to see the importance of considering attentively what is placed, as it were, at the very threshold of the gospel; we mean, the sermon on the mount, by which our Lord is, as it were, inaugurated into his office of public teacher. The difference between Matthew and Luke in handing down this sermon, would seem to be, that the former, embracing the whole circle of the discourse, neglects nothing which would serve to show, how the Lord, in exhorting to "*repent, because the kingdom of Heaven is at hand*," set himself in direct opposition to the profane teachings which the Israelites were then wont to follow; while Luke seems chiefly to confine himself to reporting those parts in which the apostles are admonished, when persecuted with hatred, to recompense hatred by love. (Comp. Matt. v—vii. with Luke vi, 12—49.) This being the case, it cannot be denied, that the evangelist Matthew would thus indicate the nature of the contest, into which our Lord entered with his adversaries, even at the very beginning of his career. The words with which the narration closes have, then, a special significance; "and it came to pass that when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine; for he taught them as one having authority, *and not as the Scribes*," (7: 28, 29). For these words belong to what we have before called the *second part* of the gospel; in which the author, after having declared in general terms, (4: 23—25) the power and effect of the addresses and miracles of the Lord upon the minds of those that heard him, already begins to announce, that in these very words and deeds, although they were for the good of the people, and were received by them in part with great joy, were inclosed the seeds of the persecutions and enmities by which he was afterwards crushed. Because, by these very things, he made himself an opponent of the lusts and perverse notions of the priests and rulers; so that the rage of his enemies would increase with the increasing favor of the people. That he may describe the very beginnings of this contest, the evangelist immediately reminds the readers of those words, in which Jesus, while giving divine aid, bore testimony against

both the priests and the people (8: 4 and 10—12). He tells them how early, in the midst of the signs by which he fulfilled the predictions of the Old Testament and proved his divine power, (8: 14—17). He exhorted those who might wish to follow him, to consider what it was to follow one, who had not where to lay his head, and whose first command to his disciples was, to "deny themselves" (8: 18—20). That our Lord was induced to say these things by an anticipation of what was to come, is made clear in the following verses, where we read of the distrust of the disciples (8: 23—27); of the ungrateful feelings of others, especially such as were too tenacious of their possessions, (8: 28—34); of calumnies by which the leaders of the people strove to overwhelm Jesus, the favorite of the people (c. ix). These men were plainly moved to this course only because Jesus had openly announced, that he had come into the world, and worked his miracles to animate their minds by the most joyful tidings, 9: 14, 17; that he could remit sins, and that not the just but sinners were called to partake of the divine compassion (9: 3, 5, 6, 13). By such words and deeds, while the bands of the people were moved to praise God, and spread abroad the fame of Jesus,—(9: 8, the multitudes marvelled and glorified God; vs. 26, the fame hereof went abroad into all that land; vs. 31, but they, when they were departed, spread abroad his fame in all that country),—the Pharisees were so incensed that they obstinately asserted: He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils (9: 5 compared with vs. 34). But in the very place where this is related, every one will confess that the *second part* of the book, as we have before seen, would most fitly be closed, (in the words 9: 34—38). For it is now manifest what are the nature and characteristics of this contest.

With his forces drawn together, if we may so speak, our Lord enters into this contest. He sends out his disciples. He exhorts them to contend manfully and rightly, nor to fear the fight (c. x). Upon a fitting occasion he testifies that divine truth is displeasing to men (11: 1—24), and that God did wisely in concealing from the wise what he revealed to babes (11: 25—30). While Jesus thus preaches, the Pharisees prepare new snares. Irritated by those deeds which prove the divine commission of the Lord, they take counsel "how they might destroy him," (12: 14). To make their counsels of no effect, Jesus withdrew himself, at the same time doing good to the wretched. The *people* proclaiming that

¹ See chapter 9: 14—17.

this Jesus is the Messiah, the *Pharisees again* accuse him falsely, asserting that what Jesus did by his divine power, was done by Beëlzebul," (12: 24). And now Jesus, having solemnly declared the greatness of the crime of which by these words they make themselves liable to be accused, asserts, that it can no longer be hoped, that any miracles he might perform would lead them to repentance and faith, (12: 25—45). Those only are to him as brothers, sisters, and mother, who do the will of his heavenly Father, (12: 46—50). Almost at the same time, he is said to have taught the people and his disciples, in parables, the true nature of the kingdom which he is about to found; that, though it may grow by small increments, and be not everywhere received with like affection, yet in persuasive words he predicts that it will nevertheless fill the whole world (13: 1—52). The people despise the prophet; Jesus soon after acknowledges that the founder of this kingdom would be treated with contempt (13: 53—58). He becomes suspected not only by the people, but by Herod, the destroyer of John the Baptist. While withdrawing himself from his snares, he manifests his divine benevolence and power by new miracles and mighty deeds (c. xiv). And here, after having described the course of so many persecutions, in their gradual progress and increase, the author again pauses. For with the end of this chapter, as we have before seen, the *third portion* of the narrative is concluded, by the mention of the affection with which the inhabitants of Gennesaret received him, against whom so many enemies were conspiring, (14: 34, 35).

But now the *Pharisees made their attack without circumlocution or disguise*. They accuse the Lord, because his disciples "transgress the tradition of the elders" (15: 1 and following). Although he repels this attempt, and departing from that region, gives to Gentiles as well as to Jews, many and most signal evidences of his divine virtue (15: 21—29); yet, upon returning into the coasts of Magdala, he again excites the enmity of the Pharisees who had now made a nefarious alliance with the Sadducees. They strive to tempt the wisdom and constancy of the "master;" by their repeated requests for a sign from heaven, (16: 1—4). Jesus, after refusing with increased severity, gravely warns his disciples to beware of the Pharisees and Sadducees, (16: 5—12). Then, by interrogation and instruction, he prepares their minds to *look into the mystery of redemptive grace*; to see who is the Son of Man; how much he must suffer; and what the followers of such a Lord ought to be (16: 13—28): His teach-

ings are not received with befitting attention by his disciples; and in many ways he is harassed by their distrust, their ambition, their sluggish and obtuse dispositions. Nevertheless, bearing all these patiently, he strives in every way by deed and by word, to enlighten their understandings. (Compare 16: 22, 23, with chh. xvii and xviii.) *Now the last evils to be suffered by our Lord are approaching.* This point of time the author announces in those words (19: 1, 2), which we have above defined as the transition from the *fourth* to the *fifth part* of the book.

In arranging the rest of the narrative, we find that the author pursues the same method which we have described as the peculiarity of the whole gospel. Jesus, while in Judea, *being circumvented by the wiles and machinations of the Pharisees*, thence takes occasion to prepare his disciples for the more full comprehension of the nature of his kingdom. He ceases not, in manifold ways, to impress upon their minds, what the Founder of such a kingdom would demand of its citizens; of what men it should be composed; what obstacles impede the entrance into it; how great were the promises centering therein; and how great care should be taken, that those who were called to a participation in this kingdom, should not lose so great a benefit (compare from 19: 11 and following with 20: 16). And yet the disciples give little heed to the plainest predictions of the death of the Lord, and cannot lay aside their ambitious expectations (20: 17—28).

Having entered into Jerusalem, our Lord assumes another aspect in his official character. For, while the Pharisees and Sadducees are prevented only by fear of the people from perpetrating their premeditated crime, and are striving to tempt Jesus by crafty questions (21: 45, 46. 22: 15—46), all that he does and says is full of lofty denunciation. The herald announces himself as the Judge of the coming judgment (comp. c. xxi. and 22: 1—14, the purging of the temple, the withering of the fig-tree, the parables in which sentence is spoken against the Israelites). Wo, he says, to the Pharisees, wo to Jerusalem, wo to all who have not learned to shun the condemnation of the Judge most holy and most just (23: 1—36, the perverse teachings and acts of the Pharisees; vs. 37—39, the terrible fate of Jerusalem; c. xxiv, the destruction of the city, and the return of Jesus to judgment; c. xxv, the process of the last judgment, and the vigilance to be observed by those over whom it is impending). Such are the most weighty and solemn words, with which Jesus, in Matthew's narration, finishes his public career. In the remainder of the book

Matthew shows his readers, how by the very punishment which the enemies of God inflicted upon Christ, the divine prophecies were fulfilled, and he was restored to his pristine majesty.

Whoever accurately weighs these discussions, and agrees with us in opinion that the whole narrative of this Gospel is constructed by a fixed rule in successively ascending gradations, will also, we think, be persuaded, that this book is the work of *one author*; and will not be able to hold the opinion of such as assert, that it was "at first made up of a collection of the sermons of Jesus Christ, into which other narrations were afterwards interpolated."

ARTICLE V.

THE IMPRECATIONS IN THE SCRIPTURES.

By B. B. Edwards, Professor in the Theol. Seminary, Andover.

THERE is a class of objections against the divine authority of the Bible which relate simply to matters of taste, conventional usage, national custom, or oriental modes of feeling. A sufficient answer to objections of this nature is, that if the Scriptures had been conformed to modern and European modes and tastes, they would, in the same degree, lose one of the principal evidences of their genuineness. The local coloring about them, their Asiatic dress, the figures of speech which the writers employ, assure us that they are the men whom they profess to be, and that they lived at the time, and in the countries, in which they assume to have lived. The seal of honesty is thus affixed to them. We feel certain that they are men of truth. This species of evidence, though incidental and undesigned, is, in fact, one of the most important, and one least liable to be counterfeited. Besides, if the writers had undertaken to conform to what we understand by correct taste and propriety in forms of speech, they would have undertaken an impracticable task. The standard of taste, on many points, is perpetually changing. In respect to certain matters, there is a degree of fastidiousness in this country which does not exist in the higher circles in Europe. What passes current there, at the present moment, may not pass so one hundred years hence.

Another class of objections to the divine authority of the Bible, resolves itself into our unavoidable ignorance. There are certain discrepancies between different parts of the Scriptures, small for the most part, which we find it impossible wholly to reconcile, because we have not the requisite information. The matter was perfectly understood at the time the books were written, but some link in the chain of evidence has disappeared; some contemporary, uninspired writer furnished the clue, but his works have been lost, and we are necessarily left in uncertainty.¹

This objection, however, may be turned into an argument in favor of the trust-worthiness of the writers. About all honest authors, there is a species of noble negligence. They are not particularly careful to frame everything so that it will exactly fit to every other portion of a narrative or discourse. This is the artifice of one who intends to deceive, and who is afraid to trust his readers. To have made everything of this kind in the Scriptures perfectly clear, would have required an enlargement of them altogether at variance with their intended popular diffusion, and equally injurious to the habits of inquiry in the student.

There are difficulties of another kind, which must forever remain unremoved, not because of our ignorance, but from the limited nature of our faculties. There is a border land between the known and the unknown on which clouds and darkness must always rest. We cannot even gain glimpses of the truth, nor form conjectures which have any plausibility. There are points connected with the higher doctrines of Christianity, which there is no reason to suppose will be any more level to our comprehension in the future state than they are now, for the reason that they are not cognizable by a created being in any stage of his progress. They are not open to analysis. We can neither discover their nature, nor cast any light upon them by analogy. Now the Scriptures are not to be blamed for announcing the simple fact of the existence of particular objects or relations, unattended with a word of explanation. They could not make a revelation in regard to certain subjects, without involving allusions to relations or modes of being or presupposing their existence, which it would be utterly impossible for us to comprehend. He who cavils at these inexplicable difficulties, shows that he has no conception of what a divine revelation must be.

There is a difficulty of a still more serious character, than any

¹ The subject of the baptism for the dead, 1 Cor. 15: 29, is difficult of explanation because of the silence of contemporary writers.

which has been alluded to, and which is urged against many passages in the Psalms and in other parts of the Bible. This is, the wishing of evil to one's enemies, the imprecating of curses upon those who have injured us, the expression of joy in seeing calamity alight upon the wicked.

The objection, arising from this source, against the inspiration of the Scriptures, is more formidable, perhaps, than any other; or, at any rate, it is attended with some peculiar difficulties. It is felt alike by all classes of readers, unless it be in fact more perplexing to the common Christian, than it is to the professed scholar. It does not, perhaps, absolutely unsettle the faith of any believer in the Bible, but it occasions misgivings, painful doubts, and a disposition to pass by unread the portions of the Bible in question. A circumstance which increases the perplexity, is, that the imprecation is often found in close connection with language which indicates the firmest trust in God, or a high state of devotional feeling. It cannot easily be detached from things which seem to have no possible affinity with it. How can feelings so opposite coëxist?

Again, the imprecation of a calamity upon another, is apparently at war with some of the better feelings of our nature. It runs counter to the common sentiments of compassion within us. We pity a brute, though it may have injured us, especially if we behold it in a condition of suffering. It would, also, seem to be opposed to the dictates of natural religion. We see that God sends his rain upon the just and unjust, that he is constantly doing good to those who deny his authority, or blaspheme his name. The indications throughout the realms of nature and Providence would certainly lead us to feel that we should be like our Heavenly Father, and open the hand of liberal kindness to all men, to enemies and strangers as well as to kindred and friends. Most men, indeed, who enjoy the light of nature only, adopt a different practical course and take delight in acts of revenge. But this is certainly at variance with that which they might know of God and of their own duty.

Above all, however, it would seem to be wholly adverse to the spirit of the New Testament. Our Lord gave a new commandment that we should love one another. When thine enemy hungers, feed him. I say unto you love your enemies; pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; speak evil of no man; not returning railing for railing, but, contrariwise, blessing. The whole tenor and spirit of the gospel is disinterested benevo-

lence, comprehensive charity. How are we to reconcile the loving spirit of the new dispensation with the direful maledictions of the old? When there is such a want of harmony in the different parts of the Scriptures, how can the whole be from that perfect Being, whose precepts must be all self-consistent?

The numerous, though unsatisfactory methods, which have been adopted, for the purpose of obviating the difficulty, betray the anxiety which has been caused by it in the pious mind.

I will advert to the most plausible of these methods. It has been suggested by some interpreters, among them the venerable Dr. Scott, that many of those passages, which appear in our English version, as imprecatory, as expressing a wish or desire for the infliction of evil, should be rendered as a simple affirmation, or as merely declaratory of what will take place in regard to the wicked, on the ground that the verb in the original is in the future tense where our translation has given it an optative or imprecatory signification,—the Hebrew language having no peculiar form to express the various senses of the optative.

But what shall be said of the numerous passages, where the verb is in the imperative? For example: "Pour out thine indignation upon them; let thy wrathful anger take hold upon them."¹

What shall be affirmed, in relation to the texts where those are pronounced blessed who take vengeance upon an enemy: "Happy shall he be who rewardeth thee as thou hast served us! Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones!"

In what manner, again, shall we vindicate those passages, where the righteous are described as looking with complacency, feasting their eyes, as it were, upon the calamities of their oppressors? "The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance; he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked."

It would manifestly, therefore, be of no avail, if we were permitted, to render certain passages in a declaratory or prophetic sense, which are now rendered as indicating a wish or desire. The difficulty would exist elsewhere in its full extent. It is hardly necessary to say that the affirmation itself, in regard to the Hebrew language, is untenable. There are forms of the verb in Hebrew, and there are connected particles, which oblige us to translate by the terms *let*, *may*, and others, which are expressive of

¹ Ps. 69: 24, 25; also Ps. 55: 10.

wish or desire.¹ Often, too, the context will not justify any other rendering.

Another way in which it has been attempted to remove the difficulty, is to consider it as a peculiarity of the old dispensation, as one of the things engrafted upon the Mosaic economy which the Christian dispensation does not recognize, as consonant with the general spirit of the Jewish theocracy, but which a clearer revelation would annul.

But, God is the author of these dispensations, and the general spirit of the two must be the same. We ought not to vindicate one Testament at the expense of the other. What is essentially bad, at one period, must be so at all times. It is no less wrong for Joshua to indulge in malice towards the Canaanites, than it is for the apostle Paul towards Nero. Cruelty is no more tolerated in the Pentateuch than it is in the Epistle. He has not been a careful reader of the book of Deuteronomy, who has not observed the special pains which God took to impress upon the hearts of the Israelites the importance of treating kindly, not only the widow and the orphan, but the stranger, the Egyptian, the hired servant who was not of their own nation. No small part of the Levitical law is taken up with commands and appeals designed to counteract the narrow and selfish spirit of the Hebrews.

Besides, the principle runs through the entire Scriptures, the New Testament as well as the Old. "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil. May the Lord reward him according to his works." It is not easy to see how this differs materially from the imprecations in the book of Psalms.

It has been supposed by some, that the passages in question are to be understood in a spiritual sense; that the reference to individuals is not real, but imaginary, assumed for the time being, and for an ultimate purpose wholly different from what lies on the face of them; that is, we are to apply these various maledictions to our spiritual foes, imprecating on them the terrible calamities, which were apparently, but only apparently, intended for the personal enemies of the sacred writers.

The simple statement of such a position is enough to show its absurdity. If Doeg, Ahithophel, and Alexander the coppersmith, were not real persons, what were they? Besides, whither would such a principle of interpretation carry us?

Others, still, have conjectured that temporal calamities only

¹ See Gesenius's Heb. Gramm. (Conant's Transl.) pp. 249, 262; Nordheimer, § 1078.

were desired, there being no allusion to those which may affect the soul in the future state.

But it is difficult to perceive how the principle in the one case differs from that of the other. If we may pray that a particular person may "go down alive and instantly into the grave," and that the direst plagues may fall on his family, till their very name is blotted out, do we not necessarily include those heavier evils which the soul shall suffer hereafter? It seems to be a distinction without a difference. Many passages, too, are general in their character. They do not appear to be limited to punishments which are specific in their nature, or temporary in their duration.

I come now to what, I think, must be regarded as a justification of the language in question, as going to account, in a great measure, if not wholly, for the usage of the sacred writers.

The principle may be best stated by two or three illustrations: Doeg, an Edomite herdsman, in the time of Saul, killed eighty-five unarmed, helpless priests, when he knew that they were wholly innocent of the charge made against them, and when no one else dared to touch these consecrated servants of the Lord. But with this he was not satisfied; every woman and child, every breathing thing fell under the assassin's knife. Now the very mention of the atrocity stirs up feelings in us which cannot be repressed, and which are only rendered the more poignant by reflection on the attendant circumstances.

The murder of the children at Bethlehem by Herod, another Edomite, was an act of gratuitous cruelty, which the imagination utterly refuses to carry out into its details. The shriek of the frantic Rachel in every dwelling, where there was a little child to be struck down, is all that the heart can bear. Towards the author, every reader of the history, from his day down, has had but one feeling. The horrors of conscience that he suffered on account of his murder of his wife Mariamne, and which almost ante-dated those pains that shall never have an end, do not awaken for him the slightest degree of sympathy. A happy end to that turbulent life would have shocked us.

The woman, that wished the head of the venerable forerunner of our Lord to be brought to her in a basin, who desired to enjoy a sight which would have curdled the blood of any one else, has excited a feeling in every reader's breast, that no lapse of time has in the least degree diminished. The simple words of the gospel are enough. We wish not a word of commentary. Every right-minded man has one, on the living fibres of his heart.

The striking of a great bell, at midnight, in Paris, was the signal of a deed at which men shudder now, at the distance of nearly four hundred years. It was a night long to be remembered. It needed no record on the page of history. It is engraven in ineffaceable characters on the moral sense of all Protestant Christendom. It was an outrage upon the nature which God has given to his creatures, which admits of no apology, and which necessarily demanded an atonement that is not yet fully paid.

In the darkest moments of the French revolution, we are consoled by one circumstance. There is light in one quarter of that midnight horizon. The day of retribution will come. Every spectator of the tragedy feels, if he does not say, "Blessed shall he be who rewardeth thee as thou hast done to others." And when the cup is poured into the lips—to the very dregs—there is a satisfaction, not so much heart-felt as *conscience-felt*. A great moral debt has been paid. God's righteous government has taken a firmer hold of men in consequence. The divine veracity has received a new illustration. He who sowed the wind, has reaped the whirlwind.

What is the character of the principle thus manifested? What is the nature of these emotions?

A primary element of it is indignation. Before we have had time to reflect, there is an instant, a spontaneous gush of the emotion of anger towards the evil-doer. We cannot prevent it, if we would. It is prior to all deliberation. In its first outbreak, it is above control. It is outraged nature, that will have vent. In the commission of a great wrong, particularly where the accompanying circumstances are such as to strongly arrest attention, the being is something more or less than human, whose soul is not deeply stirred.

Another element is compassion towards the injured party. We have an instinctive pity for weakness crushed in the dust, for innocence betrayed and violated. The wailing cry of infancy is in our ears; the white locks of age, dragging in the dust, are in our sight. An unoffending man, because he would not alienate the inheritance of his fathers, is defrauded of his rights, and then taken and murdered on religious grounds, by lying testimony. Sentiments of the tenderest interest in the wretched sufferer spring up. Our hearts rush towards him with the warmest compassion. We would rescue him, if possible, ere the fatal stone be thrown. Thousands in our land can testify to such an emotion, deep and not to end but with life, towards the hapless aborigines

of this country, cheated and worn out by a long course of successful villany.

Another and a principal ingredient, is a sense of justice. When a crime of extraordinary atrocity goes unpunished, we feel that justice is defrauded of its dues. We are indignant that such a wrong should be unredressed. While the crime is unatoned, we have a feeling, not only of insecurity, but that justice has been violated. Public order is disturbed; a shock has been given to that sense of rectitude which is common to man.

This is not of momentary duration, as the indignant or compassionate feeling may be. It grows stronger with the lapse of time. Reflection only adds to its intensity. Deliberation but shows its reasonableness. In other words, when a great outrage is perpetrated, nothing will calm the perturbation of our moral nature but the infliction of a penalty. The grievance must be redressed. A voice within us calls imperatively for reparation, whether we, or others, are the authors of the deed. The endurance of suffering is an indispensable condition for the return of peace. We secretly desire the speedy infliction of the penalty on ourselves if we are conscious of guilt, and, on others, also, if they are the evil-doers. And what we crave, by an irrepressible instinct of our moral nature, may we not, on fit occasions, *express in language*?¹

My next remark is, that it is an original principle of our nature; it is a simple and ultimate fact. It has all the marks of being such which can be affirmed in relation to any attribute of our nature. It is, in the first place, instantaneous in its manifestation. Its movements are rapid as the light. It gives no notice of its coming; neither can we stay it. In certain circumstances, it will arise, despite of all the physical and moral obstacles which we can array against it. In this respect, it stands precisely on the ground of the other original properties of our constitution.

Again, it is universal, and therefore, original. It has shown itself in all ages, in every state of society and period of human life, among the rudest and the most refined. Wherever the voice of a brother's blood has cried from the ground, it has found an answering echo in every bosom, no matter whether in the midst of the most polished society, or in the remotest outskirts of paganism. Or, if it has shown unwonted strength, it is in the breast of him who has the most refinement, and who has advanced the

¹ See the fine and almost christian remarks which are made on this subject, near the close of Plato's *Gorgias*.

furthest in the christian life, because such a one has the most comprehensive acquaintance with the bad effects of crime, and the greatest desire that right should triumph over fraud, and, in general, that state of the moral feelings which best fits him to show the genuine sentiments of his heart.

In the third place, its universality is attested in another way, in the most decisive manner. There are literary productions which speak to man *as man*, to his original and indestructible tendencies ; productions that are so framed as to strike chords in every human breast. Now, some of the greatest of these works proceed on the ground, that justice cannot be appeased without the infliction of suffering, and that the desire of evil, either to be poured out upon ourselves or others as the case may be, instead of being an unnatural desire, is, on the contrary, one of our deepest aspirations, and its gratification an indispensable condition of happiness, or even of a tolerable measure of quiet. The catastrophe is painful, but the contrary would be far more so. In the ultimate triumph of fraud and high-handed crime, every sentiment of justice within us is shocked. The author, who would conduct us to such a result, either does not understand the deeper principles of his own moral being, or he wantonly trifles with them. Our moral nature "cries aloud" that it is meet that those who commit enormous crimes should be visited with a proportionable doom. When the avenger of blood overtakes such a one, we are glad that he did not reach the city of refuge. Now the highest work of genius is the exactest transcript of these original states and demands of our nature.

It may be maintained, further, that this feeling is not, necessarily, accompanied with any malice or ill-will towards the sufferer. An atrocious crime is committed in our neighborhood ; we have the strongest sympathy for the injured party, and indignation towards the evil-doer. We unite in all proper measures to bring him to what we call a condign, that is, a deserved punishment. We rejoice when we learn that he has been apprehended, and that justice is permitted to take its appointed course. If we do not, in so many words, imprecate calamities upon him, we feel, and we perform, what amounts to the same thing. We ardently desire and pray that he may suffer punishment. If he is proved to be guilty, we are disappointed if he escape. We are even eager to coöperate in efforts to bring him within the arm of the law. But all this is not attended with any desire to witness the sufferings of a human being, or that those sufferings, in themselves, should

be felt. We have no malice or private revenge to gratify. The absorbing emotion is for the good of society. We have the persuasion, that if the criminal escapes, the bonds that hold men together will be weakened, if they are not destroyed. That there may be this entire freedom from personal ill-will, is shown by the fact, that our feelings are precisely similar, in kind at least, towards an offending contemporary or neighbor, and towards a notorious culprit who lived ages ago, or may now live at the ends of the earth, and whose punishment, or escape from it cannot possibly affect us personally. The utterance of this moral feeling is the utterance of humanity within us. It is an expression of sympathy in the well-being of the race. If it be the faintest sigh of some abused exile among the snows of Siberia; if it be an ancient Briton standing on the last rock where freedom could find a resting-place; if it be an American Indian, looking, for the last time on the grave of his father, just as insatiate avarice is about to drive his plough through it, the feeling within is one and identical. Time and space are overleaped in the twinkling of an eye. Our hearts gather instantly around these despairing wretches. Towards their oppressors, we feel no hate or revenge. But till retribution has been made in some way, till suffering has been felt in some form, it is impossible for us to rest in quietness. The delicate frame-work of our moral being has been deranged. It must be repaired by the infliction of suffering.

Instead of the feeling in question being necessarily sinful, it may on the contrary, be the evidence of a generous sympathy, of a finely educated conscience, and of a character conformed to the great standard of perfection. Not to possess this moral sympathy might indicate a pusillanimous nature, a dulness of spiritual apprehension, and no desire that the disorders in God's kingdom should be rectified.

The connection of this original principle of our nature, which has been briefly developed, with the imprecations in the Psalms and in other parts of the Bible, is obvious. If it does not account for all, it still lies at the foundation of a large portion of them. In other words, these imprecatory passages are justified by a primary and innocent feeling of our nature. Were we placed in the condition of the sacred penmen, we should feel, and properly feel, as they felt. The sight of the shameless cruelty of an Edomitic herdsman, if it did not dictate an imprecatory poem, would unavoidably awaken those feelings on which that poem is founded. The impartial spectator, as he stood on the smoking ashes

of Jerusalem and saw the Idumeans as they stimulated the fierce Chaldeans to "raze" the holy city to its foundations, and heard them suggest new and ingenious methods of cruelty, would join in the emotions which called forth, if he did not in the words which express, the maledictions of the 137th Psalm. Let any right-minded reader look at the lives of Antiochus Epiphanes, of the first Herod, of some of the Roman emperors, of the Fouquier Tinville and Carriers of the French Revolution, and fail, if he can, to rejoice, yea exult, when the same cup is wrung out to them, which they had mingled for others. The feeling in the minds of those who penned the 55th and 69th Psalms was not malice. It was the indignation excited by cruelty and injustice, and the desire that crime should be punished. They, doubtless, followed the precept, Be ye angry, and sin not. If we were acquainted with the circumstances which called forth the imprecatory Psalms, we should, doubtless, find, as the cause or occasion, striking cases of treachery, practised villany and unblushing violations of law.

Our Saviour uttered awful anathemas against the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees. These were authorized, not simply on the ground, that he knew the hearts of men, and as judge of the world, had a right to anticipate the final sentence, but from the atrocity of their crimes. On account of the reputed sanctity of their characters, they were often made the depositaries for safe keeping of the pittance of widows, or they became guardians of the estates of orphans. These sacred funds, they artfully embezzled and appropriated to their personal use, while the helpless owner sought for redress in vain, because the judge in the case might be the swindler himself. No wonder our Saviour denounced the vengeance of heaven on these sanctimonious thieves and repudiators. His anathemas were sanctioned by a feeling which we have in common with him, and which, on extraordinary occasions, we not only cherish, but express or imply in language. If we had been fully possessed of the facts, and all the attendant circumstances, as he knew them, or as his disciples might, in a degree have known them, we should have seen ample ground for his terrible denunciations.

Our position is, indeed, different, in certain respects, from that of the inspired writers, or of the ancient Jews. The Israelites were authorized by God himself to exterminate some of the tribes by whom they were surrounded. This distinct commission would justify a style of address in respect to these tribes, which would

not be proper in other circumstances. We have no such general commission.

Again, we live under a milder and more spiritual dispensation, and we are taught rather to bear injury uncomplaining, and to refer the taking of vengeance to him to whom it properly belongs. We are never to cherish malice or ill-will. We are in all cases to love our enemies, and forgive those who injure us. These circumstances, however, do not seem to militate against the view which has been taken. There are times now, in great national questions, and when the ends of public justice are to be answered, when the original principle of our nature is innocently and necessarily brought into active operation. Without it, we should look unmoved upon the most stupendous crimes, for no other feature of our moral constitution can be a substitute for this. The danger of its abuse, the fact that it often degenerates into a feeling of malevolence or a desire for private revenge, does not alter its nature, or render the indulgence of it unlawful. It remains a principle implanted in our nature by the Creator himself, as really as pity, or any other emotion.

Had all the angels in heaven persevered in their allegiance to their Maker, *one* power within them had forever slumbered; one susceptibility had remained unawakened. They had never known by actual experience the feeling of joy in seeing the course of justice fulfilled. The angels, who kept their first estate, must have approved the sentence which doomed their companions to those penal fires which they still feel. A new aspect of their moral being thus becomes apparent; a new principle of their original nature is developed; a resource is provided against an exigency which was to happen. A fresh illustration is given of the wisdom of Him, who fearfully and wonderfully framed the angel's nature; so constituting it, that an act of punitive justice, when demanded, would not seem arbitrary, but would be fully justified by every one who should behold the spectacle, or who should suffer in consequence of his deeds.

So, also, with the father of our race. While in paradise, he could hardly be conscious of the powers that were wrapped up within him. All, which he had seen, was clothed in the smile of perfect love; all which he had felt or imagined, was an index of nought but of self-satisfying delight, and of the overflowing divine benignity. But when he was exiled from his happy abode, he had a new experience of the awful wisdom of his Creator. He was

not expelled by arbitrary authority. Those flaming cherubim were not an emblem of gratuitous wrath. In the depths of his being, he felt that it was just. His newly awakened moral instinct justified his expulsion. So when he stood over the lifeless body of his second-born, with emotions such as no other father since has looked upon a dead child, one part of his experience must have been the perception of the divine justice. "In that still form, and closed eye," he might say, "a strange aspect of my being is evolved. I feel within me the workings of a hitherto unknown sensation. I felt at first like imprecating vengeance on the fratricide, but that is past. My own sin is here visible. It was my hand that opened the great flood-gate. Righteous art thou, O Lord, in thy judgments."

Cain, too, we have sometimes wondered that, instead of complaining of the severity of his sentence, he did not imprecate a heavier doom; that he did not desire that the demands of justice should be executed speedily on himself. That he did not so wish, may indicate that he was qualified by the possession of a hardened character, to stand at the head of the long line of murderers.

In thus briefly considering one of the sterner features of our constitution, and some of its practical developments, we cannot but be struck with the morbid type of much of the philanthropy and religion current at the present day. Love degenerates into weakness; compassion becomes itself an object of pity; benevolence is degraded into an indiscriminating instinct. The employment of force is branded as a relic of barbarous times. The exercise of authority is scouted as contrary to the spirit both of the gospel and of an enlightened age. The world must now be controlled by persuasion. It was formerly supposed that law, with its rigorous penalty, was a chief instrument in moral reformations, that it was one of the main elements in the means which God and man must employ in meliorating the state of society.

So, likewise, in respect to religion. In our days, there is such a prominent and reiterated exhibition of the paternal character of God as to endanger, if not destroy its legitimate effect on the character of his intelligent creatures. There is such a protrusion of the promises of the Bible, and such a concealment of its threatenings, as to neutralize the influence of both. Religion is sometimes so divested of its grander and sterner qualities as to fail to secure any respect. It becomes a mere collection of pleasant counsels, an assemblage of sweet recommendations, which it would be very well to observe; instead of presenting, as it does, an alternative

of life or death, an authoritative code of morals, a law with inflexible sanctions, a gospel to be rejected on peril of eternal damnation.

These shallow philanthropists and religionists are as ignorant of the nature of man, as they are of the revelation of God, as little versed in the more imposing features of our constitution, as in the high and solemn themes of Christianity. They have little to do with the deeper wants of our moral being. They do not understand how curious and almost contradictory a piece of workmanship is man. They seem never to have imagined, that he has the closest relations to a moral law, to an atoning Saviour, to a righteous moral Governor, and to an impartial judgment seat.

Equally ignorant are they of the bonds which hold society together. Much of the doctrine, which is industriously promulgated at the present day, tends to form a counterfeit philanthropy, to make men sympathize with the misfortunes of the criminal, rather than with injured virtue, or with public morals, to weaken the arm of the law and reduce government itself into a compact remarkable for nothing but its weakness.

ARTICLE VI.

PATRISTICAL AND EXEGETICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE QUESTION RESPECTING THE REAL BODILY PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE ELEMENTS OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

By M. Stuart, Professor in the Theol. Seminary, Andover.

§ 1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE readers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* will probably remember, that in No. III. of that work, during the past year, I published an exegetical essay on 1 Cor. 11: 17—34,—a passage which has special relation to the subject of the Lord's Supper. In that essay I treated, in a very brief manner, of the subject named at the head of this article. I had, at that time, other objects in view besides a discussion of this topic; and, of course, the subject now before us could occupy only a subordinate place. Since the publication of that article in the *Bibliotheca*, circumstances have occurred which seemed to me to render it desirable, that the topic in question

should receive a more ample and extended discussion. In the essay already published, no attempt was made to cast any light on the *history* of the eucharist. The limits there prescribed forbade any attempt, on my part, to show how the early Christian fathers thought and reasoned with respect to the real presence of Christ in the sacramental elements. The history of *transubstantiation* and *consubstantiation* was also excluded for the same reason. The scriptural and exegetical examination of the subject was also of necessity quite compressed. No more could be done, in relation to these respective topics, than was done, without entirely changing the plan and design of the essay; and this I did not think to be expedient.

The times call loudly, at present, for more information and more discussion, in regard to the subject of the *real presence* of Christ in the eucharistic elements. No well-informed man among us can now be ignorant respecting the claims made by one class of even Protestant Christians, in our country and in England, in behalf of this doctrine. With great confidence they appeal to the ancient Fathers in support of it; and they are not reluctant to be considered as regarding those Fathers in the light of authorized expositors of the Scriptures. The subject has begun to assume a more definite and urgent shape, since the publication of Dr. Pusey's sermon concerning it. And in view of such and the like facts, some of my friends, for whose opinions I entertain much regard, have expressed a desire that I would continue and expand my investigations respecting the *real presence*. I have deemed it to be my duty, on the whole, to comply with their desire, although I feel considerable reluctance in repeating, even in a small part, a subject that I have once discussed. But the attitudes in which I have placed it in the following discussion, are so many of them diverse from the former ones, and the method in general pursued so different from that in the Bibliotheca No. III., that I would hope none of my readers will be disposed to complain of repetition.

It is time that the public at large were furnished with more ready and accessible means of forming a more extensive and well-grounded acquaintance with the subject before us, than they now possess. The time has come, when some of the fundamental doctrines of *Protestantism*, in the English and American sense of that word, are assailed, and are at least threatened by their adversaries with overthrow. In such times our armour should not only be buckled on, but be well-fitted and polished. I have aimed in the following pages, to write an article which is neither exclusive-

ly for the learned or the unlearned. The minute details of the mere technical scholar I have studiously avoided, although it would have been very easy to have gone into them. On the other hand, I have aimed at substantial facts and truths, in patristic and other history and in exegesis, on which the determination of the question before us must turn, at least in the minds of all sensible and candid men. It has been my steady aim not to pervert or discolour a single fact, or to overdo and press beyond its proper limits any argument. How far I have succeeded, the well-informed reader must judge. I have no good opinion, at least, of endeavouring to carry a point in theology or exegesis, by stratagem or misrepresentation either of facts or arguments. I hope I have avoided every such effort.

Designedly have I written in such a way, that what is said would not be inappropriate for public Lectures or Readings, before a well-informed Christian assembly. This is one use that I would hope may be made of this discussion. Proper breaks will be found in it. I have so written, because I thought it might be more adapted to produce good among the churches of our country.

I place at the head of my remarks, two leading and principal passages of the New Testament, on which dependence is placed and great stress laid, by the advocates of the *real presence*, for the maintenance of their cause. I do this, in order that I may make some remarks upon them as preparatory to the historico-patristic and exegetical investigations which are to follow. My aim is to give the inquiring Christian some particular and satisfactory account of the manner, in which the subject before us is presented to our consideration by New Testament writers in general; to remove some difficulties accompanying this matter; and then to direct his attention to the specific questions before us.

§ 2. LEADING TEXTS IN SOME RESPECTS EXAMINED.

Luke 22: 19, 20. *And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying: This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me. Likewise, also, the cup after supper, saying: This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you.*

John 6: 53—56. *Then Jesus said unto them: Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.*

For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.

The words which I have last in order recited from the Gospel of John, appear to have been originally interpreted in a *literal* manner, by the unbelieving Jews and by some of the professed disciples of Jesus. Even *many* of the latter, according to the narration of the evangelist (6: 60), when they heard the words of Jesus, said: "This is a *hard* saying; who can hear it?" By a *hard* saying, they meant either a saying which was unintelligible to them, or one that was disagreeable and offensive to their views and feelings. Expositors are divided in opinion, respecting which of these meanings should be here put upon the word *hard* (σκληρός). But the preceding context seems to me to settle this question. When Jesus said: "The bread which I will give is my flesh," and, "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever," (v. 51), "the Jews strove among themselves, saying: How can this man give us his *flesh* to eat?" Now the idea of eating human flesh was so shocking to the feelings of Jews, that they could attach to the words of Jesus no intelligible meaning, so long as they assigned to them a *literal* sense; of a *spiritual* meaning they had no proper conception. And like to them were the murmuring disciples of Jesus, who, after the words cited in our text were spoken, exclaimed: "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" (v. 60). In other words: 'Who can understand such declarations respecting eating human flesh and drinking human blood? They are both unintelligible and offensive. We do not like to hear them.'

The answer of Jesus to this expression of incredulity and offence, is such a one as ought to have been kept in mind, pondered upon, well-understood, and thoroughly believed, in every age of the church. It runs thus: "Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are *spirit* and they are *life*." (vs. 62, 63). In other words: 'Are ye now stumbled and offended with my declarations respecting eating my flesh and drinking my blood? You will see all this made plain hereafter. When the Son of Man has ascended up to heaven, where he was before his incarnation, and his *bodily* presence is wholly withdrawn from you, then will it be very plain, that my words are not to have a *literal* sense given to them. It is only the *Spirit* that quickeneth; *flesh*, as such, is of no moral profit or avail. The words that I

speak to you are designed to produce a spiritual and life-giving influence. This is the true meaning to be attached to what I have said. When I speak of *eating my flesh* and *drinking my blood*, I mean that a spiritual communion with me, and a spiritual and life-giving participation of the graces which I bestow, are absolutely necessary to future and eternal life and happiness. It is merely because you have unbelieving hearts, that you do not understand what I say, and give it the credit which is due.'

It will easily be believed, that all expositors are not united in their views and explanations of the passage now under consideration. Those who maintain the actual *bodily* presence of Christ in the elements of the Lord's Supper, refer the whole of the passage to this; and they suppose, that Jesus meant to affirm the same sentiment by it, which he has affirmed in his declarations at the holy supper, when he said: This is my body, and This is my blood. In other words; they interpret both passages so as to make them affirm the real and actual presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements of the eucharist, and also by implication to mean, that the partakers of these elements do actually and substantially partake of the real body and blood of Christ.

Whatever, now, may be true of the Saviour's declarations at the institution of the eucharist, I cannot but remark, for the present, that the passage in John vi. seems to be quite inappropriately referred to the same occasion. As yet, the disciples of Jesus did not know, at any rate did not believe, anything respecting his sufferings and violent death. They knew as yet nothing of such an institution as the Lord's Supper. How was it possible, then, if Jesus spake in reference to this, that he should be understood by them? Considered in this light, it would have truly been a hard saying to them. Nor should it be forgotten, that when Jesus speaks, in John vi., of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, he says nothing at all of his violent death, by which his body was to be broken and his blood shed, nor of their eating his flesh and drinking his blood in *remembrance* or *commemoration* of such a death. He tells his murmuring disciples, that his words are *spirit* and *life*, i. e. of a spiritual and life-giving nature. And the *life* in question does not mean temporal or physical life, but the *everlasting life* which Jesus had often said, in his preceding discourse, would be consequent upon eating the bread which came down from heaven. He had also said, that "the bread, which he would give for the life of the world, was his flesh;" in other words, he had intimated, that he would devote his body to suffering and death, in order that

everlasting life might be given to a perishing world. It is a spiritual understanding and belief of these declarations, which is life-giving. It is a spiritual reception of Christ as our passover sacrificed for us, a spiritual reception of the truth that Christ's body was broken and blood poured out, and this only, which can give us any title to everlasting life. "The flesh profiteth nothing." Even the advocates of the *literal* sense of the words under consideration concede, that there must be *faith* and *repentance* in order to make the sacrament spiritually profitable; yea, that without these an unworthy partaker only eats and drinks judgment or condemnation to himself.

It is at most, then, only to the general truth, that Christ was to give himself as an offering for the sins of men, that the declarations in John vi. can be referred. But there was, at the time when these declarations were uttered, neither *bread* nor *wine* before the Saviour and his disciples. Of course when he spoke of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, this could have had no reference to the sacramental elements of bread and wine. Much less can it with any propriety be considered as asserting, that they become his actual body and blood. The true meaning, as I have endeavoured to show, is something quite diverse from this. Of course, those who appeal to John vi, and specially (as they are wont) to that part of it which I have cited above, have no good exegetical grounds to justify such an appeal. If the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, or of *consubstantiation*, be true, it must be gathered only and merely from the declarations of Jesus at the last Supper. In fact, the more considerate among the advocates of these doctrines have been ready to acknowledge this; and indeed, some of them have frequently avowed it.

Let us come, then, after this examination of the passage in John so often cited and so much relied on, to the consideration of the declarations made by Jesus at the last Supper.

It is a remarkable, yet by no means a singular fact, that of the four sacred writers who have given us an account of these declarations, no two of them are perfectly agreed as to the *words* which were spoken. The record of Matthew runs thus: "Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said: Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many, for the remission of sins;" Matt. 26: 26—28. Mark comes the nearest to this account of what was spoken, but differs in some

minute particulars. His words are: "Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave to them, and said: Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, and they all drank of it. And he said unto them: This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many." Mark 14: 22—24.

The most considerable discrepancies between the two Evangelists here are, that Matthew inserts the words: "*Drink ye all of it*," which Mark omits; Matthew also represents Jesus as saying, in respect to his blood: "Which is shed for many, for the remission of sins:" while Mark omits the clause, "for the remission of sins." On the other hand, Mark records the following fact: "And they all drank of it;" while Matthew repeats merely the command to drink, but omits to record the fact that they did drink. There are other discrepancies in the *diction* of the narrators; but they are too minute to be noticed here.

The account of Luke, which I have produced above, near the head of this article, is of a somewhat different tenor, as to the diction. It runs thus: "He took bread, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying: This is my body, which is given for you: This do in remembrance of me. Likewise the cup also, after supper, saying: This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you;" Luke 22: 19, 20. Both of the other evangelists say: "Take, eat; this is my body;" Luke says simply: "This is my body, which is given for you." Of the cup the two first evangelists say: "This is my blood of the New Testament;" while Luke says: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood." Both the former say: "Which is shed for *many*;" but Luke says: "Which is shed for *you*." On the other hand, Luke says of the bread: "This do in remembrance of me;" while neither Matthew nor Mark record this expression. There are other minute differences; but to dwell on these would be inappropriate.

Last of all, Paul, in 1 Cor. xi., differs in some respects from all three of the evangelists, although he comes very near to Luke. Paul inserts the words, *take, eat*, which Luke omits, but which the other two evangelists record. Paul also repeats the words: "This do in remembrance of me," both after breaking the bread and distributing the cup; while Matthew and Mark omit these words entirely, and Luke has them only after the breaking of the bread. Besides these, there are also other discrepancies in the *diction*, which are of a minuter character.

Our first question is, In what are all the sacred writers agreed?

They all agree, that Jesus said of the bread : " This is my body ;" two of them add : " Which is given for you," " Which is broken for you." Substantially they all agree, that Jesus said, respecting the cup : " This is my blood of the New Testament," or, as Luke and Paul express it : " This cup is the New Testament in my blood." I take both of these expressions to be essentially equivalent ; for both declare the fact, that the New Testament or covenant is consecrated and sanctioned by the blood of Jesus.

Three of the witnesses also agree in relating the fact, that Jesus said concerning his blood, that " it was shed for many," (*Luke, for you*) ; and Matthew adds : " For the remission of sins." Paul does not record this last declaration ; but the manner in which he introduces his account of the eucharist, and the connection of this with what he had before said, plainly implies it.

Now these are the substantial facts of the case, on which of course all the others rest, and around which they all cluster and concentrate. Luke is more brief than either of the others ; and Matthew, who was present, at the first eucharist, is naturally more full and circumstantial. There are no discrepancies here which amount to contradictions. The state of the case is simply this, viz., that some have related attending circumstances or concomitant words, which others have omitted. I have not unfrequently met with the suggestion, that the differences in this case amount to an important discrepancy or virtual contradiction. I cannot accede to such a view of the subject. Here are four independent witnesses, and each tells the story for himself, or in his own way. Now it happens, in this case, as in all others, that four different and independent men never tell a story, or give a particular account of any matter, in the same identical words, or with a repetition of minute circumstances in all respects the same. Such testimony, if it could be found, would be regarded in no other light than as a matter of mere collusion and concert between the narrators, and would consequently lose its credibility. And so the Spirit of God has ordered it in the present case. Each of the narrators preserves his own personal characteristics, his own style, his own views ; each has inserted something omitted by the others, and omitted something inserted by them ; and yet there is a harmony of method, in regard to the exhibition of all the essential facts of the case, which is unusual even in the evangelists themselves, at least it is unusual on many occasions.

It is of some importance to illustrate and confirm this, in order to relieve the perplexity of scrupulous readers of the Gospels,

when they become distinctly aware of this matter, and have never exercised their minds upon such subjects. I will do it as briefly as the nature of the case and the object in view will permit, and merely for the sake of relieving their perplexity, if it be in my power.

Passing the fact, that Luke only, of all the evangelists, has given a circumstantial account of the annunciation of the birth of Christ to the virgin Mary by Gabriel, and of other interesting occurrences which were consequent upon it, we will stop for a moment at the history of the temptation in the wilderness. Mark simply adverts to it in a single verse, as a matter of fact. Matthew and Luke devote, respectively, a whole paragraph to the narration of it. Substantially these two evangelists agree; but in the *order* of events they differ. Luke presents the temptation on the pinnacle of the temple as the *last* of the three; Matthew presents it as the *second* in order.

So in respect to the Sermon on the Mount. Only two evangelists have recorded or mentioned it, viz. Matthew and Luke. But Luke has not recorded more than one third part of what Matthew exhibits; and some of this is in a different order, and is clothed with a diction quite diverse. Matthew was present when the discourse was delivered, and would naturally be more circumstantial in his narration; Luke gathered his information, as he tells us in the preface to his Gospel, from eye and ear-witnesses.

It were easy to go on through the whole of the Gospels, and find, almost every where, more or less like the discrepancies just presented. But the nature of the present occasion forbids me to do it. I will only advert to one or two minute circumstances, in respect to different modes of narration, which are of a somewhat striking nature.

After the baptism of Jesus, there came a voice from heaven, saying: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Three evangelists tell the story; but neither of the three relates, in all respects, the same words as the others, as being spoken from heaven. The occurrence was so striking and remarkable, and the words so few, that one is moved at first to wonder how the identical expressions could ever be forgotten or in any respect changed.

More remarkable still is another narration of a similar character. I refer to the inscription which Pilate put upon the cross of Jesus. Mark says simply: "The King of the Jews;" all the others are more circumstantial, and introduce other designations

of the sufferer. Yet no one of all four gives us the inscription in exactly the same way as his associates give it.

If one were to follow the Gospels critically and minutely through, he would find on every page of them more or less of the same character, in regard to the modes of narration. With all the points of resemblance in these compositions, (and these are exceedingly numerous), the points of *diversity* in respect to diction and mode of narration, are almost of equal amount. How few readers there are, who examine into such matters, or have any accurate knowledge of them, is evident enough from the fact, that the bare mention of these things is wont to surprise and even to shock them, and they are prone to look upon the man who tells them of such facts, as loving rather to read the Gospels with prying and skeptical eyes, than to read them with a humble and believing temper. 'It is enough,' they exclaim, 'simply to believe what is said, without inquiring *how* it is said, or what difficulties may possibly arise from minute attention to matters of diction and critical comparison of them.'

I give such persons credit for meaning well. Yet I could hardly class them with those noble Bereans, who are immortalized by the sacred historian, because they searched the Scriptures daily, in order to put to the test the preaching of Paul and Silas. 'Why! one might say, could they not believe Paul at once, without a moment's investigation or inquiry? Is not ready and implicit faith the very best of all faith?' And yet it would seem that Luke thought otherwise, for he records two things of these same Bereans; the first, that they received the word with all readiness; the second, that they exhibited this readiness then, and only then, when by searching the Scriptures they had found to be true what Paul and Silas had announced.

Put now the case, that all Christians should read the Gospels merely in the manner which some contend for. Infidels and latitudinarians do, and will, also read them. The diversities in question are affirmed by them to amount to *contradictions*. Strauss's book, which has roused up all the continent of Europe, and even the isles of the sea, and set the mass of men to wondering at the Gospels, or doubting about them, is built almost exclusively and entirely on the basis of the frequently apparent disagreements of the Gospels. Happy the man, you may say, who knows nothing about such matters! And so would I say, with all my heart, if I thought the times would let such men remain peaceful in their happy ignorance of such matters. But what shall be done,

when a learned and subtle advocate of neological views assails them by producing his doubts and difficulties? Christians of this cast are, in such a case, absolutely unarmed and defenceless. If they do not fall in the contest, they will be covered with wounds that are many and deep. That they are soon to meet with attacks of this nature, is quite manifest from the spirit of the times, and the publications in English of works bearing the character to which I have alluded. May the great Head of the Church compassionate and defend them, when the day of trial comes!

Most of my readers are called by duty to know something of the difficulties to which I have been adverting. Such difficulties run through all the Gospels. Nay, the Gospel of John is so entirely different from all the others, that there is scarcely anything in it in common with the others, except the account of the death and resurrection of Christ. Not a word of the *birth* of Christ, in the record of this beloved disciple; no account even of the institution of the Lord's Supper; which is very remarkable, inasmuch as John has given altogether a more circumstantial account of Jesus' actions and words near the close of his life, than any other evangelist. How could the disciple who leaned on Jesus' bosom, omit such a deeply interesting transaction?

All these views and suggestions, as any one will easily perceive, have a bearing on the different accounts given by the other sacred writers, of what was said and done at the institution of the eucharist. We have seen the discrepancy that exists among these accounts. We have seen, or at any rate we may by examination see, that these discrepancies do not amount to any contradiction. Each writer has presented things deemed important by himself. Each one has looked with his own individual eye upon the scene, and presented us with what struck him most forcibly. In this way we have a more complete view of the original, than any one single portrait could well give. All the circumstances, as they now are, are perfectly natural, and have therefore the stamp of genuineness. But if all the accounts were run in one and the same mould, every wary and critical reader would of course suspect *collusion* and *copying* among the writers. The credit of the whole would then vanish, or be substantially injured. *Now*, the witnesses are evidently independent, and do not copy after one another. Their diversity is an ample pledge of this. So has an all-wise Providence ordered the manner of the narrations, that unbelievers cannot say with truth: Here is collusion and copying.

Let us advert for one moment to other records of interesting

persons and transactions, for the sake of satisfying our minds that we are making a proper estimate of this matter. Plato and Xenophon have both given an account of Socrates' apology or defence before his judges. Yet, while they substantially agree, how different is the costume and the back-ground of each picture ! So is it also with Xenophon's picture of Socrates' teaching and doctrines, as exhibited in his *Memorabilia*, in comparison with Plato's exhibition of the same in his dialogues.

I might say of Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, and other painters, that they have each and all sought to give us some adequate view of the person of Jesus. But one has presented him, at his baptism ; another, in the wilderness as tempted ; another, on the mount of transfiguration ; another, as before the tribunal of the high-priest, and at the bar of Pilate ; another, as on his way to crucifixion ; another, as nailed to the cross ; another, as lying in the sepulchre ; another, as risen triumphant from the grave ; and another, as ascending to heaven. Now how could any one picture of Jesus exhibit him in all these attitudes and circumstances ? That was impossible. Why then should we expect, that any one evangelist, and each one, would give all the actions and words of Jesus ? John tells us that the world would not contain the books, if all were written out which Christ had said and done. What propriety or fairness is there, then, in accusing the evangelists and Paul of contradicting each other, and disagreeing with each other, in the history of the eucharist ? Does the painter who draws Christ in one particular attitude, contradict another, who has thrown other and different circumstances into the back-ground of his picture, although his chief design is to exhibit the same attitude ? I trow not. Paul then does not contradict Mark, nor Matthew, nor Luke, because he differs in circumstantiality from each and all of them. And when this is once fully conceded, and placed in its proper position, most of the difficulties about this matter would seem to be at a reasonable end.

One general result of minute comparisons of the gospel narrations must inevitably be this, viz., that it is not probable, that either of the evangelists have, in all cases, or perhaps in any, given us the *exact, identical* words of Christ. But the leading *sense* of his words each has given us in his own way. Now fourteen centuries ago Jerome said, that 'the Scripture is in the nut, not in the shell ; it is the fruit, and not the rind ; the *sense* and *meaning* is the true word of God, and the diction is nothing more than the costume.' Well understood and skilfully applied, this is not only

good sense, but truth exceedingly important. Even civil jurists have a maxim which they often appeal to and apply: *He who sticks in the letter sticks in the bark.* (Qui haeret in litera, haeret in cortice.)

Of the identical words employed by Jesus on any occasion we cannot be sure, unless there is a complete agreement among all the narrators. The real and substantial meaning of what he said, is quite another matter.

In the case before us, however, we have seen, that as to the words: "This is my body; this is my blood," there is an entire accord among all the narrators. The meaning of these words, then, becomes an object of great interest and importance. Our main object is to investigate it.

§ 3. IS THE OPINION OF THE FATHERS AUTHORITATIVE?

I never expected, until recently, to see the day, when, among English and American Protestants, there would be a contention, whether the Saviour's words at the original eucharist were to be literally or figuratively interpreted, when he said, in respect to the bread before him: "This is my body," and of the wine: "This is my blood." But I have lived to see such a day, to my undissembled astonishment. I knew well, indeed, that multitudes who have borne and bear the Christian name, had interpreted the words just quoted in a *literal* manner. But their minds had been prepared for this, by what I believe to be an extravagant reverence for antiquity, that is, for the Christian fathers of ancient days, and for the subtle reasonings of the schoolmen during the dark ages. But among Protestants of England and America, that the question should arise, and be seriously debated once more, whether *transubstantiation* or *consubstantiation* be not after all a verity of the Gospel, is more than I had ever anticipated in any measure. Yet such a time has actually come. We have not only side-long hints and glances at such doctrines, but from high places in Protestant and Christian England we have an open avowal of them. The echo has reached across the Atlantic, and, as is not unusual in many cases, is louder, or threatens to be louder, than the original sound. Indeed, in the published sermon of Dr. Pusey, in relation to the subject before us, I find but a feeble report of the matter. It is made up, in the first place, of a string of citations from the New Testament, in respect to each and all of which, the writer takes it for granted, that the *literal* sense of the passages quoted is the only sense of which they are fairly capable;

and, in the second place, it consists of a like series of quotations from the Christian fathers, on which the preacher puts the same gloss. Any and every Romish treatise on the sacrament, of any celebrity, would easily furnish the matter for such a sermon; and little more is in fact done by the writer, than to copy out what he had found already prepared and made quite ready to his hand.

As to those in our own country, who reëcho such declarations as that sermon contains, without any effort to distinguish between the *figurative* and the *literal*, I must say, at least, what I have already said of another class of persons, that they seem not very much to resemble those noble Bereans, who were wont, in the exercise of their own judgment, to put the preaching of Paul and Silas to the test of the Scriptures. It is always easier, as we all know, to believe and assert, than it is to examine and prove. And when the expediency of such a method of forming religious sentiment comes to be questioned, then a defence of this sluggishness is usually ready and near at hand. This is, that all who do not believe with such persons, are skeptical, proud of their own reason, and prone to make religion more a matter that pertains to the intellect than to the heart. So, with them it is not only a merit to believe in the literal sense of scripture-declarations and of the assertions of the fathers; but the more difficult and improbable this sense is, the greater and more meritorious, in their view, would appear to be the faith which gives credit to it. What merit, they would seem to ask, in believing where all is plain and certain? But when you believe a thing incredible or impossible, it shows that you have a strong and operative faith. It was in such a way, that Tertullian came to his famous *Credo quia impossibile est*; and it is in this way that he has come, with many, to be regarded on this very account as having a claim to be called a second *Father of the faithful*.

In a broad survey of the question before us, we are first of all cast necessarily upon the inquiry: *How much is due to the opinion of the ancient Christian fathers?* Then follows of course the question: *What was that opinion?*

It were easier, in some respects, to write a book on each of these questions, than to give such a summary as is adapted to our present purposes. I must not occupy much time with either of these questions. Yet, if I do anything to the purpose in the way of answering either, I must say so much as will enable my readers to rest their opinion on arguments and facts, rather than on any assertions that I may make.

The first question need not detain us long. It stands thus: *In forming our views of religious truth, how much is due to the opinion of the ancient Christian fathers?*

"ALL SCRIPTURE," says Paul, "IS GIVEN BY INSPIRATION OF GOD, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." (2 Tim. 3: 16, 17). Now here is a plain and unequivocal assertion, that the Scripture is sufficient for all that is needed in relation to doctrine or practice. The man of God, that is the Christian, may be *perfect* by what is revealed in Scripture; in other words, he may be raised to the highest attainments in faith and holiness, by means of the Scripture; he may, moreover, be *thoroughly furnished* unto *all* good works. He needs no canons of councils; no books of discipline exhibiting the commandments and inventions of men; no visionary speculations and phantasies of ascetics; to make him *thoroughly* furnished—furnished not only for this or that good work, but for *all* good works.

So wrote and said Paul, before any ascetic had risen up in the church, to trouble and perplex it with dreamy conceits about the means of sanctification and high Christian attainments; or at least, before there was any considerable effort made by men of this class. This apostle does indeed once recognize the existence of such men in one church, viz. that at Colosse. To those in this church who were in danger of hearkening to such ill-grounded and superstitious opinions and conceits, he says: "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (Touch not, taste not, handle not; which all are to perish with the using), after the commandments and doctrines of men? Which things, indeed, have a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and neglecting the body, not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh," or, as the last two clauses should rather be translated or paraphrased: 'Neglecting the body by withholding due sustenance for it; and even this for the gratification of carnal wishes.' The apostle tells the Colossians plainly, that by a solicitous attention to such matters, they would be beguiled of their true Christian reward in heaven.

I ask now whether all or any of the so-called Christian fathers, from Clement of Rome down to the latest writer who is reckoned among them, were *inspired* men? All antiquity said *NA*; the middle ages, even, said *NA*; modern times and the present day

are compelled to say **NAY**. Their writings then are not **SCRIPTURE**; for all Scripture is *inspired*. They are not infallible, then. Even the most strenuous Romanist is compelled to acknowledge this. So far as they agree with the Scriptures, all is well. But when they differ from the plain and obvious meaning of the Scripture, what is then to be done?

That they do differ in some cases; that even all of them whose writings amount to any thing considerable, do sometimes differ; will not be denied by any fair-minded man of any party, who is familiar with their writings. I go further. I venture to say in the face of the world, and to challenge refutation when I say, that there is not one considerable writer among them all, who does not exhibit some weak spots, discrepancies, contradictions either of the Scriptures or of rational views of things, contradictions even of himself. There is not one of them in whom may not be found incongruities, uncomelinesses, superstitious views, occasional weak credulity, and puerilities that would now be regarded by us as very strange, even among the larger children of a Sabbath-school. Many of their gems, even, are incrustated with crude and shapeless substances; and not unfrequently, when one finds them, he is obliged to pick them out as it were from a dung-hill.

It answers no purpose to reply to these assertions by lifting up both hands, and exclaiming, with elongated visage and the assumption of holy horror, against the *impiety* of such suggestions. I repeat it, that I have told the simple truth; and that if time and place permitted, and life were long enough to complete the task, more or less of what I have said could be easily made out as a matter of fact from every considerable father, and in most cases all that I have said could be fully applied to each of the patristical works now extant. No person who is familiar with these writings, will venture to contradict me, unless he has a sinister or party purpose in view.

When I say all this, I say it with no design to dishonour or degrade the Fathers. I have no feelings towards them which could lead me to form such a design. I respect the piety of most of them. Many excellent, yea invaluable things they have said. Their testimony to *facts*, in a multitude of cases, is of indispensable and inestimable value. Some of them, also, were truly great men, considering the time and the circumstances in and under which they lived. Any man, who can treat them in mass with

ridicule and contempt, shows only that he is himself an ignorant or a slanderer.

But still, they were not only men who might err, but men who did often err. They all had more or less of superstition. Their interpretations of the Scripture, with few exceptions, are often at open war with all the sound principles of exegesis. Their knowledge of the sciences was next to nothing. Few of them were even well versed in history. Only Jerome, among them all, could read and understand the Hebrew Scriptures. Origen had, it is true, a modicum of Hebrew knowledge; yet it was worth but little for any critical purposes. Possibly Epiphanius, brought up in Palestine, might know something of Hebrew. How then could the Fathers expound to us, with any good critical certainty, the original Hebrew Scriptures? How could they judge whether any translation of them was exact, or erroneous?

These then are the *guides*, whom we are invited to place by the side of Matthew, and John, and Paul, and other inspired writers. What certainty can we attain to, by following them? When they contradict themselves, and contradict each other, (and this they sometimes do), what is the poor wanderer to do, who has chosen them for his guide?

I hesitate not to say, that these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered. I am aware, that we are called on to consider, that although no one of the Fathers is infallible, in all cases, yet there is among them a universal agreement in *some things*; and that, as to those things, there is good ground for placing them by the side of the Scriptures. The criterion is said to be: *Quod unum; quod semper; quod ubique*; i. e. what has been always and every where one and the same. But if we concede the correctness of this criterion, for the sake of argument, it will amount to nothing. Among all the controverted doctrines of Christianity, (and nearly all have been controverted), you cannot find one which has not been either called in question by some of the Fathers, or at all events viewed in a defective light, or in a different light from those in which others have viewed it. If *constant uniformity*, then, be the criterion of appeal to the authority of the Fathers, then is their cause truly desperate who make such an appeal. This uniformity cannot possibly be proved.

But we are reminded here, that the Spirit of God is promised to the Christian in every age; and therefore of necessity we must suppose him to have guided the Fathers to the knowledge of the truth; and if this cannot be specifically asserted of this in-

dividual among them, or of that, yet *it may be said of them as a whole.*

In reply to this I have to say, first, that I see no reason why we must not apply such a principle to the Christians in the dark ages, and in the present age, as well as to ancient times. The moment we admit this latter position, (and how can the objector refuse to admit it?) all preëminence of the Fathers ceases; unless indeed they are entitled to one for superior learning and ability. But this will not be seriously contended for, by any well-informed man. Then as to the assertion, that *as a whole* they must have been guided to a knowledge of the truth, while at the same time we are obliged to concede that each individual of this whole has been liable to err, and has actually erred; I know not how we shall make the whole to be of a quality altogether different from the qualities of each of its component parts. Infallible no individual was; how then could the sum of the same individuals be infallible?

Besides, the Spirit of God is not specifically promised to the individuals who compose the corps of the Fathers. It is promised to the *Church*. God always has had a true Church in the world. But even to them the Spirit is not promised, in such a sense as to make them inspired and infallible in their writings. The best of men, when uninspired, have always fallen into some errors, and cherished some notions not taught in the Bible. Did we know for certainty who the true Church are and always have been, we could not even then look to them as infallible in all matters of sentiment. The most that we can truly say, is, that all truth essential to salvation will be known and acknowledged by the true Church, whenever or wherever it exists. But after all, some chaff may be and is mingled with the wheat.

It is out of all question, then, to place any *uninspired* men by the side of *inspired* ones, and to make them of equal authority, or to regard them as entitled to implicit credit, without any further examination than what is necessary in order to decide what their meaning is. We must fall back on another position, and take our place with those who have said: "The *Law of the Lord* is perfect, converting the soul;" "the *Gospel* is the power of God unto salvation."

§ 4. HISTORICAL VIEW OF OPINION IN THE CHURCHES AT PRESENT,
AND IN MODERN TIMES.

We come now to the second question : *What was the opinion of the ancient Fathers, in respect to the meaning of the consecrating sacramental words ?*

Before I proceed, however, to the immediate discussion of this question, I must solicit the attention of my readers to some account of the present attitude of the Christian world in regard to this matter, and lay before them what causes have been in operation, since the commencement of the Reformation, to produce and continue such a state of opinion. Information in relation to these matters is not only interesting and useful in itself to an enlightened Christian, but it will deepen his interest to know what the leaders of the early churches have thought and said in relation to the eucharist.

Beginning then our historical inquiries with the present day, and with more recent times, we shall find that the great mass of nominal Christians now entertain a belief in Christ's real bodily presence in the elements of the Lord's Supper. For some time before the Reformation began, during the first quarter of the 16th century, nearly all Christendom were united in the Romish doctrine of *transubstantiation*, i. e. of the actual presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements of the eucharist, or rather, that these elements, after due consecration, are actually and verily converted into the body and blood of Christ. As Protestantism made progress, the so-called Reformed churches, modelled by Zuingli, Calvin, and their associates, called in question this doctrine, and, with some shades of difference, united in the view, that the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper are merely *symbols* of his body that was broken and of his blood that was poured out. This sentiment has been gaining ground since that period ; but, as the sequel will show, it has as yet made but little progress among professed Christians.

Taking the popular estimate of the inhabitants of our world, at present, they are divided into 500,000,000 Pagans, 100,000,000 Mohammedans, and 200,000,000 Christians. Of the Christians, the Roman Catholics constitute at least one half ; the Greek church numbers about 52,000,000, and the so-called Protestants nearly 50,000,000. From these we must, for our present purpose, subtract the Lutherans, amounting to about 17,000,000. The remainder,

about 33,000,000 of Protestants, of different names, are the only portion of Christendom, which does not believe in *transubstantiation* or *consubstantiation*. All the Roman Catholics and the Greek church, which together make about 152,000,000, profess to believe, that the consecrated bread and wine become the true and real body and blood of Christ; and the Lutherans, as a body, have hitherto believed in the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacramental elements. Their mode of expressing it has been, that Christ's body and blood are *in, with, and under* the elements of the eucharist; while, at the same time, they do not deny that these elements still preserve unchanged their attributes as bread and wine. The Romish church deny this last proposition, and assert that the consecrated elements are no longer bread and wine, but the real body and blood of Jesus Christ.

I should not do justice to the Lutheran church of recent times, if I did not say, that many within its precincts have loudly called in question the old doctrine of Luther and his compeers and successors, in respect to consubstantiation. The battle has been fought, of late, with great power; and scarcely a doubt remains, that the more enlightened among the Lutherans, are either renouncing his views, or coming to the position that they are not worth contending for. In this country, such is clearly the case. Dr. Schmucker, the able and excellent exponent of the Lutheran theology in this country, in his work called *Popular Theology*, has told us, that they are "settled down in the happy conviction, that on this, as on all other subjects not clearly determined by the inspired volume, her sons shall be left to follow the dictates of their own conscience, having none to molest or to make them afraid." (p. 255.) The great body of Lutheran divines among us, according to the same writer, doubt or deny the corporeal or physical presence of Christ in the elements of the eucharist.

It is not difficult to predict, that ere long the great mass of well-informed Lutherans, at least in this country, will be substantially united, in regard to this subject, with the other reformed churches. The progress of discussion in Germany seems to promise the same in that country.

How different this state of things is, from that which succeeded the publication of the Augsburg Confession, Melancthon's *Apolo-gy*, the *Catechisms* of Luther, and afterwards the *Formula Concordiae*, no one can fail to perceive. Luther's points of reform did not touch the sacrament, at first, excepting merely some of the ceremonies consequent on, or concomitant with, its administration.

In all the early authentic documents of the Lutheran faith, the *real presence* of Christ in the elements is strongly and often asserted. Even graceless communicants, it is asserted, partake of the real body and blood of Christ, although it is to their harm or condemnation. As to others, Luther maintained, that communion at the Lord's table was the means of obtaining forgiveness of sin, confirmation of belief, and establishment of Christian virtue.

The idea that *forgiveness of sin* was to be obtained by coming to the table of the Lord, was wholly inconsistent with another part of Luther's creed, who held that the impenitent, i. e. the unforgiven, have no right to come to the table of the Lord, and if they do come, they only enhance their guilt.

The great mass, moreover, of enlightened Lutherans hold, so far as I can ascertain, even now, that the communicant, by coming to the Lord's table, establishes and confirms his *regeneration*; which last, as they aver, was actually commenced, when the rite of baptism was duly administered. This rite, when thus administered, does of itself, and by its own virtue, as they hold, implant the *germ of regeneration* in the soul of the child, or at all events occasion it to be implanted. Such then, even now, is the doctrine of the greater part of our Lutheran brethren on the continent of Europe. (See evidences of the above views of the older Lutherans, in Bretschneider's *Dogmatik*, II. p. 714 seq.)

How strenuous Luther and his followers were for a long period, in their views respecting *consubstantiation*, is well known to all attentive readers of ecclesiastical history. In vain were repeated conferences resorted to, in order to bring them and the Swiss reformers to a harmony of opinion, in relation to this subject. The breach grew wider and wider, the longer the subject was agitated. Melancthon and other Lutherans would easily have come to an agreement with Calvin and his associates; but Luther would not give way an inch; and he succeeded in inspiring a majority of his followers with the same spirit. The battle waxed still warmer after his death; and this, when both parties of the Reformed were in danger of overwhelming destruction from the advocates of the Papacy. United, the Protestants might have bid defiance to all the efforts of Rome, and the greater part of Europe would probably have become Protestant. But the strenuous leaders among the Lutherans did not scruple to declare, as the venerable Planck has shown, that they would sooner go back and unite with the Romish church, than admit the abominable doctrine, that the elements of the Lord's Supper are merely *symbols* of his body and blood.

How often is one compelled, in reading the history of the church, to wonder at the power of superstitious notions, and the zeal and obstinacy with which they are defended! When men get into this predicament, they generally try to make up by zeal and obstinacy, what is wanting in reason and argument. As this is the only way in which they can retain their position, one may expect that they will be very much in earnest. I think it would not be far from the truth if I should say, that outrageous disputes, vituperative discourse, reproachful appellations, dark suspicions, and zeal to find or make heretics, yea, and to burn them too, proceed almost entirely from those who have a weak cause to maintain, and have planted themselves on the basis of imaginary orthodoxy, or of metaphysical or superstitious conceit.

Thus have I given a brief view of the state of things, in regard to the matter before us, since the time when the Reformation commenced. Out of the 200,000,000 of nominal Christians, now and for some time past existing, it would seem that not more than one sixth part believe that the bread and wine of the eucharist are merely *symbols* of the body and blood of Christ. And even among this small number, it appears that division is commencing. There are not wanting men, as I have already said, in this country and in England, who openly or secretly advocate the doctrine of the *real presence* of Jesus in the eucharistic elements. Perhaps a majority of these men content themselves with suggesting, or significantly hinting, that to regard the bread and wine as mere symbols, is a cold and heartless and comparatively unmeaning rite; that unspeakably more interest and importance are attached to the Lord's Supper, when Christ is regarded as embodied in its elements; and consequently, on this ground, if on no other, such a mode of viewing the subject is altogether preferable. But for the most part, they do not content themselves with merely reasoning in this way. They not unfrequently more than hint, that the sacramental words of Christ are to be *literally* interpreted; and above all, that this method of interpretation has been the prevailing one, ever since the earliest periods of the Christian church. They do not scruple, on some occasions, to aver, that this is one of those matters of which it may be said: *Quod unum, quod semper, quod ubique*, i. e. it has always and everywhere been one and the same. Consequently, as they aver, we are under obligation to listen to the voice of all the earlier ages, which have thus expounded the sacramental words of Christ.

Is this declaration respecting the *uniformity* and *antiquity* of the

opinion in question true? We must pursue this inquiry still further, in the following section.

§ 5. OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

In entering upon the consideration of the question: What was the opinion of the Christian fathers respecting the elements of the Lord's Supper? I must premise, that appeal to individual declarations, in this case, excepting merely so far as illustration or special confirmation demands, is out of all question. Declarations enough might easily be exhibited, to fill several successive volumes. But that would be altogether out of place in such a plan as my present one, and in a discussion so limited. Summary views illustrated and confirmed, are all that I shall attempt, and all that ought to be aimed at, in an essay like the present.

It is natural to suppose, when we consider the peculiarly solemn nature of the Lord's Supper, that the three great parties of Christians, who appeared soon after the commencement of the Reformation, would direct their special attention to this ordinance. The Roman Catholic church had, by this time, settled down on the belief of transubstantiation; and along with this they received the idea, that the eucharist was a renewal, so often as it was celebrated, of vicarious sacrifice by the body and blood of Christ. Hence the consecrated bread was carried round publicly in processions, was distributed to the sick and infirm, and was worshipped as the actual body of Christ.

Melancthon first opened the contest on the subject of the eucharistic elements, so early as 1530, only thirteen years after the Reformation. In his treatise, the usual Lutheran views of the day were defended. He was answered by Oecolampadius, who, although a German and a Lutheran, took sides with Zuingli in the sacramentarian controversy.

An attack was soon made upon the Romish views, by De Mornai of France; and successively the contest was prolonged, by different writers, and has continued down to the present time. Among these may be reckoned some of the most distinguished writers, in each of three great divisions of Christians.

One grand question, for a long time, with most of the writers, was: What have the earlier fathers taught, in respect to the elements of the Lord's Supper? And it is a fact worthy of special note, that each of the parties found, or believed that they had found, patronage for their respective opinions among the Christian fathers.

Nor is this without some reason. It is a fact, that one may, in some of the fathers, find sentiments that correspond with transubstantiation, with consubstantiation, and with the idea of symbolic representation; and sentiments, moreover, which correspond with neither of these views.

I must now touch upon a few particulars, in the way of illustrating and justifying this declaration.

The epistles of Ignatius are so uncertain, in regard to their genuineness, that we cannot safely appeal to them as evidence. If this might be done, it were easy to show, that he held the partaking of the eucharistic elements to be 'the means of preparing our bodies for a resurrection and an immortality;' and that he regarded the eucharist as 'the flesh of Christ, who suffered for our sins, and was raised from the dead.' (Ep. ad Eph. c. 20. Ep. ad Smyr. c. 7). But whether he held to views like the Romish, or the Lutheran, it would be difficult to make out from his words, should we regard them as genuine.

Justin Martyr, who flourished about A. D. 140, is the first Christian father who has given us particular and specific views respecting the sacramental elements. There is a long paragraph in his *Larger Apology* respecting the Lord's Supper, which I cannot here repeat, but from which, as it seems to me quite plain, it is evident that he held an opinion different from either of the three great parties into which Christendom is now divided. The sum of it is, that as the Logos or higher spiritual nature of Christ once assumed a body in connection with himself, and dwelt in the same, so the same Logos is present in the eucharistic elements, and for the time being, i. e. when they are consecrated and partaken of, they are, in a like way as his former body and blood, the place or the subject of his indwelling. He who partakes of them, then, partakes of the present, not the former, body and blood of Christ; and on this ground he receives within himself the germ or element of the future resurrection and immortality of his body. (Justin Mart. *Apol. maj.* pp. 82, 83, edit. Colon.)

It will be perceived, at once, that this is different from the transmutation of the bread and wine into the actual body of Christ; different from Christ's actual body and blood being in, with, and under the bread; and different from the idea, that the elements are only symbols of Christ's broken body and of his blood that was shed. All three of these parties have appealed to Justin for support; and all without any valid reason. Each can find some-

thing that looks as if it might favour his opinion ; but in the end each is obliged, if he is a fair-minded man, to give this up.

The other passages of Justin, in his Dialogue with Trypho, (pp. 209, 210, 137, *ib.*), merely declare, that the eucharist is a *thank* or *praise-offering* to God ; not a sin-offering, in the sense of the Romanists. What naturally led Justin to view the eucharist in this light, was the circumstance, that the Jews and Heathen objected to Christianity, that it presents no visible offerings to God, such as their religion taught them to present, and so could not be a true religion. Justin and other fathers felt that this objection might be removed, by maintaining that the eucharist was an *oblation* or *thank-offering* ; and at the same time, that it brought to view the real expiatory offering, viz. the death of Christ. In addition to this, the consideration, that an analogy between the offerings of the Old Testament and of the New would appear to be kept up by such a view of this subject, seems to have been a further inducement for regarding the eucharistic elements as a *thank-offering*.

Irenaeus, who lived near the close of the second century, speaks in like manner of the sacrament of the Supper. After labouring at length, in his fourth book, to show that the eucharist is a *thank-offering* ; and after asking, how it can be supposed, that heretics, who deny the true Maker of heaven and earth, can bring such an offering, he thus proceeds : " How shall it be made evident to them, that the bread, on account of which thanks are given, is the body of the Lord, and the cup of his blood, when they will not acknowledge him as the Son of the world's Creator, that is, his Word, by whom the trees are made fruitful, the fountains flow forth, and the earth yields first the stalk, then the ear, and lastly the full grain in the ear." (Lib. iv. c. 18. § 1—4.)

In another passage, in the sequel (§ 5), he speaks of " the eucharist as consisting of two elements, the earthly and the heavenly ;" and from this circumstance he draws the conclusion, that our bodies partake of an element besides the perishable one, and this element is the germ of immortality by reason of the Logos being in the elements of the eucharist. In another passage he speaks of our bodies as belonging to Christ, because he nourishes them by the effects of the sun and rain, and the fruits, i. e. by bread and wine which these produce. (V. c. 2. § 2.) In yet another passage, he speaks of the Word (Logos) of God as received by the elements of the Supper, and says that " they become the body of Christ ; and that by these elements our bodies are nourished and

grow ;" and he then asks, how any one can deny that the body is capable of eternal life. In the same passage, he speaks of the Logos of God as coming to the bread and wine, and of his being received by them ; and he says, that thus they become the eucharist, that is, the body and blood of Christ. (Ib. † 3. See and comp. also, IV. c. 33, † 2. *Fragm.* p. 343.) In consequence of such a union, he deduces the certainty of the resurrection of the body.

Irenaeus, in arguing against the Gnostics, who denied that the Old Testament proceeded from the same God as the New, (because *there* are offerings everywhere, and *here* nowhere), maintains the idea of an *offering* in the eucharist ; yet not a propitiatory offering, but only a *thank-offering*. As already noticed, he argues the future existence of our bodies, from the fact that we have fed on the body and blood of Christ, in the eucharistic elements, and therefore we must live forever. And lastly, like Justin Martyr, he argues that the elements of the eucharist are the body and blood of Christ, because the Logos comes to men, and is received by men, and uses them as his body and blood. This as we have seen in the case of Justin, is a view that differs from that of either of the three great parties now existing in Christendom. All have appealed to Irenaeus ; all may find something, which considered merely by itself, may favour the views of each ; but neither has any good reason to cite this Father as an authority. He differs from them all.

There is another consideration to be taken into view here, both in respect to Justin and Irenaeus. Very early in the Christian Church the view of baptism which began to be cherished was, that the Holy Spirit united himself with the baptismal water, in some mysterious way, and thus made it to produce a regenerating and sanctifying influence. In like manner, Justin and Irenaeus seem to have thought, did the Logos unite with the elements of the eucharist, and give to them a peculiar and imperishable virtue. It should also be remarked here, that the leading influence of the sacramental bread and wine appears, in the view of these two early writers, to have been this, viz., that our bodies, naturally perishable, became, by partaking of the eucharist, immortal like the body of Christ. How they disposed of the bodies of the *wicked* at the general resurrection, would present a question of some difficulty. But I cannot dwell upon it here.

Clement of Alexandria, early in the third century, distinguished in his day for a variety of learning, has expressed himself, in relation to the eucharist, somewhat more obscurely. Yet we may

gather some things, with sufficient definiteness. He maintains a distinction between the blood of Christ on the cross, and his blood in the eucharist; he asserts the spiritual presence or energy of the Logos in the elements; and finally he says, in so many words, that "the holy fluid of gladness [i. e. the eucharistic wine], *allegorizes* the Logos, whose [blood] was poured out for the remission of the sins of many." (Paed. II. c. 2. p. 186. For confirmation of the other assertions, see Paed. I. c. 6. II. c. 2. Opp. p. 988. Paed. II. 2. p. 184.)

Origen, whose fame both as a critic and interpreter all know, and who lived in the first half of the third century, in his commentary on Matt. 15: 11, (Nothing which goeth into the mouth, defileth a man), most explicitly declares, that the bread and wine of the eucharist are nothing without prayer and holy affections; that they remain bread and wine, and nothing more; and that merely faith is the measure of profit. (Opp. III. p. 498 seq.). In commenting on the words of Christ at the eucharist, he says: "The bread, which the God Logos (*θεὸς λόγος*) declared to be his body, is his word which nourishes souls, the word which comes from the Logos;" and so of the wine, he says: "It is his word watering and satisfying the hearts of those who drink it." And in the sequel; "He [Christ], did not call this visible bread which he held in his hands, his body; but the word, to which the bread to be broken had a mysterious reference. The visible drink he did not call his blood, but the word (or doctrine), to which the wine to be poured out had a mysterious reference." (Opp. III. 898.)

Here, then, we find in full measure and in the most unequivocal manner, the *symbolical* significance of the eucharistic elements. No follower of Zuingli or Calvin could make it plainer. Origen speaks, in another place, of those, who attribute a *physical* power to the elements of the eucharist, and names them *simpletons*. He avers, that he interprets the words of Christ *spiritually*, because the letter killeth. (See De Orat. § 17. I. p. 247. Comm. in Johan. IV. p. 444. Hom. in Lev. Opp. II. pp. 222, 225.)

That such were the sentiments of the church in Africa, appears not only from this view of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, but also from Tertullian of Carthage, at the close of the second century. This writer, in defending the reality of Christ's body and blood against Marcion, avers that the elements of the eucharist are the *symbols* (*figura*) of Christ's body and blood, and that they could not be so, if these were not real. (Cont. Marc. IV. c. 40. Comp. I. c. 14. III. c. 19. De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 37.

De Orat. c. 6.) Tertullian entertained exalted views of the sacrament; and he seems even to think, that the physical *body* of Christians receives some peculiar nutriment from it, (De Resurrect. c. 8); but he does not call it an *offering*, nor does he say any thing to favour the views of either the Romanists or the Lutherans.

Cyprian, the famous bishop of Carthage and martyr, who flourished about the middle of the third century, has a long passage in his letter to Caecilius (Ep. 63, p. 148), on the subject of the sacrament. But his main object there, is to show that *water* must of necessity be mingled with the sacramental wine, in order to give it due significancy. Nowhere does he express himself explicitly or fully respecting the presence of Christ in the elements of the eucharist; but the tenor of his reasoning, and the illustrations to which he resorts, as Muenschcr well remarks, show that "Cyprian admitted no actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in those elements, but regarded them in the light of tokens or symbols of his body and blood." (II p. 367, Muensch. Dogmengeschichte.) That Cyprian cherished even an excessive feeling in regard to the wonderful and mysterious and awful in the eucharist, is plain enough from all that he says respecting it. Among other things this may serve as a specimen. In the very gravest manner and filled with solemn awe, he relates the story of a little Christian child, who on some occasion had been allured to approach the statue of some of the heathen gods, and being too small to eat of the *meat*-offering to the idol, the by-standers gave to it some bread and wine. When brought to the eucharist, by its parents, the child rejected with outcries and struggles the elements of the Holy Supper. 'Its mouth,' says Cyprian, 'profaned by idol aliments, could not receive the sacred elements of the eucharist.' (De Lapsis, p. 132). Several other wonderful occurrences of a like tenor, the good bishop relates. The story may at least serve to show, what is an undoubted fact, that at this period baptized children, in very early childhood, were brought to the sacramental table. (For confirmation, see Ep. ad Caecil. pp. 148 seq., 153, 154, 149, 155. Ep. ad Magnes. 67, p. 182. See also Ep. 70. De Unit. Ecc. p. 116).

Thus we have come near to the close of the third century, and find not a single case, in which the doctrine of transubstantiation appears; nor indeed that of consubstantiation, in the sense of Luther. We find the earlier sentiment, as exhibited by Justin Martyr and by Irenæus, to be, that the Logos was present in the eucharistic elements, as he once was in the body which he as-

sumed. But there is no transformation of the elements; nor is the human body and blood of Christ regarded as being present. But after this, in the third century, we find that Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian, all unite in regarding the eucharistic elements in the light of *symbols*, although they indulge in some variety of expression respecting the matter, and employ not a few loose and undefined expressions with regard to it. All unite, however, in considering it a kind of *thank-offering* or *oblation*, not a propitiatory offering such as the Romanists assert. Cyprian even goes so far as to compare the duty of the officiating minister, who consecrates the elements at the sacramental table, to an office like that which the priests of old were regarded by the Jews as performing, when they went through with a service under the High Priest. He says nothing, however, of *expiation* made by the eucharistic oblation; but still, he says that on which after ages, prone to seize every occasion of introducing superstitious views, erected their structure of the vicarious sacrifice of the mass.

There is another remark which I must not omit, at the close of this part of our investigation. I have already adverted to the subject; but it needs distinct mention here, on the ground of its importance. The remark is, that down to this period, it seems everywhere to be recognized by most of the Fathers, and to lie at the basis of their views respecting the eucharist, that Christ in some mysterious and indescribable way, did so unite himself with the bread and wine of the Holy Supper, that the partaker actually received something of him, in some sense or other, and incorporated it into his system in such a way, that the germ of immortality was inserted into the material body of the communicant, and so he was prepared for the resurrection of the last day. Indeed this seems to be altogether a leading view of the early Fathers, in their notions respecting the Sacrament. But this the Romanists and the Lutherans, who appeal to the Fathers, for some reason, mostly choose to pass by in silence. We can easily conjecture reasons enough for their silence; but *they* are not fond of giving them.

In the state in which we have seen the sacramental question to be, near the close of the third century, it continued to be until the latter half of the fourth century. In the first quarter of the fourth century, Constantine, the emperor of Rome, became a professed Christian, and did all in his power to propagate his new religion. Heathenism almost every where declined apace; and

during the latter half of the fourth century, there sprang up a great host of distinguished and able men among the Christians. It may suffice to mention Cyrill of Jerusalem, Ephrem Syrus, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Cassian ; who, however, are only a part. *How did these men view the eucharistic elements ? What changes did the doctrine of the earlier Christians undergo ?*

To produce specific testimonies on this subject, would occupy a volume, instead of a brief discussion. All that can be done is to present some *general views*, to which the detail of these matters seems necessarily to lead us. I say *necessarily*, on the supposition that party views are laid aside, and the investigation conducted on the simple grounds of exegetical inquiry.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of these times, that no disputes seem to have grown up among the churches on the subject of the eucharist. Almost everything else was doubted and disputed by some. But among the Sabellians, the Arians, the Pelagians, and other sects which troubled the church, there was no question or controversy about the elements of the Lord's Supper ; unless, indeed, the small question, whether wine only, or water only, or a mixture of both, should be employed. But the Council of Nice, and other Councils that followed in large numbers, do not appear to have been occupied with any sacramentarian disputes, nor to have passed any specific or important decrees in regard to this matter.

Still, during the period in question, the elements with which the doctrine of the Romish Church were afterwards constructed, were evidently in a state of formation. The germ began in monkery, and in a multiplication of church offices and ceremonies. Everything that could add to the pomp and ceremony of religion, began to attract attention and approbation. The heathen reproached Christians for having no solemn rites, nothing attractive, but only a rude and uninteresting exhibition of their religion. Christians, in order to stop their mouths, and also to attract them towards Christianity, soon began to show, that they could even outdo the heathen themselves in many respects. Not a few of the heathen ceremonies, with a little variation, and baptized (if I may so express it) by a new name, were incorporated into the rituals of the churches. All this was naturally enough regarded as a work of piety ; and the apparently good tendency of it, in attracting the heathen, scarcely permitted a doubt in regard to the expediency of adopting these new changes in rituals.

The attachment of the initiated among the heathen to their so-called mysteries, and the profound reverence which they entertained for them, made Christians desirous of presenting to them some attractive correspondencies in their own religion. *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper* opened a door of easy access to mysteries. In the first, there was the presence of the Holy Spirit, with his regenerating and sanctifying influence, in the consecrated water. The signs of the cross, chrism with holy oil, sponsors, and a variety of other ceremonials were connected with this ordinance. As to the other sacrament, none but the initiated, i. e. the baptized, could be admitted to the Lord's table. The occasion was compared with the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. To throw a sacred awe around the table of the Lord, to endow the eucharistic elements with some mysterious qualities and influence, was a natural consequence of labouring to find something attractive to the multitude, and which would compensate for the loss of their mysteries. Nothing could be better adapted to this, than to interpret the consecrating words of Christ, *This is my body, this is my blood*, in a kind of literal way. This would carry the matter even beyond the bounds of the heathen mysteries. It would fully satisfy the cravings of our nature for the mysterious and the awful.

With such views and feelings, slowly and gradually growing up from the middle of the third century to the middle of the fourth, it can be no matter of wonder that we find the numerous fathers, in the latter part of the fourth, filled with ecstasy and awe, whenever they come to treat directly of the eucharist. Two or three brief examples will afford a specimen of what I mean.

"Direct thy view," says Cyrill of Jerusalem, "to the holy body [meaning the consecrated bread], and sanctify thine eyes. Guard well against losing anything of it; for it would be like losing a member of thine own body. If any one were to commit gold dust to thee, to be conveyed anywhere, wouldest thou not guard carefully against losing any particle thereof? How much more shouldest thou guard against the smallest crumb of that which is more precious than gold or rubies! Draw near to the cup, bowed down, and with a kind of worshipful reverence.—If one drop of it should hang upon thy lips, moisten thine eyes and forehead therewith, and thus sanctify them!" (Catech. XXIII. § 21, 22).

Chrysostom, after describing with what reverence we are wont to approach earthly majesty and splendour, breaks out into this exclamation: "With how much more shuddering shouldest thou approach, when thou seest him [Christ] lying before thee! Say

now to thyself: By means of this body, I am no more dust and ashes; no more a captive, but a freeman; through this I expect an eternal life in heaven, with all the blessings there reserved; and to obtain an inheritance with the angels, and intercourse with the Redeemer." (Hom. XXIV. in Ep. ad Cor. Opp. XI) Again he says, in the sequel: "This entertainment is the nerve of the soul, the bond of the spirit, the foundation of confidence, hope, safety, light, and life. When we go away in possession of this, we find ourselves in possession of golden armour. Why should I speak of the future? This mysterious transaction transforms the earth into heaven.—All that heaven holds of the precious, will I point out to thee on earth. In a royal palace, nothing is more precious than the person of the king. This thou canst now see on earth, yea touch, eat. Purify thyself, then, in order to be made partaker of such mysteries." (Ut sup. p. 261).

One more extract, from Cyrill of Alexandria, must conclude this exhibition? "Christ gives us a feast to-day. Christ serves us. Christ, the friend of men, receives us. Awful is what is said, awful what is done. The fatted calf is slain; the Lamb of God, which takes away the sins of the world. The Father is well pleased; the Son freely presents himself as an offering, not brought forward by the enemies of God, but by himself, to show that he freely took upon him the sorrows that render us happy.—Divine presents are offered; the mysterious entertainment is prepared; the life-giving cup is mingled. The King invites to honours; the incarnate Logos exhorts us; he imparts his body as bread; he presents his life-giving blood as wine.—O what an indescribable arrangement! What incomprehensible condescension! What unsearchable piety! The Creator gives himself to the creature to be partaken of; the source of life voluntarily presents himself to mortals as food and drink!" (Homil. in Myst. Coen. Opp. V. p. 2. pp. 371, 372).

Many passages of such a tenor may be found, in several of the fathers of this period. I envy not the man who can read them with a light or scoffing temper of mind. They manifest the deepest feeling, the most sacred awe, that we can well conceive of as pervading the human breast. I doubt not that the spirit of them was altogether acceptable to God. But whether other and different views of the eucharistic elements might not have excited in the same minds sentiments equally glowing and reverential, and even more spiritual—is a question that different persons might answer in diverse ways. I cannot hesitate to believe, that such

men as a Doddridge, a Baxter, or an Edwards, might be equally affected, yea more rationally and spiritually affected, by such views of the eucharist as they cherished.

† 6. RESULTS.

We have come down to the distinguished Fathers of the latter part of the fourth century. We have found in the writers of preceding times, that when they speak of the presence of Christ in the elements of the eucharist, they have reference to the presence of the *Logos* in them, who assumes them, for the time being, as he once did a human body; and that by virtue of feeding on the consecrated bread and wine, an immortality, or rather, the germ of immortality, becomes incorporated with the *physical* system of the faithful, and renders them capable of reanimation at the period of the general resurrection. Such was the leading idea in relation to this subject, so far as one was definitely formed and exhibited, down to the middle of the third century.

In regard to the fathers subsequent to this period, the most distinguished of which I have named in the preceding section, I can do nothing more than give mere *results*. These I must arrange under general heads.

There cannot be the least doubt, that the fathers of the period in question thought and spoke of the sacramental bread and wine as the *body* and *blood* of Christ. Some of their expressions are exceedingly strong, and even revolting at first view. "The bread," says Gregory of Nyssa, "is at first communion bread; but when it is mysteriously consecrated, it is called and becomes the body of Christ." Again: "Jesus Christ himself declares: This is my body. Who can venture to remain in uncertainty? When he assures us [of the wine]: This is my blood; who can doubt, and say: It is not his blood?" (Greg. Nyss. Orat. in Baptismum Christi, Opp. III. p. 370. See also Cyrill. Hieros. Cat. XIX. † 7. XXI † 3. XXII † 2.)

So says Chrysostom, in relation to the same subject: "Let us always believe God, and not contradict him, even when he says that which disagrees with our senses and our reason. His word is certain, our feelings may deceive us. When therefore the *Logos* says: This is my body; let us believe him, and regard his body with spiritual eyes.—His very self thou seest, thou touchest, thou eatest." (Chrys. Hom. 83 in Matt. Opp. VII. p. 868.)

Cyrill of Alexandria, who seems to surpass all the others in the

vehemence of his expressions, when controverting Nestorius who had defended the *symbolic* view of the Sacrament, exclaims; "Is it not then plainly an eating of the man?—We do not eat the Godhead, but the proper flesh of the Logos; which becomes life-giving, because it is the flesh of the Logos." (Cont. Nestor. IV. c. 4. Tom. VI. See also Cyrill. Hieros. Cat. XXII. § 3. XXIII. § 7. XXII. § 9. Ambrose, De eis qui Myst. init. c. 9; comp. De Fide, IV. c. 5.)

On every side expressions of such a nature abound. At first sight, it would seem as if the doctrine of *transubstantiation* was believed and asserted by these fathers, without any question. Yet there are other passages in them, and there are modes of reasoning to which they often resort, that serve to cast much doubt on this first impression, and finally to remove it. I must illustrate and briefly confirm this remark.

First, then, the fathers frequently compare the eucharist with *baptism*, and put them both in the same class of mysteries. But in regard to baptism, they never maintain that the water becomes, when consecrated, the Holy Spirit, or that the holy oil, which was also employed, experiences any such change. They regarded this matter merely as standing on the following basis, viz., that the Holy Spirit communicated to those elements an extraordinary and supernatural energy. But this is quite a different thing from a change or transformation of the elements into the Holy Spirit.

Secondly, it is a favourite and most frequent idea of the fathers in question, that the union of the Logos with the bread and wine of the eucharist, is like his union with a human body. Now in regard to this latter union, the orthodox churches never held that the two natures of Christ were so blended, that they became merely one nature. The *person* was one, but the *natures* two. Eutychius, an abbot of Constantinople, who flourished at this period, maintained the doctrine of one nature only in Christ. But Eutychius was assailed and opposed from all quarters, with great zeal. The union of the Logos, then, with the body of Jesus, did not change or transform the proper human nature of the body. It still remained real and proper human flesh and blood. If now the same fathers who fought against Eutychius, had maintained a real transubstantiation of the sacramental elements into the body and blood of Christ, by the presence of the Logos in them, then would they have put deadly arms into the hands of Eutychius, who might well say: 'By your own concession, the eucharistic elements are transformed, and are no more bread and wine, when

the Logos is present in them; consequently, when he assumes a human body, it no longer remains such, but it is transformed into a higher nature.' The fathers were in general too wary disputants to expose themselves in this way.

In the third place, some of the fathers are occasionally so explicit, in regard to the point before us, viz. that the *substance* of the bread and wine still remains even after consecration, that no doubt can be left of their meaning. So Chrysostom in his epistle to Caesarius: "As we call the bread, before the consecration, *bread*, but after consecration it loses this name and is called the *body of the Lord*, ALTHOUGH THE NATURE OF THE BREAD STILL REMAINS," etc.¹ (Ep. ad Caesar. in Canisii Thesaur. I. p. 235.) Theodoret, in writing against the Monophysites, asserts, that "the body of Christ retains its proper nature when united with the Godhead; even," he adds, "as the bread and wine, after the consecration, lose nothing of their sensible substance." (Dial. II. Opp. IV. p. 125. seq. Dial. I. p. 25. Comp. Ephrem. Syr. in Phot. Biblioth. c. 229.)

Gelasius, made bishop of Rome in A. D. 492, who lived a century later than most of the fathers of whom I have been speaking, when writing against the Eutychians and Nestorius, says, in the most explicit manner: "Certainly the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ which we receive, are a divine matter; and on this account, we are by them made partakers of a divine nature; but still *the substance or nature of the bread and wine does not cease to exist*.—Although, through the energy of the Holy Spirit, they pass over into a divine substance, yet *their own proper nature remains*." (Gelas. in Bib. Max. Pat. viii. p. 703.) If now the pope of Rome is infallible, why should the doctrine of Gelasius be expressly contradicted by the Council of Trent?

There cannot be the least doubt, that among the fathers of the last half of the fourth century, innumerable expressions may be found, which, when merely considered by themselves would speak strongly in favour of transubstantiation. But whoever will take the pains to go into a more thorough study of the views of these writers, he will find, that now and then they unbend from the vehemence of their expressions, and bring us of necessity to adopt the opinion, that they regarded the change made by the presence of the Logos in the bread and wine, only as one which con-

¹ The genuineness of this epistle is doubted by some; by Muenscher among others (Dogm. Geschichte, IV. p. 389). Yet the reasons given by him are not satisfactory. Eutychius began to spread his errors in A. D. 248. It may well be supposed that Chrysostom opposed him.

sisted in the accession or addition of preternatural or supernatural influences communicated to these elements, without changing the physical nature of the elements themselves. Thus Cyrill of Jerusalem, the most strenuous of them all, says expressly in his Catechism (xxi. § 3), that "the body of Christ is presented by the symbol (*ἐν τῷ φ*) of the bread; and the blood of Christ, by the symbol of the wine." And he adds, respecting the declaration of Jesus to the Jews, viz. that they must eat his flesh and drink his blood, that "they did not understand him in a *spiritual* manner, and so they took offence and went away, because they thought he exhorted them to the literal eating of flesh." (Ib. § 4. Comp. also Greg. Nyss. Orat. catechet. c. 37. Tom. III.)

Besides all this, there were distinguished authors during the fourth century, who continued to regard the Lord's Supper as only a *memorial* of his sufferings and death. Such were Eusebius, Gregory Nazianzen, and Augustine. Yet they all of them seem to have admitted, that there was some mysterious virtue in the elements of the eucharist. (See Euseb. Dem. Evangel. I. p. 38, 39. IV. p. 223. Greg. Naz. Orat. xvii. p. 273. Aug. Ep. 98. § 9. Cont. Faust. XX. c. 18, 21. Cont. Adimant. c. 12. § 3. Doct. Christ. III. c. 16. In Ps. III. § 1. Opp. Tom. IV. p. 7. Also in an extract in Bib. Max. Pat. IX. p. 177, 178. Comp. also Athan. Ep. IV. ad Serap. § 19. Tom. I. p. 710. Theod. Dial. II. Opp. Tom. IV. p. 125—127. Facundi Defens. IX. c. 5.)

Finally, we meet everywhere, in these fathers, with the intimation now and then, that the *bodies* of believers do, by use of the eucharistic elements, attain to a *physical* unity with Christ; so that Christians have both a *spiritual* and a *physical* union with him. This doctrine we have already met with, in the second century, in the writings of Justin and Irenaeus. Cyrill of Jerusalem, Hilary of Poitiers, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Cyrill of Alexandria, Ambrose, Theodoret, and Leo the Great, all speak of this point in terms not to be misunderstood.

(Cyr. Hieros. Cat. XXII. § 3. Hilar. De Trinit. VIII. § 13—16. Greg. Nyss. Orat. Cat. c. 37. Chrysos. Hom. 45 in Johan. Tom. VIII. p. 292. Hom. 63 in Matt. Vol. VII. p. 869. Cyrill. Alex. in Evang. Johan. III. Tom. IV. p. 324. IV. p. 361, 376. X. p. 863. Contr. Nestor. IV. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 109 seq. Ambros. De eis qui Mysteriis, etc. c. 8. Theod. in Ep. ad Ephes. Opp. III. p. 434. Leo, Ep. 46. c. 2, 4. p. 260, 261.)

We must halt for a moment, to make some comparisons here between the sentiments of the fathers and the views of the three

Christian parties. The basis of patristical opinion and representation, down to the fifth century, appears plainly to be this, viz. that by a mysterious and invisible union of the *Logos* with the elements of the eucharist, or by his supernatural presence and influence upon them, they were to be considered in the light of a body and blood, for the time being ; so that those who partake of them, did thus become *physically* united to Christ, as well as spiritually one with him. The elements themselves did not change their proper nature, but superadded powers and virtues were connected with them. Nor did the proper body and blood of Christ become present in, with, and under the bread and wine of the sacrament ; but the *Logos* himself, pervading and uniting with these elements, used them as his body and blood, for the time being. The sacramental bread and wine they seem to have regarded as becoming wholly incorporated with the *physical* systems of believers, and thus to make them capable of an eternal existence after the general resurrection.

Now this is not *transubstantiation*, that is, it is not the transformation of eucharistic elements into the proper human body and blood of Jesus, so as to change their nature entirely as elements of bread and wine. Nor was it *consubstantiation*, which assumes the actual human body and blood of Christ as present in, with, and under the elements ; for it is the *Logos* who forms a union with them, and not Christ's human body. Finally, the views of most of the fathers are not in accordance with those, who hold only to the symbolic or mnemonic significancy of the eucharistic elements. All parties have appealed to the fathers ; all can find passages in them, which may easily be made to favour their views, if no comparison with other passages be made ; and all appeal in vain, when they expect to find either union or consistency among them. The *quod unum, quod ubique, quod semper*, is quite out of all reasonable question, in regard to this matter.

What remains of doctrinal history in regard to our subject, must be very briefly exhibited.

The first exhibition of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, which can now be fairly traced, was made by a monk of Picardy in France, about A. D. 831. His name was *Paschasius*, surname *Ratbertus*. He wrote a treatise on the body and blood of Christ, which is still held in high esteem by the Romanists. In this he maintains, that after consecration, the eucharistic elements no longer remain bread and wine, but are absolutely and substantially the body and blood of Christ. But instead of meeting, as one

would expect from the views of the Romish church in respect to this matter soon after this period, with universal or even general approbation, Paschasius was speedily opposed by formidable antagonists. Rabanus Maurus (a. 847), Johannes Scotus or Erigena, and Bertramus or Ratramus, who all flourished about the middle of the ninth century, and were highly distinguished for their literature and their talents, and along with these others in the Romish church, wrote against the views of Paschasius, and in favour of the *symbolic* exegesis of the passages respecting the eucharist. Yet the general inclination of the age to superstitious views, and to mysterious rites and forms, predominated at last over the reasonings of these learned men. In A. D. 1063, we find that a small Council at Rouen, (Concilium Rotomagense), confirmed the views of Paschasius, and cast away or condemned the doctrine of consubstantiation, or, as it was then called, *impanatio*, i. e. the doctrine that Christ's body and blood were contained in and concealed under the bread and wine of the eucharist. It was not until the twelfth century, that the word *transubstantiation* came to be employed. It was introduced by the famous Hildebert of Tours (1134): and the corresponding verb *transubstantiate*, was first used by Stephen, bishop of Autun, about the same period, who was somewhat distinguished for his attainments. Still, the doctrine of transubstantiation was not received and sanctioned by the Pope of Rome, until Innocent III, and the fourth Council of Lateran, composed of 418 bishops, and held in A. D. 1215, declared it to be essential to the belief of a catholic Christian. This was the pope, whose administration gave birth to various orders of monks; who spread wide in Italy his temporal dominions; who first claimed a right to appoint or depose all the kings or emperors of Europe and even of Asia; who, in his contest with John, king of England, about the election of an archbishop of Canterbury, not only carried the day, but gave away the dominions of John to the king of France, and finally brought John, in the sight of all England, to kneel in the dust, at the foot of the Romish legate, resign his crown, and after five days receive it again from the legate merely as a gift of the pope's grace, whose vassal he professed himself to be. To crown all, this was the pope that first introduced *auricular confession*; a thing which put the whole mass of the community entirely under the control and at the mercy of the priests. To sanction the doctrine of transubstantiation, was worthy of such a man as the pope in question.

But let the serious inquirer after truth note well, that for the

first 600 years after the commencement of the Christian era, there never was any noticeable dispute on the subject of transubstantiation, or Christ's physical presence in the elements of the eucharist. We have already seen, that in the ninth century, such men as Rabanus Maurus, Johannes Scotus, Bertram, and others, highly distinguished in the church, set themselves openly to oppose any other views of this matter, than those which regard the elements as symbols of Christ's spiritual presence, and memorials of his death. About the middle of the eleventh century, there was a vehement dispute on the same subject, when the celebrated Berenger, who maintained the like views with Zuingli, was condemned by one pope, and virtually absolved by another. Previous to the fourth Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, there never had been any predominant, or at any rate uniform, opinion among Christians, about the transformation of the eucharistic elements; although from the beginning of the ninth century, there was a growing persuasion in favour of this doctrine. There was no superstition so absurd that it could not find some advocates, at such a period as this.

Even after the fourth Council of Lateran, the persuasion was not universal in the church, in favour of transubstantiation. The question continued now and then to be agitated, until finally the famous Council of Trent, about the middle of the sixteenth century, decreed, that if any one should deny the conversion of the whole substance of the sacramental bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, leaving nothing more than the mere appearance of those elements, he should be accursed, (*anathema sit*). In the like manner, they anathematize all who do not believe, that, when once the eucharistic elements are transformed, they always remain and are the true body and blood of Christ. (Sess. XIII. Can. 2. 4.) This, of course has ever since been, and still continues to be, the doctrine of the Romish church. The Greek church also, although not subject to the Council of Trent, had, at an earlier period, borrowed the same doctrine from the writings of Paschasius and other monks, and among them it was generally received, and they substantially retain it down to the present hour; so that three quarters of nominal Christians may be regarded as being believers in *transubstantiation*. If now *majorities* must rule in the church, the question as to what we must believe, in this case, might be very easily decided. When to all this we add some seventeen or eighteen millions of Lutherans, believing in *consubstantiation*, we find the odds greatly against the Protestant party

who hold to the symbolic interpretation of Christ's words at the last Supper. For, we must call to mind, that *transubstantiation* converts the eucharistic elements into the body and blood of Christ; while *consubstantiation* maintains, that the real body and blood of Christ are in, with, and under, the bread and wine, although the substance of these elements remains unchanged. In regard to the *reasonableness* of the matter, I must confess that I can see no important advantage here on the side of the Lutherans. The Romanists evidently come nearer the *literal* sense of Christ's words, "This is my body; this is my blood:" while the Lutheran view agrees neither with the literal nor tropical sense of the words in question. What that sense may be, which is neither literal nor tropical, would somewhat perplex a simple-minded interpreter to determine.

Thus have we taken a survey of the Christian world, at the present period and in past ages. We have seen that in the present state, three quarters agree in maintaining the doctrine of transubstantiation; and that of the remaining quarter, who are Protestants, one third hold, at least their formulas of doctrine oblige them to hold, that the real body and blood of Christ are in, with, and under, the sacramental elements. Only some thirty or thirty-three millions profess to reject both of these doctrines, and to regard the eucharistic elements as symbols of Christ's sufferings, death, and atoning blood. Even among these must be counted large numbers, who may be truly said to have no belief about this matter, having never examined it, and feeling no interest to make an examination into it.

If now any argument could be drawn from the *number* of advocates for any particular creed or point of doctrine, it would, at the present day and for five centuries past, be quite probable, if not altogether certain, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is true. But where shall we stop, if we begin to make such an appeal? In the time of Christ, an immense and overwhelming majority of the Jews, embracing at first nearly every one of their learned men, their priests, and their magistrates, rejected Jesus of Nazareth and spurned at his Gospel. From the third century onward down to the Reformation, the great majority of Christians, learned and unlearned, believed not only that apostate spirits held carnal intercourse with seduced women, but that witchcraft and magic were realities, and were grounded on a league or covenant solemnly entered into between evil spirits and human beings, who were led astray by them. When Luther lifted up the voice of *reform*, in

respect to selling indulgencies to commit sin, and with regard to many Roman Catholic superstitions, and particularly excessive reverence for the Pope and submission to him, an immense majority of Christendom were against him; and so they always have been, and still are. When Zuingle and Calvin sounded the trumpet of alarm in Switzerland, and John Knox in Scotland, the great majority said: 'It is a false alarm; the public are disquieted without cause. These men are schismatics, revolutionists, and bent upon turning the world upside down, that they may obtain a better or a more elevated place for themselves.' So it has been, moreover, even in matters of science. When Copernicus and Kepler and Galileo and Newton proclaimed to the European nations that the world moved round the sun, and not the sun round the world, the decrees of the Vatican were issued, anathematizing the doctrine, and calling for the punishment of so many of its authors as were within its reach. Protestants remonstrated against it also, as well as the Romanists. The same reasoning that is now employed in respect to the sacrament, was then employed as to the movement of the sun: 'The Bible says, that the sun *rises* and *sets* and *circles round* the earth; and he who teaches a different doctrine is an unbeliever and a heretic; *anathema sit*.' In other words: The literal sense of the Scriptures, and no other, is to be admitted, on pain of excommunication and infamy, if not of death. Yet even here, if one examines for a moment into the opinions of the very men so ready to launch the thunderbolts of ecclesiastical anathema, he will find a total inconsistency in them. They did not hold, that God is material, and of human form, because the Bible says, more than once and very emphatically too, that *God made man in his own image*, and that *man is the image and glory of God*. They did not believe or maintain, that God has material eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, hands, feet, and other parts of the human body, although the Bible speaks of these, times without number. They did not believe, that when God is displeased with men, he arms himself against them with bow, arrows, sword, spear, buckler, helmet, and breast-plate; and yet the Bible says this. They did not believe that God literally repents, takes revenge, is grieved at the heart, or shouts for joy like a mighty man that is filled with wine; and yet the Bible says all this. They did not believe that the Maker of heaven and earth indulges the carnal passion of love; that he *married* Israel in the wilderness, and became reconciled to this unfaithful wife, after she had estranged and divorced herself. They did not believe, that Christ is, in reality, a way, or a

vine, or a door, or the rock that followed Israel in the wilderness, or the literal light of the world, or literal bread that came down from heaven. Nothing of all this, and ten thousand things of the like nature. No; they felt constrained to interpret reasonably, in these cases. They would have even anathematized the man who did not interpret reasonably with them; but the moment a point of *superstition* comes up, the rules of exegesis have nothing to do with the matter. We must simply believe what God has said in respect to that matter, believe it in the exact *literal* sense, or else be a heretic and exposed to condemnation here and hereafter. Hear, once more, what Gregory of Nyssa says, to one who seems to doubt, or hesitate, as to what he ought to believe respecting the matter before us: "When the bread is mysteriously consecrated, it is called, and becomes, the body of Christ." (Orat. in Bapt. Chr. Opp. p. 370.) And again; "Jesus Christ himself declares: This is my body. Who will venture to remain in uncertainty? When he assures us: This is my blood; who can doubt, and say, It is not his blood?" (Ubi. sup.) So even Luther and his adherents: 'En mysterium magnum!' they say. 'Who can doubt the power of God? All things are possible with him.' The Lutheran Formula Concordiae acknowledges, that the supernatural partaking of the elements of the eucharist, "cannot be comprehended either by reason, or by the senses; whence, in this matter," as it goes on to say, "as in other matters pertaining to faith, it behooves us to bring our understanding into *captivity* to obedience unto Christ." (VII. Epit. p. 604.) *Anathema sit*, say the Council of Trent, to every one who will not submit to a *captivity* still more humiliating. We must not only receive the doctrine, in spite of reason and the senses, but we must receive it on the authority of the infallible church who has decided that it is true.

Here, then, if we listen to any or all of these parties, here is an end of the matter. We are to believe in the *literal* sense only of the consecrating words at the eucharist; and any attempt even, to show that another interpretation ought to be given, is itself a heresy and a crime.

Still, as we are PROTESTANTS, and this, I would hope, in something more than in name, it is consistent and proper for us, to do as the Bereans did, that is, to search the Scriptures, in order to see whether these things are so. We know of no good reason why the *tropical* sense of words should be admitted so extensively as I have shown it to be by all parties, and that we should then stop short of applying it to the consecrating words of the eucharist.

Whatever declaration there may be, which, if *literally* interpreted, would give an absurd, contradictory, inept, unmeaning, frigid sense, it is plainly to be *tropically* interpreted. And on this same ground do the Romanists, the Greek church, and the Lutherans stand, in all cases where their prejudices are not concerned in respect to some favourite doctrine which they have adopted. But why should others be compelled to exempt such cases from the common laws of interpretation?

We have now brought to a conclusion our historical investigations in regard to the doctrine of the eucharist. But by far the most important part of our labour remains to be accomplished, viz. our *exegetical inquiries* respecting the true and scriptural meaning of the Saviour's words, at the original institution of the Lord's Supper.

ARTICLE VII.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL INQUIRY RESPECTING THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST.

By Gottfried Kinkel of the University of Bonn. Translated from the German by B. B. Edwards, Professor in the Theol. Seminary, Andover.

[The following essay relates to a subject of deep interest, and which is not unattended with serious difficulty. The different accounts of the Evangelists are said by neologists to involve irreconcilable contradictions. The reader will be pleased with the spirit of the writer of the ensuing observations, and with the light which he casts upon many passages of the Word of God, though he should not feel at liberty to accord with all which is advanced. The author is a *privatim docens* in the evangelical faculty at Bonn. The article may be found in the "Theologische Studien u. Kritiken," edited by Drs. Ullmann and Umbreit of Heidelberg, Vol. XIV. 1841. It is introduced by the following note from Dr. Nitzsch, the well-known theologian of Bonn. "The ensuing investigation, on account of the striking nature of its results, will certainly experience opposition from the two parties that occupy the hostile positions of our times; still it is conducted in a theological spirit and contains many observations on the meaning of the biblical narratives which must win the respect of the dissentient, and tend

to advance the general object. For this reason, and since the esteemed author is able in every respect to answer for himself, I have not hesitated to recommend the publication of the essay."—TR.]

ACCORDING to the narratives in the gospels and apostolical testimony in the epistles, there stands at the end of the life of Jesus a fact, which all the witnesses report substantially alike, though with different phraseology and under different images. Christ himself, in the discourses related by John, represents it in the most spiritual manner, 'as going home to the Father,' yet, also, as an actual ascending to Him.¹ According to Luke, Christ "was carried up," "taken up," taken away from the disciples, and carried before their eyes into heaven.² Similar language the church has adopted in her Confessions, adding the words of Mark, or of his continuator, "that Christ sits on the right hand of God."³ This last expression, may have as its basis, in addition to the emblematical language of the Old Testament, the vision of Stephen, who, when dying, saw the Son of Man "standing on the right hand of God,"⁴ In all these expressions, we are taught one thing, namely, the life of Christ, ending in a wonderful manner as it was begun, did not waste away in the weakness of old age; but in the highest beauty of youth, as the ideal image of perfect humanity, standing as the second Adam in the full vigor of his unfolded powers, he is freed from all liability to earthly change; he is a glorified body; no longer held by the leaden laws of matter he comes into personal union with God, and through him mankind recover their dominion over the creation which had been lost. This fact is in all respects of the highest importance. As there is in the mode of Christ's *death* an aesthetic interest, (for would not Christian feeling turn shuddering away from the sight of sundered limbs, bones dashed in pieces, the fearful mutilation of a body which had belonged to the fairest of the children of men,) so likewise, the *ascension* has an aesthetic value. Christ's body mouldering in the grave, or he himself after the resurrection, sickening and growing old in a nature become unnecessary;—both suggest images which are not repulsive to us, simply because we know to the contrary from our childhood. Man is on the earth only in order either to become purified himself, or to perform some

¹ John 20 : 17.

² ἀνελήφθη Luke 24 : 51, ἐπὶ ἔθρονον Acts 1 : 9, ἀναλήφθεις Acts 1 : 11.

³ Mark 16 : 19.

⁴ Acts 7 : 56.

great work; the former has no application to the Holy One of God; the latter he accomplished when he rose from the dead and established his kingdom. Doubt of this fact must consequently be out of the question, since criticism can find no termination of the life of the Author of religion more befitting his elevated nature than this. Besides, the humiliation of the Logos presupposes the necessity of the glory that followed. There was need that Christ should be justified by God, in opposition to the sentence of condemnation passed on him by the world; he deserved to be glorified by God, because he himself, throughout his life, and especially at his death, had glorified the Father.¹ The exaltation of Christ thus becomes a restoration and a balm to Christian feeling, broken and bleeding by the sins of the world which were borne on the cross. Not less important is it to keep in view the historical importance of the fact. It was this fact, particularly, which enabled the disciples to spread the gospel. It was not without design that that summary with which Mark ends,—the going forth of the disciples to preach,—is so closely joined with Christ's exaltation to glory,² and Christ himself when he consoled his sorrowing disciples with the promise that they should enter on a course active labor in behalf of his cause, before reminding them of the co-operation of the Spirit, stated the fact very distinctly, that believers themselves should perform greater works than the Lord, *because* he was going to the Father.³ This would be a natural result, for when our Lord, as a controlling spirit, no longer restrained the individual energies of the disciples, these energies attained their maturity. Christ is justified before their eyes; he is the Lord who overrules all things to their good; they triumph over the world, since they are conscious of triumph by faith in his exaltation. Even the Spirit can operate only as he bears witness of Him who is glorified. Hence we must consider that feeling of great joy, which Luke ascribes to the disciples on account of the ascension,⁴ as an historical fact, since without it, and consequently without the ascension, the problem of the world's conversion is not solved. Moreover, the ascension was handled in the time of the Apostles as a doctrinal point and useful for its practical results,—a proof how valuable it is to the Christian life. Most important in this connection are the considerations presented by Paul, that our Life (principle of life) is in heaven, from whence we look for Christ, and that we should seek those things

¹ John 17 : 4, 5.² Mark 16 : 19, 20.³ John 14 : 12.⁴ Luke 24 : 52, *μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης.*

which are above where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God,¹ for in this is shown the practical value of the fact for all times. The fellowship of love attained by sharing in suffering with the Lord, continues to exist in the form of an earnest longing for Him who is glorified; it frees the soul from sensual desire, and draws it upward to an abiding union with the Beloved, when the earthly material is laid aside by death. The consolation afforded by the ascension of Christ is this;—the ascension must stand in the same relation to the departure of the faithful into the presence of God, that the resurrection of the members does to that of the Head. But not the soul merely shares in it; the risen, glorified body of believers is also sealed. This, for the most part, seems to be abandoned, because a local confinement of the soul cannot be thought of in connection with the presence of God; because no place of abode for the body can be conceived where man is nearer to God than he is in any other place; and because a material body remains as an inconceivable object, even when considered as glorified, and released from its earthly bonds. How this contrariety to mechanical laws is removed by the ascension is not, indeed, level to our comprehension, but it is promised as future. The doubt in respect to the possibility is removed by fact. Christ lives in a human body, and still is removed from the earth. What is true of the first fruits, is a guaranty for the harvest. In this respect, the Church has rightfully celebrated the feast of the ascension, as well as that of the resurrection of Christ.

We accordingly recognize the fact of the ascension as a positive demand both of Christian feeling and of history; we see, further, that it is indispensable to the formation of a complete system of Christian doctrine in respect to the subjects of *soterology* and *anthropology*, so that in this way its truth is already demonstrated. Indeed, such a demand seems to be wholly superfluous, because there is the explicit testimony of the evangelists and the apostles. To reinvestigate this testimony and to give a believing assent to it, appears to be the only problem relating to this subject with which the church is concerned. With such a design, the following essay is planned. Yet here, on the ground of comparative interpretation, one will be more fully justified in entertaining doubts from the fact, which we must presuppose as the first point of this inquiry, viz. "That the notices which the New Testament furnish on the ascension of Christ, in respect to the time, place and circumstances, are wholly inconsistent with each other."

¹ Phil. 3: 20. Col. 3: 1.

It is proper to allow the first place to the Gospels and the Acts of the apostles; since only these writings narrate an historical fact in an historical manner. It is easier to consider them together, from the fact, that the first evangelist makes no mention whatever of the ascension. John (whom we suppose to have been the only eye-witness among the evangelists) omits allusion to the subject, at least at the end of his gospel, it being the twentieth or twenty-first chapter, where he introduces Jesus to us, appearing for the last time on earth to his disciples. But criticism is here justified if it at once assumes as its first difficulty the fact that these principal witnesses are here silent. In respect to John, indeed, the solution is not so hard. He takes up that only in relation to Christ which is morally significant; Christ's miracles ever serve only as a link to his discourses; these discourses point upward, from the visible miracle to that great spiritual wonder of God, that he sent his Son clothed in flesh. The ascension may here be compared with the sacraments. John does not relate the fact of their introduction, but he gives the words of Jesus, from which their symbolical character is manifest; instead of the supper, the discourse relates to the partaking his flesh and blood; instead of baptism, regeneration by water and spirit is mentioned. One would likewise be led to think that the external fact of the ascension would be passed over by John, since Jesus had spoken in various forms of its moral value, in what he had said, in respect to going home to the Father. Finally, one might appeal to the fact, that the Lord at least predicted his ascension to Mary Magdalene, John 20: 17. Since John always proceeds on the ground of making a selection of his materials, being by no means inclined to furnish a complete account of the earthly life of Jesus, it follows that his omitting to notice the wonderful end of the life of Jesus, gives us as little ground to doubt of the fact, as a like omission in the history of the childhood of Jesus would lead to doubt in that case; although a termination of the life of Jesus without the ascension (in case this was an historical fact), appears at least not exactly artist-like, since the mind of the reader remains unsatisfied.

But the case is different in Matthew. He has manifestly the design of giving a full narration, of rounding off, as it were, the life of Jesus; and as he has revealed to us the mystery of a virgin bearing a son, it would be inferred, that he would accompany Jesus even to the limit of his earthly life. Here comes in an important circumstance. The last words of Jesus, according to Matthew, are such that they clearly appear as the conclusion of the

Messianic labors. This theocratic king already has power in heaven and on earth; only that all may acknowledge it he sends out his messengers to bring them into subjection. The concluding promise, "I am with you always, even to the end of the world," could have been spoken only at the moment of separation, when such a consoling promise was needful, in order to mitigate the momentary pain of that separation. The farewell, and of course the ascension, occurred at the end of this discourse. That Matthew does not state the manner in which the ascension followed, can be explained in part, indeed, from the rhetorical nature of the composition; he would close with a sublime word; yet it seems impossible that a fact so slightly noticed should be the same with that glorious ascension as Luke has described it to us in the Acts. But the discrepancy in regard to place is still greater. According to Luke, the ascension took place not far from Jerusalem; according to Matthew, on a mountain in Galilee, where, as it seems, the Lord had assembled his disciples for a last interview. Consequently the two testimonies threaten to contradict each other; both of which have equally decided claims to credibility, the first on account of its near, though indefinable connexion with the original Aramaean text of an apostle;¹ and the other, viz. the Acts of the Apostles, by the copiousness of its delineation and its various scenery.

In Mark the life of Jesus is also continued up to an appearance of Jesus after his resurrection. Here, however, it is remarkable that two places are mentioned. According to ch. 16: 7 the disciples were to proceed to Galilee; and this is accompanied with the promise from the angel that there they would see Him. Thus far the author agrees with Matthew. Then at the conclusion of 16: 9, he follows in the footsteps of Luke, narrates with the greatest brevity the appearance to Mary Magdalene, which is more exactly given by John, then the vision at Emmaus, concluding ('afterward,' *ὕστερον*) by relating an appearance to the Eleven. The spread of the gospel is then mentioned, together with the assurance in respect to the miraculous powers with which these heralds were entrusted, both for their own preservation and the deliverance of others. From this statement of the words of Christ, the term *ὕστερον* means nothing more than this, viz. that all the dis-

¹ The author here refers to a theory, maintained by many, that the Gospel of Matthew was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaean. See Guerike, *Einleitung in N. Test.* p. 235.—Tr.

courses, after the resurrection of Christ, were designed to explain the things concerning the kingdom of God, Acts 1: 3. Yet the fact, that the Lord upbraided the unbelief of the disciples, because that they even did not believe those who had seen Him, shows clearly the time of this appearance. Eight days after the resurrection, only Thomas of the Eleven continued to doubt; it is therefore obvious, that we have here the discourse on the evening of the resurrection, to which John and Luke also allude. Here it is remarkable, that of a manifestation in Galilee, previously mentioned in verse 7th, nothing further is said; yet the short notice of the ascension is appended so closely to this conversation, that the supposition is not without foundation, that the ascension took place immediately, and consequently that the visit in Galilee (in case one happened at all) occurred subsequent to it.

If we now take an unprejudiced view of Luke, we shall find the same representation in his gospel, 24: 36—53; and this specially leads us not to reject the account in Mark, as that of a later epitomizer. Here also, the last conversation of Christ relates to the conversion of the world; it is peculiar to Luke that Christ shows, from the Scriptures, that his death is necessary. But it can scarcely be denied that the conversation was in the form of a continued discourse, from the moment when Jesus came to his disciples with friendly salutations, up to v. 50, when with them he left the city. The chronologizing Luke makes no mention, at least, that the latter part of the conversation belonged to a later vision. But now this conversation occurred on the evening of the resurrection; while the disciples, who had been to Emmaus, were still speaking, Jesus stands in the chamber, v. 24, 36. At the conclusion of this conversation, the ascension takes place, and manifestly on the evening of the resurrection. Since now Mark here confirms Luke, the supposition, which is almost universal, that Luke gives in the Acts only a more exact and full history of this same ascension, does not exactly abide the test of comparative criticism. It has been said that Luke hastens to the conclusion in the gospel, that here he makes an epitome, which he will enlarge in the Acts. But the age was not of that scribbling and over-active character, that an evangelist was compelled to hasten on in order to engage in another employment; especially one would not do this, who took the pains with his book, which Luke's preface implies that he did. And certainly in the last discourses and narrations of his gospel, there is no rapidity; a richness only is apparent. It is not to be forgotten that both books

were written by one man, so that at the end of the first, Luke might reserve his materials for the following book. But that the design of the narrative of the ascension in the Acts is to give something essentially new, follows, in our estimation, as clear as day, from the first verses of the book. According to the method practised by the Greeks, "This narrative," he says, "I have brought down to the day, when Jesus, having given commandment to his disciples, was received up." Then are added, "to whom he presented himself alive," etc. v. 4. Does this continuation, expressed by *καί*, resemble a mere repetition of the narrative? Or is there not rather an actual progress in the historical account? In addition to this difference of time, two other reasons appear, which show that the ascension recorded in the Acts cannot be identical with that mentioned in Luke's gospel. The place and the attendant circumstances are different. According to the gospel, Christ ascends at Bethany; according to the Acts, the disciples return from the Mount of Olives,—two localities near together, but not the same.¹ Again, after the ascension, the disciples, according to the Gospel, assemble in the temple; according to the Acts, they remain awhile in an 'upper room' (*ὑπερῶον*), which indicates a private house. This difference Strauss has detected, and made use of in his way. "At first," Strauss remarks, "nothing wrong could be discovered in permitting the disciples, after their return from the ascension of Jesus, to hold their devout meetings in their national sanctuary; but soon this appears too Jewish, and they must at last repair to a private *ὑπερῶον*; the Christian place of meeting must be distinct from the Jewish temple." The reflection here supposed to be indulged by Luke, is shown to be false from the fact, that in the same Acts of the Apostles, the temple bears its part as the place of worship for those baptized by the Holy Spirit. At the ninth hour (and this is expressly mentioned as the hour of prayer) the leading apostles, Peter and John, enter the temple, Acts 3: 1. There Paul himself prays with feelings so spiritual, that he fell into a trance, 22: 17; and on a later occasion, he fulfilled a vow in the temple, 21: 26. But still more decisive in respect to the entire church is the passage Acts 5: 12. After the communication of the Spirit, which united the company together in the closest bonds, "they were all with one accord in Solomon's porch." We may thus see how frivolously this critic at times indulges in conjectures.

¹ Yet Bethany was situated on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives. One road from the village to Jerusalem, leads directly over the summit of Olivet.—Ta.

So it was no anti-Jewish prudery of Luke that occasioned the infant church "to occupy the *ὑπερῶνα*." This difference, then, in the place of meeting remains, and if we separate, in the way indicated, the appearance on the evening of the resurrection and the so-called ascension on the fortieth day, the discrepancy is easily explained. While the pouring-out of the Spirit was expected as near at hand, the Christian church secluded themselves from the outward world in order to pray for preparation. At a later period, when an inward union was established, they separated from each other, and gladly mingled again with the world. But certainly the two narrations of Luke cannot contain the same fact.

Before we deduce a definite result from these notices, apparently so contradictory, it is necessary to compare a passage in the epistle, which seems still further to increase this confusion. We have from Paul (in addition to several passages, whose testimony presupposes the fact of the exaltation of Christ to heaven, but which, on account of the want of particular circumstances, are not of value for our inquiry) a more special notice, not, indeed, of the ascension, but of several appearances of the risen Saviour, which are of interest for our investigation. This is the familiar passage, 1 Cor. 15: 1—8, which is not, indeed, related in an historical manner, but which simply narrates several appearances in proof of the resurrection of Christ; but the record appears so manifestly in connection with *εἰτα*, *ἐπειτα* and *ἔσχατον*, that it is clear that Paul would exactly follow the order of time. And this also gives us an interesting point with which to compare the period when, according to the evangelists, the ascension should be placed. In this Pauline catalogue, the appearances to the women are omitted. Hence the appearance to Peter, which Luke also recognizes and assigns to the day of the resurrection,¹ here stands as the first. Then follows one to the twelve, which can readily be made to harmonize with one narrated in the gospels. But the third manifestation is irreconcilable with those related in the gospels. He appeared to "more than five hundred brethren at once." The number itself occasions difficulty. According to the Acts, Christ assembled² all his disciples before the feast of Pentecost, and all were expecting the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit. But their number was but one hundred and twenty, ch. 1: 15. It can hardly be supposed, that, in addition to these, there were *ἀδελφοί*, and also from not being in Jerusalem, deprived of the gift of the Spirit. Accordingly, the simple conclusion is, that the appearance

¹ Luke 24: 34, *ὡς ἔθη Σίμωνι.*

² Acts 1: 4, *συναλεζόμενος.*

to the five hundred brethren was after the forty days, yea after the Pentecost, since immediately subsequent to that, the number of disciples was increased by thousands. We are also compelled, by an additional remark of the apostle, to bring down this appearance as late as possible. "Most of these five hundred were still living," he says, "*τινες δὲ ἐκοιμήθησαν.*" The first epistle to the Corinthians was written, by the way, from twenty to twenty-eight years after the ascension, and yet in this length of time, notwithstanding the persecution that arose about Stephen, and the restless activity of these first converts, only "some" of the five hundred were dead. In case now it is presupposed, that Christ appeared on the earth only before the ascension, then the last ascension must be placed considerably later than the forty days. On the other hand, according to Mark and Luke (in his Gospel), the ascension occurred, as we have seen, considerably earlier than the fortieth day.

Perhaps we should have considered this combination of the different accounts unnecessary. Still, Paul, after he had mentioned an appearance to James, speaks of another to all the apostles; and that Christ, last of all, appeared to him. And the narrative goes on in such an even flow, that one clearly sees, that Paul makes no distinction between the appearances before and those after the forty days. Even the ancient church seems not to have done this. At least Paul, who must have often been compelled to vindicate his apostleship, never defends himself against the objection, that his call was merely through a vision, and thus different from the commission of the other apostles. The opposers rather relied on this, that he had not lived with Christ; to which he sometimes replies, that he had at least known Christ personally, 2 Cor. 5: 16. Consequently, according to 1 Cor. 15: 1, 8, it seems to be firmly established, that there were appearances after the forty days. From seven to ten years subsequently, Paul was favored with such an appearance; at the second time he saw Christ in the temple, (then certainly Paul was in an *ἐν ἑστιάσει*, Acts 22: 17, 18); in the interval of time, the appearances to the five hundred, to James and to the twelve occur. Also the dying Stephen saw Christ in glory, 7: 15. Still this appearance was in a vision. All the appearances after the forty days, however, were perfectly on a level with those before the close of that period; and all show sufficiently, that the ascension recorded in the Acts, was not considered by the early church as such a decided fact, such an absolute separation of the earthly and heavenly life

of Christ, as we are now accustomed to regard it. It follows, that the doctrine of Christ's glorification was not so exclusively connected by them with the fact which is recorded in the Acts, as it is by us. It is, then, clear, from what has been said, that with the common opinion, viz. that Jesus continued his earthly life up to the fortieth day, and that on this day with his ascension from Olivet, his glory with the Father began, all the accounts are at variance except the one in Acts; since on the one hand, they describe the ascension as having taken place earlier, and, on the other, they do not view the ascension from Olivet as a decisive separation between the earthly and the heavenly life of Christ.

Upon these confused accounts (which have not been acutely apprehended by most critics, which have been recognized in a measure by some, and employed by Strauss to disprove the entire fact of the exaltation of Christ), a surprising light is cast by the Gospel of John, the mention of which leads us to our second proposition, which is to show, "that Christ's glorification, and consequently the ascension, must have taken place immediately after the resurrection."

Christ's own explanations must here have the strongest weight as proofs; these we find in the desired abundance in the last discourses by which he prepared himself and his friends for his approaching death. Here it is to be remarked in general, in respect to the fundamental character of these discourses, that they are throughout the words of one who is departing, bidding farewell. The supper itself as a memorial-feast, the new commandment that the disciples should love one another,¹ left behind in the form of a legacy, (by which in the place of the Redeemer, whom they anxiously seek, and will sadly miss, v. 33, love to the brethren is presented to them, as an object,) the peace that was to remain behind, 14: 27,—all bears the stamp of a complete separation from a present earthly condition, and indeed of a final separation. That, also, which according to Matthew, the Lord prophetically declared at the sacramental cup, viz. that he would no more in this world drink with his disciples of the fruit of the vine, and consequently that bodily communion would cease,² harmonizes still more exactly with the words of John. Certainly something is said of a "return," but it is one wholly spiritual. Indeed, it is declared explicitly, ch. 14: 18, *ὅτι ἀφήσω ὑμᾶς ὁρπαρούς· ἐρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, and v. 19, the promise is given to them, that the world should not see him, but they should see

¹ John 13: 14.² Matt. 26: 29.

him (*ὑμῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με*). But the reason which is here expressed by *ὅτι*, shows with perfect clearness how this *seeing* should be understood, viz. "Because I live ye shall live also." Thus the appearance of Christ was made to depend upon the inward life of the disciples, just as in v. 21, it is made to depend on the proof of love, exhibited by keeping his commandments. Visible appearances, such as that to the unconverted Paul, cannot therefore be intended, but that mystical union with Christ, which is produced in the hearts of believers by the witness of the Spirit, is referred to, 1 John 5: 11, 12. Our Lord himself gives the same explanation of this union in reply to Judas, viz. that the Father and Son would make their abode with him who from love to them should keep their commands; an union, which by the very mention of the Father, is removed from the sphere of visible things to that of the spiritual life. The "coming again" was rather referred to that moment when he should take them to the heavenly mansions, which he was going to prepare. More explicitly the Lord (ch. 16: 20) seems to promise a bodily return;—"after the transient grief, I will see you, and your heart shall rejoice;" from earlier verses it is to be inferred, that it would be but a short time (*μικρὸν*) before this "coming again." Yet it is quite remarkable, that v. 16 is given as the ground why they should see him again, viz. "because I go to the Father." How could this be conceived of as seeing him again in a physical sense? Is it not because he goes to the Father, at least is not this one reason, that they shall see him no more in the flesh? The word *ὅτι* can only be explained as a ground of a spiritual visitation; from heaven he sends the Spirit as the bond of a new and most intimate communion. Besides, the clause which is added, viz. 'that on his return they should ask him nothing,' was not true in relation to the bodily appearances of Christ after the resurrection, for certainly some still had the inquiry "whether he would not restore the kingdom to Israel," Acts 1: 6. It follows that the declaration of Christ is to be referred to the understanding of the mysteries of Christianity and of the kingdom of God, which would be first disclosed to them through the illumination of the Spirit. All this leads us to the conclusion, that Jesus is here to be understood as speaking of an actual separation from his disciples in respect to his earthly life; consequently it cannot be presupposed, that he would continue this earthly life forty days after the resurrection. If Jesus, in the sentences hitherto considered, meant simply to say, "I shall die, but after

three days I shall rise again, and see you," it is certainly inconceivable why he did not, when it was his special object to comfort his disciples, simply say this, as was his manner on other occasions. His dark words, which were not comprehended by his disciples, can only be justified on the ground that he wished to announce to them the far deeper and more spiritual truth of an everlasting inward union between the Head and the members.

Several sentences of these last discourses remarkably agree with the view presented, and confirm it in a positive manner. In ch. 16: 12, Christ's loving and sympathizing heart would gladly say many things more to the disciples, but they cannot bear them now. Without doubt they could have borne these words subsequently to the resurrection; but not a syllable is said, implying that he will explain them after that event; this office was assigned to the Spirit. Still more clear is that word of consolation in ch. 14: 2, "I go away to prepare a place for you." It is obvious that he assigns this as the object of his separation from them; but if this was not to occur till the lapse of forty-three days, how strange that he should allude to it now. Besides, it is remarkable that Christ never speaks of this separation as death, but as going to the Father. "I go to the Father," is his thrice-repeated declaration in this discourse, always using the present tense, with the different verbs, *πάντες*, *ἐρχεσθαι*, and *προεῖναι*, 14: 6, 28; 16: 5, 10. 17: 3 seq. It might be said, that there is a *prolepsis* [anticipation of any word, by referring to it as already spoken]; and who can deny that the Lord, transporting himself in his divine consciousness beyond the present, considers his death as already past and swallowed up in victory? Such a *prolepsis*, however, is not well conceivable, unless that which is uttered at the present moment, approximates to that which I now imagine; events, separated by a month and a half from my present existence, could with difficulty elevate my mind to take such a flight. Still, Christ does not regard himself as bidding farewell to his friends, but to the world, "I leave the world," 16: 28; yea as already actually separated from it, "I am no more in the world," 17: 11. How does this agree with the idea of an earthly existence protracted to such an extent, as the common view of Christ's condition after the resurrection demands? That *κόσμος* cannot be here understood in a moral sense, and that the words of Christ already quoted, cannot mean that he would continue to hold bodily communion only with his disciples, and not with the unbelieving world, is proved from ch. 17: 13, where, still in the circle of his disciples, he says:

“and these things I speak in the world;” the term *κόσμος*, therefore, clearly means *the visible earth*, in distinction from his own abode with the Father, and not the spiritual world. He even renders the idea of this “going to the Father,” intensive, by subjoining the word *νῦν*: “Now I come to thee,” 17: 13. One would say this only when he has now in contemplation to accomplish that of which he speaks. A return to the Father, immediately after death, appears therefore to be undeniably the thought in the mind of Jesus. But what now does this “going home” mean? Can it be objected that it is to be understood in a merely spiritual sense? or that the soul of Jesus, immediately after death, ascended to the Father, while nothing is said of the body? Here one might at first view find a basis in those dying words: “Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,” and not less in his consolatory words to the murderer: “To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise,” Luke 23: 43, which secures the elevation of his soul, immediately upon the death of Christ, to its heavenly abode. But not taking into the account, that this spiritual division of the return of Jesus, into halves, as it were, does not satisfy all the passages, especially those where he takes a formal leave of the world, it can be shown, moreover, that in this way the meaning of the words is not exhausted. For example, Christ uses, at various times, the word *δοξάζεσθαι* as a synonym with the phrase “coming to the Father.” In John 13: 32, he expresses his confidence that the Father would glorify him, and it is subjoined, “and he shall *straightway* glorify him.” And in 17: 5, this confidence takes the form of a prayer: “Glorify thou me, O Father,” where it is very remarkable that the word *νῦν*, ‘now,’ again occurs. Consequently the glorification appears to have the same meaning as the return to the Father. The Redeemer beholds it as something just impending. Modern interpreters, in support of the orthodox view, which assigns the glorification, or what is expressed by his “sitting on the throne of God,” to the day of his visible ascension, have here spiritualized the glorification, and have understood it of the death of Christ, inasmuch as by his death, Christ’s moral dignity is displayed in the clearest manner. But they should carefully observe, whether they can anywhere find Christ representing his death as a glorification,—his death on the cursed tree, which at least with Paul appears as the lowest step of humiliation; but in the passages referred to, they certainly cannot find such a representation; for in 13: 32, Christ says: “God shall glorify him *in himself*, i. e. in God’s own peculiar region, in his immediate

presence and communion, and in 17 : 5, Christ prays for that glory, which he had with God, *παρά σοι*, before the foundation of the world. This glorification is, however, conditioned on the ascension ; even the man Jesus shared in it, and consequently his body. All these passages imperatively demand, that the ascension should be placed as near the death of Christ as possible.

Before we proceed further, we must inquire, what answer other passages in these discourses will furnish. What had Christ to do on the earth after his resurrection ? It may not be easy to answer this inquiry. In the first place, it is settled, that for himself such a tarrying was without any object. His soul needed no purification by means of the sorrows or joys of earth, for it had been, from the beginning, a pure image of the Godhead. His body must be considered as already glorified in the grave. He appeared "in another form," *ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ*, Mark 16 : 12 ; he was not at once recognized by his friends, and passed through doors that were closed, John 19 : 20, 26. To suppose that he was *gradually* freed from earthly materials, is not probable. At least in the resurrection of the saints, which is a copy of that of Christ, no such gradual change will take place, but they rise glorified bodies. In respect to those then alive there will be a change (*ἀλλαγῆς*) in the twinkling of an eye, 1 Cor. 15 : 52. It would on the one hand, mar the miracle of the resurrection, and on the other hand greatly magnify it, if it should be extended over forty days in the sense of gradually freeing Jesus from his earthly body. But such a gradual process cannot be proved ; on the evening of the day of the resurrection, Christ still ate earthly food ; but it is in the highest degree probable that he did this, also, in his far later manifestation at the sea of Galilee ; at least, the question, "Children have ye any meat?" the producing of the fish and bread, and finally his concluding invitation, "come and dine," John 21 : 5, 9, 12, seem to involve the supposition that he himself partook. If, consequently, the divesting himself of the conditions of his earthly life had been gradual, we do not see how he could have been affected by them in the same degree both at an earlier and a later period. In relation, therefore, to Jesus himself and the necessities of his being, the conclusion is in the highest degree probable, (as appears from the earnest longing for the Father, which is especially manifest in the high-priest-like prayer which he offered,) that this freeing from bodily necessities took place immediately after the resurrection, when the soul was again united with the body and elevated it from the earth. If he now no more from a natural ne-

cessity remains on earth, his forty days' tarrying on it can be explained only on the ground of the wants of the beloved human race. Mankind, however, in the view of Christ are divided into two great parties, the 'world' and 'his own.' With the former he had nothing more to do after the resurrection; to them he could only appear as judge. Yet his office in executing punishment is not assumed till the end of the world; the internal "reproving" (*ἐλεγχίς*) of the world is undertaken by the Spirit, John 16: 8, 11. So there remains as a sphere of labor for Christ's earthly existence, only the company of those who believed on him. Yet for these, Christ finishes his work with his death and resurrection. Not faintly, when expiring, but with a loud voice, Matt. 27: 50, he uttered, in exulting triumph on the cross, his last word, *τετέλεσται*, John 19: 30. Should any one suppose that this was uttered in such close connection with the work of expiation, as not to admit of its having been spoken of the completion of the work of redemption, then we may adduce, in favor of the contrary, those other words of Christ, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do," John 17: 4. In connection particularly with the third verse, it is readily seen, that he here means his manifestation in the flesh; the same appears according to the ensuing words, where he speaks of making known the name of God to the disciples and of the communication of the words of the Father. Besides, the work of perfectly illuminating the mind and of giving it understanding in the doctrines of Christ, is referred to another Comforter, John 16: 13. Accordingly when the work of redemption is completed, in behalf "of his own," by his manifestation in the flesh and by his expiation, and after the labors of his life were so perfectly accomplished, the earthly existence of Christ as a man seems to be without object. The design of later manifestations can only be to prove the reality of his bodily life, or at all events to speak with his disciples on the extension of the kingdom of God, Acts 1: 3. But for this a continued earthly existence was no longer necessary. Besides, after the ascension of the fortieth day, there were not less than four appearances, as has been shown above, among which those to Paul were accompanied with words and instruction. And if Christ, on account of the disciples, tarried on the earth, why did he not remain a longer time with them? And what is more difficult, *where* did he remain in the very long intervals? These intervals, accordingly, seem to be wholly superfluous? Finally, that Christ in this period made that mysterious descent, which is expressed in the

Confessions by the *descensus ad inferos*, and by Peter as preaching to the spirits in prison,¹ is certainly impossible. Supposing that Sheol and Hades are a dark realm, it is certain that only an unembodied spirit can enter it. Christ's soul could go there only while his body, separated from it, lay in the grave. And as there was no necessity that Christ, after his resurrection, should be either on earth or in hell, there remains for him as the third thing possible, an abode in heaven. Consequently, it follows as a postulate, that Christ rose to heaven immediately after the resurrection.

But how is this conclusion established, since it not merely remains a postulate, but is expressed in so many words by John, one of the principal witnesses in relation to Christ? Evidence is found in a conversation, (most important in support of our view,) of the risen Saviour with Mary Magdalene, John 20: 14, 18, which has been, and remains to our day, a *crux interpretum*. On account of the difficulty resulting from the forty days' interval between the resurrection and ascension, due honor has not been awarded to words, whose sense is clear.

The special difficulty lies in the word *γάρ* in the 17th verse. It leads us to imagine reasons why Jesus forbade Mary to touch him. But how the fact that he was not yet ascended to his Father could be a reason for this prohibition, is not easily seen. manifold explanations are brought forward, and changes of the text are also proposed. These changes we may let rest, for the text is too firmly established. Bauldry's punctuation, *μή*· (*I am not the gardener*) *μοῦ ἑαυτοῦ* (*convince yourself of it*) is untenable on account of an ungrammatical use of *μή*, and because of the impossibility, that Mary could convince herself by the sense of touch, that he was not the gardener. But why elsewhere should Jesus require his disciples to touch him? Had they such slight doubts in respect to his body at all, that they could confound him with another man? If a doubt of this nature were obvious in the case of Mary, then Lamy's opinion would have the preference, since its object is to explain the *γάρ*. According to this view, Mary takes Jesus to be a spirit who has come down from heaven. The sense then is, "You need not convince yourself by touching me; I am actually in the body, I am not yet a glorified spirit." Still it is remarkable, that Jesus permitted other doubters to touch him. How came he to use an expression so plain and almost angry, towards a woman, whose infirmity needed intimations of love? Cocceius supposes that Mary now believed that Jesus had re-

¹ A common explanation by German interpreters of 1 Pet. 3: 19.—Tr.

turned in order to take away his friends agreeably to his promise, (a promise indeed which Jesus had made only to the Eleven, John 14 : 3). With these feelings Mary would embrace him; "Not yet," Christ would repel her, "I shall myself be there, where I shall see you with me." But how could Mary, in her overflowing feelings on seeing him again, have had such a reflection? She *has* him,—which is enough for her trusting female nature. Related to this, but on a better basis, is a modern view. Jesus would call attention to the fact, that though he was yet on earth, still while so remaining, he had no more to do with his disciples; he would wean them from their former affectionate relationship. This accords particularly with the commission to the disciples; it only labors in not sufficiently accounting for the *γάρ*. This is more fully done in a prevalent explanation from the time of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and admitted by Beza. Jesus urges haste, for without delay the disciples should receive the news that he was risen. "Later," says he, in a quieting tone, "you will have the enjoyment of me, for now I am not ascended." One might appeal to 2 Kings 4 : 24. Luke 10 : 4, where the hastening messengers are symbolically forbidden even to salute any one on the way. And certainly this affords the most consistent explanation of *μή μου ἄπτον*. Would not the view of Schleiermacher, it may be asked in passing, and those kindred to it, degrade the miracle of the resurrection? These represent, that Christ's body was still tender, that the change into a glorified body was gradual, and that he himself was fearful of permitting the fresh-healed wounds to break out if they were touched. Is it conceivable,—so soon as one allows the natural explanation of this view to appear only in the slightest degree,—that Jesus in the afternoon of the resurrection could have gone to Emmaus on foot?

Accordingly, if we should adhere to the above interpretation of *μή μου ἄπτον* [that adopted by Beza] we shall find a new obstacle in this urgent haste, since it amounts to nothing more than that the disciples shall receive the news of the resurrection one minute sooner. For once, already, unless no faith is to be put in the first evangelists, other women had announced the resurrection from the angel's mouth, and Peter and John (according to John's Gospel,) must at least have known that the grave was empty. Besides, the narrative of Mary, by no means, produced conviction, since at least the two disciples who went to Emmaus were wholly inconsolable, and the absence of his body rather terrified than filled them with hope. The message was not, then, so ur-

gent, that Jesus could not permit Mary to enjoy a moment's personal communion with him. Accordingly, as the words of Jesus without doubt express haste, we are compelled to find better ground why he would not remain with Mary.

One sends a messenger only when he cannot himself come. It would be strange that Jesus did not at once assure the disciples personally that he was alive, did we not conclude that he had previously to accomplish another object. What that was is so clear from the message sent to the disciples, that no doubt can remain. "*I ascend*" (*ἀναβαίω*, he says at the end of v. 17.) "to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God." He does not speak in the future tense; it cannot be understood as future, for it would be wholly without an object, that Jesus should have had, at this moment, nothing more urgent to say to his disciples, than that he should ascend to heaven forty days afterwards. Time enough to communicate that information remained in every succeeding interview. But it stands in the present, the plainest present tense. What could Jesus have now had to announce to his disciples? He would simply certify why he did not personally manifest himself to them. "Announce to them," he says, "that my ardent desire (*how* ardent it was declared in his last discourse) draws me first of all to the Father; that, at this moment I ascend to Him. Touch me not, I cannot tarry with thee, nor with my disciples, for I have not yet been with the Father, and there must I first be!"

In the morning Christ forbade his disciples to touch him, *because* he was not yet ascended; in the afternoon, he permitted and commanded it to be done.¹ The conclusion is the most natural, that between the morning and afternoon, the reason which at first existed for not touching him, had disappeared, consequently that the ascension had taken place. And so at once the stone of stumbling is removed; and we have in John also the annunciation of the ascension in plain words.

But that John himself so considered the thing may be inferred from the action which Jesus performed in the afternoon, consequently, according to our view, after returning from heaven. He sends them forth as his messengers; declaring their commission, he breathes on them, and says, "Receive the Holy Ghost."² To understand this imperative as a future which indicates a promise, (though Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Lücke in his first edition and Tholuck have vindicated this arbitrary interpre-

¹ Luke 24: 39, *Ψηλαφίσατέ με.*

² John 20: 22.

tation), is perfectly untenable, because Jesus connects with it an outward sign,—the breathing on them. A real communication of the Holy Spirit is thus here asserted. The fact that Luke relates that the Pentecost miracle happened much later, does not conflict with this. That miracle implies the communication of spiritual powers which operated in a visible manner,—in the power of working miracles and of the gift of tongues; hence it was connected with remarkable external signs. But the communication in question, mentioned in John's Gospel, relates to the inward awakening of a new life in the Apostles, which was thenceforth to be independent of the personal presence of Christ; it relates to the knowledge and illumination which was needed by them as the representatives of the Lord, who were "to loose and to bind." Comp. the following verse. Still, *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, without the article, seems to imply that this was only a partial communication. Now, however, the Spirit was to take the place of Jesus. He is called another Helper, *ἄλλος παράκλητος*, John 14 : 16, as if Jesus were the first; such a communication of the Spirit, therefore, is conceivable only after Jesus had left his disciples and the earth. There must have been, however, in the moment referred to, [in the gospel of John] an imparting of the Spirit, so that the disciples would not feel that they were forsaken of God, and without which, for example, Peter's energetic words and actions in the matter of choosing an apostle before the day of Pentecost, could not be explained. But that the advent of the Spirit presupposed the departure of Jesus from the world, was already hinted by John. In ch. 7 : 30, he refers the stream of living water which was to flow forth from believers, to the Spirit; but that was still future, "for the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified." The communication of the Spirit, for this is the meaning of the words, cannot take place, till Jesus is glorified. But with the glorification the ascension is necessarily connected, for through this Christ obtains his glory. Therefore if Jesus on the evening of the resurrection, imparts the Spirit, so it is clear in the meaning of the evangelists, that his ascension must have taken place before this evening.

The last appearance of Christ, recorded in Matthew, may here be compared in the way of approximation. The common view, against which, besides, nothing is objected—places this meeting in Galilee with the disciples before the ascension of the fortieth day. But Christ there uses expressions which presuppose an ascension. "All power is given to me," he says, Matt. 28 : 18,

not only on earth, as this had been ascribed to him before his sufferings, ("over all other flesh," John 17: 2) "but also in heaven." This is what Mark means, 16: 19, by sitting down on the right hand of God. It is the dominion over all creatures, delivered to the Son, which he will maintain till the end of the world, when the Father will again enter upon the kingdom, 1 Cor. 15: 28. The assumption of this power is to be considered as clearly connected with the ascension. But to understand the word *ἰδοῦν*, "given," as a *prolepsis*, in this brief, quiet discourse would be tame; even in Matthew it would be almost unheard of. Christ rather *has* this power already; his *is* the world and its fulness; only because fully conscious of this can he now send out the messengers, who are to require his subjects to do homage to the Lord by the reception of baptism and the keeping of his commands. Hence the entrance on this power, and consequently the ascension are also here presupposed; only we cannot so exactly define the time in Matthew as in John.

This view is the more decisive, because in Luke, Christ on the afternoon of the resurrection, speaks of himself as now glorified. In conversation with the two disciples who were going to Emmaus, he again places his death and glorification in the closest connection. "Ought not Christ to suffer these things and to enter into his glory?"¹ Thus it is evident, that both appear as *past*. Luke therefore, at all events, does not share in the view that the ascension on the fortieth day was the first, since he himself, (before the ascension on the evening of the resurrection which he mentions subsequently in the gospel,) gives us the declaration of Christ that he had already entered into glory. The first entrance into glory must thus coincide with the ascension mentioned by John, which took place immediately after the resurrection.

We now sum up our previous investigations. According to John one ascension of Jesus occurred immediately after the resurrection, before Christ had seen his male disciples; in favor of this, Christ himself furnishes testimony in Luke. According to Mark and the Gospel of Luke, Christ ascended on the evening of the resurrection, consequently after the first conversation with the disciples. Matthew gives confirmation indirectly from the words of Christ, that an ascension took place before the appearance in Galilee, whether we place this in the morning or evening of the resurrection. But in the beginning of this investigation, we felt

¹ Οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἰδεῖν παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ; Luke 24: 26.

compelled to place the departure of Christ, and so the ascension, after this conversation on the mountain; this occurred at the conclusion of the gospel of Matthew. Finally, the Acts record a glorious ascension, accompanied by angels, forty days after the resurrection. In all these ascensions, in addition to the most manifest differences in time, there are, also, differences in place and circumstances. We have no right to cast away all these testimonies, in order to make out one, single narrative, and so identify all the ascensions. On the other hand, were the ascension a fact, single, and standing alone, as now the church expressly understands, on the ground of the history in the Acts, and thus celebrates the fortieth day, then must the moment in which it occurred have been known to all the disciples. Thus we are compelled, on all sides, confidently to affirm as the result of our investigations, that, "Christ arose to heaven several times, and indeed after each single appearance to his disciples, sometimes so that he only vanished from them, at others, rising visibly before them, so that the ascension on the fortieth day appears particularly important, only because with it the regular appearances and communications to his disciples ceased."

It now only remains to show why we modestly believe that this interpretation of the fact will solve all difficulties and remove all discrepancies.

In the first place, the Pauline passage will receive its full elucidation. In it we find the striking circumstance, that the appearances before and after the resurrection, are looked upon as equally significant, and equally convincing, although those which occurred after the ascension might be easily regarded as visions, and so their reality be doubted. According to our view, however, all the appearances narrated in 1 Cor. 15: 5—8, occurred later than the first ascension, which John places on the resurrection day. So in real value these appear on precisely the same ground; and more particularly, by this interpretation, Paul stands on the same equality with the other apostles, as he has placed himself; for thus all the apostles were clothed with their office after the ascension, and were sent forth as the peaceful heralds of a king, who had already assumed his dominion. We may put down the appearance to the five hundred brethren at some time between seven and ten years after the ascension commonly so-called. A more exact determination is not possible, since the conversion of Paul, which occurred after the appearances of Christ referred to, cannot be chronologically fixed from the original documents. At

all events, it becomes easier to show why *some* only of the five hundred brethren had died when the first epistle to the Corinthians was written. That Paul does not mention all the appearances before the ascension of the fortieth day, which we find recorded in the gospels, creates no difficulty. He had to do only with the principal witnesses. The separate appearances to Cephas and James, he mentions, because both these men enjoyed special consideration in the apostolical community. Our view which admits that several of the Pauline appearances took place after the fortieth day, rather aids us to escape easily and happily from those painful efforts which seek to combine the last three of the appearances (to the five hundred, to James, and to all the apostles), with those of the gospels, or that would insert the former among the latter. Even according to the common view, it cannot be supposed that Paul had enumerated *all* the appearances of the risen Saviour which we find in the gospels; there are wanting, e. g. the appearance to the disciples who went to Emmaus, and that at the sea of Galilee, John xxi.

So our result may be an exegetical gain for the gospel of John. It explains to us several dark things in the last sayings of Christ, and first gives to that gospel a proper conclusion.

In respect to the last point, it is proved, that the predictions of Christ in this Gospel respecting his rising from the earth, returning to the Father, etc., are fulfilled by the ascension actually noticed by the evangelists; and, also, from the fact that we may now consider the "breathing of Christ on his disciples," as undeniably a real communication of the Spirit, in which the evangelist shows us that promise fulfilled, which is with Christ, in his last discourses, the predominant promise. Here may be seen the artist-like composition of this Gospel, (a gospel, by the way, which appears to us to be arranged with far more design and art than the common view allows). We have both the prediction and fulfilment; a conclusion is there, *πάντα τετελεσται*. But particularly through our view, that *cruz interpretum*, the conversation of Christ with Mary Magdalene, appears to be removed. A more adequate reason for Christ's haste is discovered; both the Preterite *ἀναβέβηκα* and the Present *ἀναβαίρω* retain their just rights; the former is not changed into the Present, nor the latter into the Future; while the message to the disciples has a pertinent meaning.

Besides, this explication seems to be of value as it gives to each evangelist his own due. Were the ascension a single fact, as it is related in the Acts, then it must be narrated by all in the same

manner, and in that case it must be presupposed that all would communicate the last words of Christ as nearly identical. But if there are several ascensions, so that Christ arose to heaven after each manifestation, or after each group of manifestations, (e. g. the appearance at Emmaus does not seem to be separated by an ascension from that on the evening of the resurrection), then we can explain very fully why each of the evangelists has brought out prominently that conversation and with it that ascension, which seemed to him the most important, and why Matthew has wholly omitted the fact of the ascension, (which was often repeated, and which sometimes appears not to have been visible) since he did not wish to have Christ instantly disappear at the end of the Gospel. This view is confirmed by the fact that in all the notices, the last conversation of Christ seems to coincide, in a surprising manner, with the tone and fundamental character of each of the evangelists. Matthew in his Gospel presents Jesus as the theocratic Messiah. Hence in perfect consistency, he concludes with mentioning his dominion. This granting all power in heaven and earth to the Son of Man, is an actual anti-type to the Messianic type in Daniel; the kingdom of David's Son, as an *everlasting* kingdom, is expressed in accordance with the Old Testament emblems, in these sublime closing words: "And lo! I am with you *always* to the end of the world."

Different is the manner of Mark. He is the evangelist of fact. His Christ appears as the mighty worker, the man of miracles. He is not fond of quoting discourses except such declarations as are themselves accompanied by deeds. The people throng around Christ to the danger of his life; he must every where yield to them; he has no time to eat bread, and the disciples force him away, since he is beside himself.¹ Everywhere and always it is fact which is the key-note of this genuinely Roman gospel. So also in the last words of Christ. Deeds and mighty works will proceed from the apostles; therefore powers of working miracles, which shall force a way for the gospel, will be bestowed on them; these are Elijah's mantle, which the departing mighty Prince leaves behind for his friends. Even the last verses are facts. Christ seats himself at the right hand of God, just as if the evangelist himself had seen it; his heralds go out into the world. The Lord attends them with his power, and signs follow them.

The liberal-minded Greek physician next comes in a way which proves his spiritual affinity to Paul. He brings out promi-

¹ "Ελεγον γαρ οτι εξεστη, Mark 3: 20, 21.

nently in the Gospel the preaching to *all the heathen*, 24 : 27, and in the Acts, expressly that to the Samaritans,—being thoroughly possessed of the spirit of his great master, the apostle to the Gentiles, in whom the universality of the Christian faith became the essence of his inward life. Besides, being averse to the carnality of the Jews, in the very words of Jesus he discourages that view which would represent that an external Messianic kingdom of Israel was soon to appear; and instead of this he brings forward the hope of a more spiritual, abiding union with Christ, by the Holy Spirit; accordingly he substitutes the Christian idea of the church for the Old Testament idea of the theocracy, Acts, 1 : 6, 8.

But one of the finest conclusions of these communications of Jesus after his resurrection, the elevated John has selected for his gospel. His book was written for a generation which were compelled to look on Christ as an historical person, no more to be seen by the eye, but only by faith; for this generation, it was the legacy of one of the last of those who had seen Christ. We, and all coming generations, stand in the same relation to Christ and to John's gospel. Hence this evangelist causes Christ to appear once more at the conclusion of the book with this admonition and challenge to all future ages, viz. "to believe even without seeing, and thus to be blessed."

I close with one request. If our thoughts here advanced shall be confirmed on biblical grounds, let no one turn away from them because they seem to be somewhat unchurchlike. The church has certainly rejected the idea of there having been several ascensions, but with a meaning wholly different from ours. According to the Socinian doctrine, Christ, who is a mere human being, was raised up to heaven before his entrance on his office, where a revelation was communicated to him; which view is fortified from misunderstanding the passage John 3 : 13. "And no one hath ascended to heaven, except he that came down from heaven, the Son of Man who is in heaven." According to our interpretation, the doctrine of the ascension remains entirely unshaken. One can only object that the church has celebrated the feast at a wrong time. But this is only apparent. For, in agreement with our view, the ascension on the fortieth day remains as the principal one, both because it was the most visible and glorious, and hence is related most in detail, and because, in a certain sense it truly closes the earthly labors of Jesus. Previously, says Luke, Christ was seen of his disciples for forty days, speaking of the

things concerning the kingdom of God. Then there were appearances of Christ later; yet it is manifest that the earlier visits differed from the later only in the fact that they occurred with a certain regularity; from the interval of time which elapsed between the visit on the evening of the resurrection and that to Thomas, one might be led to think, that Jesus always selected the Lord's day; we might, also, here find one of the grounds of the very early observance of Sunday by Christians, which gave to them the name subsequently of Sun-worshippers. That the conclusion of the regular communion of Christ with the earth is to be viewed as on the fortieth day, follows also from the mention of angels Acts 1: 10, who here appeared at the end of the life of Jesus, as they had in the beginning,—in his infancy. From the fortieth day, the regular visions cease; they became unnecessary in consequence of the inward union between Christ and the church, of which the Spirit was the author. But ever and anon, perhaps in the great unfolding epochs of the kingdom of God, the dear and well-known form of the Lord still appeared to his disciples, until, as no one survived who had seen him in life, such visions would altogether lose their convincing and strengthening power. This view of the matter which still, as it were, sees the heavens opened, is much more precious to the Christian's feelings than if, with the fortieth day, we should make an abrupt transition from the earthly to the heavenly existence of Christ. But though there may have been many ascensions, the church at all events has the right to celebrate upon one day these momentous facts, (which we sought to present at the beginning of this discussion,) and to hold fast to one, and that the most glorious manifestation of the truth involved in the ascension. The church stands in the same relation to this, as it does to the outpouring of the Spirit. The Spirit as a Helper had been already granted to the disciples, Matt. 10: 20, when they were first sent out; they receive the Spirit from Christ's breathing on them upon the day of the resurrection; fifty days later the Spirit was granted, together with the power of working miracles. But who will, on that account, deny the church the right to celebrate a single pentecostal feast? Hardly different, also, is the feast of the Epiphany. The church is affected by exegetical criticism, only when the historical basis of one of her doctrines in the personal life of the Redeemer, is either wholly removed, or is so spiritualized as to evaporate; but not when one of these doctrines is separated into parts or into a repetition of the same facts. Thus

there remain the three powers which rule the spiritual life of the Protestant, viz. the Gospel, the Church and Science, all enjoying full honor, and whose conflict in respect to the ascension seems to be removed.

ARTICLE VIII.

THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA AND METHODOLOGY.

Translated from the unpublished Lectures of Prof. Tholuck of Halle, by Edwards A. Park.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE following lectures were delivered at the University of Halle during the winter semester of 1842, 3, and have probably been repeated in substance during the present winter. An extended copy of them was taken by one of the author's friends, diligently compared with other copies that had been written in preceding years, and was recently forwarded to this country for publication. Prof. Tholuck had previously given his consent to the translator, that these lectures, thus carefully copied and collated, should be published in the English language, although they have never been printed in the German. One object in presenting them to our readers is, to give a comprehensive, and at the same time a particular view of not merely the course, but also the spirit of theological study, as it is pursued in the German Universities. The system there adopted is well known to be in some respects, far more scientific and extensive than that adopted in other lands. Another object is, to remind the reader of the connection which subsists between the several branches of theological science and their auxiliary studies,—a connection which is often forgotten by theologians, and the neglect of which is fraught with evil. A third object is, to suggest the names and the character of various works, which are of prominent importance in theological literature, and with regard to which the opinions of Prof. Tholuck will be thought worthy of deference. For the benefit of such as may wish to procure the volumes, their titles are given in the language in which the books are written, and are also given in English for the satisfaction of those who are not familiar with the German. The Encyclopaedia of Prof. Tholuck

is selected for publication, in preference to similar works published by other theologians, partly because it is more recent than theirs, and therefore its bibliography is extended to a later day; partly because it is more interesting to an evangelical divine, and, if inferior to some Encyclopaedias in respect of rigidly scientific arrangement, it is, perhaps, superior to any yet published in its animating influence upon an evangelical and christian scholar. The lectures are divided into two parts, which, though treated separately in respect of form, have yet so intimate a connection in respect of substance, as to require frequent references from the one to the other. The first part treats of the general principles which lie at the foundation of theological science, the studies preparatory and auxiliary to it, the best modes of discipline in the acquisition of it, etc. The second part has more distinctive reference to the specific branches of theology proper, and will be presented to the public in a future number of the Review.

PART I.

METHODOLOGICAL PRELIMINARIES IN REFERENCE TO THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF THEOLOGY.

The science of Hodegetics¹ is that which introduces the pupil into his academical studies. It must be inquired, first, whether it be desirable to pursue a course of education at a public Seminary; secondly, whether the organization of the German Universities be preferable to that of other literary institutions; and thirdly, wheth-

¹ The German word Hodegetik, from the Greek ὁδηγητικός, or rather ὁδός and ἄγω, denotes that system of rules which will direct the pupil into the right method of study. Another name for this science is, Methodologie or Methodik, (Methodology), from the Greek, μέθοδος. It is also called Propädeutik. (Propaedeutics), from πρό and παιδεύω, πᾶσι, and again Isagogik, (Isagoge) from ἰσ and ἄγω. "The Hodegetics of academical study is," says Scheidler, "the summary view of the fundamental ideas, principles, and maxims or rules which pertain to the most successful mode of prosecuting study; this abstract of the main ideas being arranged in a scientific form and constituting an organized whole, a system. This science is a guide to the student in his academical course, shows him the right method of attaining his object, and warns him against the circuitous and wrong methods which he might be tempted to pursue." See Scheidler's Grundlinien der Hodegetik, S. 3, 4. The difference between the Hodegetics and the Encyclopaedia of Theology is, that the former has regard to the personal qualifications of the student, his methods of study, his preparatory helps, etc.; whereas the latter has regard to the state, the various departments and systems of the science itself.—Ts.

er the acroëmatic style of lecture, (that of the teacher's continuous address *ex cathedra*), be better than any other form of instruction.

First, as to the worth of a public education. It may be thought, that as we have such valuable published books, an industrious perusal of them in private will accomplish all the purposes of a university-course. So thought many "Philanthropists" of the preceding century; as Salzmann, author of *Carl of Carlsberg*. But we ought to consider, first the great advantages which redound to young men, from their striving in sympathy with one another after excellence. These advantages are the greater, where there are large universities, in which men from different parts of the world are brought into contact. We must consider, secondly, that in many particulars our books are deficient for the private scholar. They were written for the community in general, not for youthful students in particular. But lectures should be adapted not to men in general, but to students; and not to students in general, but to the members of the particular seminary where the lectures are delivered. The means for the education should be fitted precisely to the individuals to be educated. We should consider, thirdly, that there is a peculiar power in the living voice of the lecturer. The teacher should impart such truths as he has made good in his own thought and life; he should indicate the effect which has been produced upon his own mind by the subjects he discusses. His own individual impressions are blended in their influence with the truth itself. We must consider, fourthly, that the teacher should labor with the pupil, sympathize with him, not merely communicate scientific truth, but stand by his side to advise him. The instructor, therefore, should not remain a stranger to the events and influences of the passing day, but by familiarity with these, should be able to enter into the excitements of the pupil's mind. The student, therefore, ought to give especial heed to the lectures which are delivered, and from which he may expect to receive a quickening impulse to his own mind.

Secondly, we were to consider the organization of the German universities, as compared with that of other literary institutions. The peculiarity of these universities is the degree of independence which they allow the student, in respect of his studies and his conduct. In the English universities, there is a continued supervision over the pupil's demeanor and literary progress. It is said, that the want of such supervision is the source of great evil, since the student, when left to himself, often pursues a wrong

method of study, and also falls into immoral habits. But it is impossible to attain a true self-government and power of independent action without incurring the danger of false steps; and that only is the true property of a man, which himself has made such by his own effort. Meanwhile it may be true, that the grossest forms of evil are prevented by an arrangement, which unites certain features of the English with certain of the German organization; as has been done in the Theological Seminary at Tübingen.¹

Thirdly, let us speak of the mode of continuous lecture pursued in the German universities. Would it not be preferable to adopt the form of question and answer? Theremin replies in the affirmative. But this dialogical method can be pursued only in very few sciences. In the majority of studies the materials must be given by the teacher. He has often, moreover, too many hearers to allow the introduction of the Socratic form. The free lecture is the most exciting and the most beneficial. If the thought of the teacher first occurs to him and develops itself during his address to his pupils, then are their minds aroused to activity, and their power of thinking for themselves is increased. The free lecture, then, is conducive to the mental discipline of the student. If, however, he simply hear it, without writing what he hears, he

¹ It has often been considered a matter of wonder, that under such despotic governments as those of Germany, there should prevail so deep an attachment to freedom, or as some would say lawlessness, in the university-course. Constraint is regarded as the greatest of evils in the education of youth, who have left the gymnasia. The university is looked upon as the place for self-education, "where every student shall stand as much as possible on his own feet, where the individuality of each shall be respected, and where, in the words of Lessing, all trees shall not be forced to grow under the same bark," where the young man shall be left to his own guidance, so that he may learn to respect, and govern, and depend upon himself; where he may acquire energy of character in directing his own free impulses to virtue; and where, if he misuse his liberty, he may yet learn, by a sad experience, one phasis of man's prerogative, that of being his own master. "This freedom," says Fichte, "is the breath of the university; the moral atmosphere in which all its fruits expand most cheerfully, and come to ripeness." The object of education is said to be, not the accumulation of ideas, but the awakening of a scientific spirit. This enkindling of the soul is pronounced an impossibility under any coercive system. "He who was born a freeman cannot learn a science, when he is constrained as a slave," says Plato; and it is an oft-quoted remark of Jean Paul's: "the freedom of the man must grow out of the freedom of the youth; a student bowed down under constraint can be nothing better than a magistrate creeping *auf allen vieren*." One of the ablest advocates of the exemption of students from legal restraint is Schleiermacher, in his *Gedanken über Universitäten in deutschen Sinn*. See Scheidler's *Grund. der Hodeg.* S. 183—201. — Tr.

will soon forget what he has learned. He may gain some degree of mental discipline, but he will not retain the specific instructions which he has received. In order to obviate this evil, and also to avoid the severe labor of communicating truth in free speech, without dependence on a manuscript, many have introduced the practice of reading their lectures so slowly, that every word may be written down by the pupil. This mode of dictating instruction is said to indicate a disregard for the welfare of printers. (It supersedes the necessity of the teacher's publishing his works.) The better method is, for the instructor to employ the free, unfettered mode of address, and for the pupil to write down on the spot as much of the lecture as is possible, and afterwards to ruminate upon it. Seldom is real benefit derived from mere and slight hints in the student's note-book, which are not diligently re-examined and scrutinized.¹

¹ The professors in the European universities were originally united in the plan of delivering their lectures in the free style, in nearly the same style which is adopted in the pulpit. But in the middle or latter part of the fourteenth century the practice of slow dictation was introduced in Paris, and it continued to be practised until modern times, although it has been often prohibited by law. It was forbidden in Paris as early as 1355. In 1389 it was forbidden in the High School at Vienna. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was the prevalent mode in the university at Ingolstadt, but was afterwards prohibited by new statutes. The prohibition was ineffectual, and was repealed in 1746. About the same time it was forbidden in Würzburg. The Jesuits were the most prominent advocates of the plan, especially in Italy. Numerous evils arose from it. Rich young men, in the Italian cities, sent their servants to transcribe the dictated lectures, and thus obtained the honors of the university without having performed its required labors. "Nothing more is wanting," said Riccobini, "than that the professors send their servants to dictate, and then will all our scholastic duties be performed by substitutes." In 1592, this practice of slow reading for the benefit of the note-takers was condemned in Venice, and a fine of twenty ducats was imposed upon every professor who should disregard the prohibition. It was however disregarded, and the objectionable mode of teaching was not abandoned, until it became an object of ridicule, and the 'paper-doctors,' as they were called, were influenced by a sense of shame to adopt a more intellectual style of address. The method of dictation has been discountenanced in Germany by many able men, as Diesterweg and Schleiermacher, but their opposition has not been altogether successful. It is difficult to resist the will of independent youths, who find it more convenient to transfer their teachers' instruction to their note-books, than labor to incorporate it with their own minds. Besides, it must be confessed that the practice of dictating the more fundamental parts of a lecture, is attended with advantages which overbalance its evils. See Scheidler's *Grundlinien der Hodegetik*, S. 298—304. — Tr.

† 1. *Nature and Design of the Introduction to Theology.*

The Introduction to any particular science contains a general notice of what is included in that science, and of what is required for its practical application ; and by this means gives to every one who pursues that specific branch of learning, a clear idea of what he, as an individual, is called to perform. It takes a cursory view of the science as a whole, states the general outlines of it, and thus facilitates the apprehension of any particular part of it. It may be compared to the rapid glance at the general plan and contents of a book, which comprehensive survey is taken by the reader before he peruses the separate sections. The Introduction develops, moreover, the best method of mastering the various branches of the science. It is divided into three departments. The first is the Encyclopaedia, which includes a representation of the structure of the science, the fitness of its various branches to the design of it as a whole, and the relative influence and importance of these branches.¹ The second department of the Introduction to theology is Methodology, which is subjective, whereas the Encyclopaedia is objective. Methodology unfolds the manner in which the subject himself, the student, can make himself master of the object, the science, which has been unfolded in the Encyclopaedia. The third department of the Introduction is the account of the Literature of the science ; or a statement of the character and merits of the books pertaining to the objects under consideration. This department is properly a branch of the Methodology. It is sometimes called Bibliography.

¹ Hagenbach, in his Theological Encyclopaedia, gives the following definition : " By the term theological Encyclopaedia we understand, a general sketch of all the studies which pertain to theological science, or are intimately connected with it, and a brief description of the helps for the prosecution of the science. The Encyclopaedia does not aim to promote superficial study, by communicating fragmentary views of theological subjects ; but rather to encourage a truly scientific spirit, in opposition to a vain empiricism among theologians. This it does by an accurate delineation of the metes and bounds of the science, as it stands related to other sciences, and as its various branches are related to each other ; also by giving the characteristic marks of each distinct department of theology." p. 1. The word is derived from the unauthorized Greek word, *ἑγκύκλιος παιδεία*, found in Quint. Instit. 1. 10. 1, which comes from *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*, instruction in a circle, *κύκλος*, a complete system of instruction. " Hence," says Hagenbach, " the Encyclopaedia of any science cannot be written until the science itself is filled up, and rounded off into a complete system."—*Encyc.*, S. 105.

‡ 2. *Literature pertaining to the Introduction to Theology.*

In the period immediately preceding the Reformation, Erasmus published a work, called, *Ratio verae Theologiae*, 1519. This work was issued in a new edition by Semler in 1782. It is not written with any strict method, after any definite plan. It contains a great variety of matter, exhibits a warmth of interest in the subjects discussed, and its Latin style is excellent. The most important work which was issued during the period of the Reformation was from a pupil of Melancthon;—Chyträus, (or Kochsaff, Prof. of Theol. in Rostock), *De Studio Theologico recte instituendo*, Wittenberg, 1590. The chief work which appeared from the Calvinistic Church is, Hyperius, *Ratio Studii theologici*, 1556. The school of Spener and Francke, in the seventeenth century, labored with peculiar zeal upon Introductions to Theology. Melancthon has uttered the following remarkable words: "I am conscious that I have never discussed theological subjects with any other design than this—to make myself better." But the Lutheran Theology of the seventeenth century had entirely forgotten this practical earnestness of the Christian religion. Spener labored to produce the felt conviction, that no divine, who is not a pious man, is able to understand the nature of piety, and obtain the right conception of theological science. His disciples strove to inculcate the same principle, in the Introductions which they composed. They did not, however, adopt the right method for attaining their end. They introduced practical comments on religion into their scientific treatises on theology; interspersed the hortatory with the dogmatical, and seemed to forget that the science itself, when constructed in a Christian spirit, has a practical and edifying character. The most distinguished books from the school of Spener are, Spener, *De Impedimentis Studii theologici*; Francke, *Idea Studii theologici*; Joach. Lange, *Institutiones Studii theologici*; and Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam universam*, 1720. The last named is the most learned work which has appeared from this school.

In the modern Introductions to theology we discover a great want of an earnest consideration and a clear, deep insight into the nature of the Christian doctrine. The learning which these Introductions contain has too exclusive reference to the externals of theology, and does not stand in a living connection with the spirit of Christianity. This criticism will apply to the work of Planck, entitled, *Introduction to the Theological Sciences*, (*Einleit. in die*

Theolog. Wissenschaften,) in two volumes, 1790. An Abridgement of Planck's work appeared in 1813, under the title, *Grund-plan of the theological Sciences* (*Grundriss der Theol. Wissenschaften*). Other works on the subject are Nösselt's *Manual for the Education of young Theologians* (*Handbuch zur Bild. angehend. Theol.*), edited by Niemeyer, 1813; Staüdlin's *Encyclopaedia*, Hanover, 1822; Danz's *Encyclopaedia*, 1832, which is almost exclusively confined to the notice of books, and therefore does not correspond with the object of an *Encyclopaedia*; Schleiermacher's *Brief Exhibition of Theological Studies* (*Kurze Darst. des theol. Stud.*), 1811, which is a sketch containing much solid instruction, but not easily understood without an acquaintance with Schleiermacher's peculiar theories. Hagenbach (Prof. in Basle) published an *Encyclopaedia* in 1832, which is not without evidences of talent and spirit, but does not exhibit an accurate or a profound knowledge of the subjects belonging to the different departments of theology. It displays also too great a degree of dependence on Schleiermacher. The studies of Hagenbach have not been extensive enough for the authorship of such a work. Rosenkranz published an *Encyclopaedia of the theological Sciences* in 1831 (*Enc. der Theol. Wissenschaften*). He adopts the theological peculiarities of Marheinecke, and Marheinecke is a follower of Hegel. Rosenkranz is in many respects obscure in his statements, and does not exhibit the requisite maturity of mind in his conceptions. His *Encyclopaedia of theology* may be more properly called an *Encyclopaedia of the physical and intellectual sciences*.

There are other works, connected with this subject, which are not written in the form of manuals for study, but in a freer style. Such are the following. Herder's *Letters on the Study of Theology* (*Briefe über das Studium der Theologie*). This book is written with great earnestness and talent, and excites the mind in an especial manner to the study of the Old Testament. It is, however, in part devoted to questions and topics which have no particular interest for our time.—Sack's addresses to the young on the worth and attractions of Theology, (*Werth und Reiz der Theologie*), published in 1814, are beautifully written, but are not comprehensive, and their contents are, on that account, of insufficient value. The form of addresses is very appropriate.—Unger published in 1834, addresses to the future Clergy, (*Reden an Künft. Geistlichen*), which are adapted to awaken an interest in theology, and they give some fine hints in reference to several branches of the science.—Harless's *Encyclopaedia*, published in

1837, contains an excellent development of theological science, but is too historical for a general treatise, and is therefore better fitted for the mere history of the various departments in theology.

To the young theologian are especially recommended the above cited works of Erasmus, Unger, Herder, Harless and Hagenbach.¹

§ 3. *The Revealed Christian Religion.*

Religion in the subjective sense, is the reference of our life to God; first and immediately in our feelings, then and mediately in our knowledge and volition. In the objective sense, religion is the whole system of doctrines and precepts for worship, which are founded on our above-named subjective relation to God. The meaning of the word revelation will not be here definitely and positively stated, but will be reserved until we come to treat of dogmatic theology. We will only say, negatively, that revealed religion forms the correlate of natural religion, or the religion of the reason; it is not the result of human investigation, nor was it communicated to men by their fellow-men; but is the result of an extraordinary communication from God, is therefore infallible, whereas, on the contrary, all processes of human thought are more or less subjected to error. Hence can we explain why it is, that every religion gives itself out to be, not a product of the reason merely, not anything which originated from human inquiry and study, but a result of divine revelation. For every religion must have a firm and stable ground, since it aims to govern the whole life. The teachings of Christ are, therefore, a revelation. He declares that he did not receive his doctrine from himself, as an individual man, but from his union with God, John 7: 16; not therefore from human investigation, not from the authority of other men. He declares his knowledge of God to be absolute

¹ In addition to the books cited by Tholuck, Hagenbach mentions the work of Chrysostom, *Περί ἐκπορεύσεως*; that of Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, as containing the germs of an Encyclopaedia of certain departments of theology; also, (less valuable), the work of Isidorus, *Originum sive Etymologiarum Libri XX*; Rabbanus Maurus, *De Clericorum Institutione*; Gerson, *De Reformatione Theologiae*. Of a later date are Gaussoni (Steph.) *Dissertationes*, (very highly commended; Calixtus, *Apparatus theologicus*; Pfaff, *Introductio in Historiam Theologiae literariam*, 1724; Walch, *Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften*, 1753; Bertholdt, *Theologische Wissenschaft's-Kunde*. In more modern times have appeared the Encyclopaedias of Wachler, 1795; Thym, 1797; Tittmann, 1798; Kleuker, 1800, 1801; Schmidt, 1811; Francke, 1819; König, 1830. From the Catholic church, Wiesner, Dobmayer, Thanner, Drey, Oberthür, Klee. See Hagen. *Encyc.* S. 105—119.—Ta.

and free from all error, and he establishes his claim to infallibility upon his wonderful union with the Father; see Matt. 11: 27. John 6: 46, comp. John 7: 28. 14: 7.

But the direct teachings of Christ do not include the whole of Christian truth. He continued them but a short time. He often refers to the fact that his apostles must finish his work; see John 4: 38. 14: 12. comp. 17: 18. He declares that the apostles were not in a proper state, during his life, to comprehend the weightiest truths of religion; see John 16: 12. He alludes to the fact that himself will come again in a spiritual manner, and will lead his select disciples into the truth, see Acts 1: 8. Luke 24: 48, 49. John 16: 14. He communicates therefore to the twelve the same authority which he himself possesses; see Luke 10: 16. Matt. 10: 40. John 13: 20. Consequently the teachings of the apostles in the writings which they have left us, are part and parcel of Christianity. Their authority, however, can extend no further than to moral and religious truth. The form also in which they perceived this truth is an imperfect one.¹ The right ideas are represented by them in imperfect images and figures. Christ could never have said, as Paul did, Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known, 1 Cor. 13: 12; for Christ while on earth saw the whole truth clearly and in perfect form, John 6: 46. (The relation of the knowledge which Christ possessed to that which the apostles possessed, is explained in Tholuck's Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, § 6.)

After we have taken this general view of the compass of the revealed Christian religion, we may inquire for the one principle which characterizes it. This principle is, that all the truths of the Christian scheme point to the incarnation of God in Christ, and to the redemption which was effected thereby. Christianity refers also to the Old Testament, and acknowledges its authority, as in John 5: 39. It is a query, what relation the scheme of the New Testament has to that of the Old. We cannot describe this relation better than in the words of John, in connection with those of Paul; see John 1: 17. Coloss. 2: 17. Heb. 10: 1. The Old Testament has the law and shadows, (or forms, sketches, etchings that give an idea of the true system,) the New Testament has grace and truth. In the Old, goodness comes to the aid of man in the form of command, and the truth is addressed to him in the

¹ Imperfect, in comparison with the mode of conception which distinguished Christ as the Omniscient one.—Tr.

form of symbols and dark predictions. This is appropriate to the lower position in which men stood before the coming of Christ, and from which they looked at religious doctrine. Thus the child stands in need of law, and of pictorial exhibitions of truth. Accordingly Paul characterizes the religion of the Old Testament as that of the childhood of our race, see Gal. 4: 3, 4. By this religion was man awakened to feel his need of redemption. Goodness was exhibited in the Old Testament, but grace is proffered in the New, is communicated to us in a spiritual way, as an inward incitement to duty. Instead of the symbol we now have the clear perception of the idea.

If we ask then, in what respects is the religion of the Old Testament important for a Christian divine, we answer, first, that it reveals to us the love which God has exercised towards our race in educating it; and secondly, that the instructions of the Old Testament are presupposed by the New, and therefore must be understood in order to gain a complete and comprehensive view of the Christian scheme. We must, for example, be apprized that by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, because all have sinned; that death reigned from Adam to Moses, etc.—we must be aware of this as a previous truth, in order to perceive the relations and consequences of the death of Christ; see Rom. 5: 12—21. All those portions of the Old Testament, however, which have no connection with the scheme of the new, are to be looked upon as antiquated, as abrogated. The Christian must regard them, as the painter regards those lines in his original sketch which are not transferred to the canvass: they are no parts of the finished picture, are at present of no use further than as mementoes of something gone by.

§ 4. *Christian Theology.*

This is the science of the Christian religion. By the term science, we mean a systematic exhibition of a class of ideas, which are so arranged as to form one whole, to be surveyed in one view, and which are susceptible of a division into distinct parts, all of which go to make up the entire organization. The opposite of a science is an aggregate. Theological science is divided into four main departments. The first is the Exegetical. This brings to our knowledge, in a definite order, the materials upon which the Christian religion is established. The second is Systematic Theology; which is divided into the Dogmatic, and the Moral.

Dogmatic theology is the exhibition of the doctrines which are presented to our faith by the Christian records, and the corroboration of the same by the authority of reason. The science of morals is the representation of a Christian life as it is regulated by doctrinal faith.¹ The third department is the Historical. This is the exhibition of the mode and degree, in which the Christian church has at various times realized the ideal of the Christian faith and life, illustrated the idea of the kingdom of God. The fourth, is the Practical department. This develops, from the nature of the Christian system, those principles according to which the faith and the love, which this system has introduced, may be established and spread abroad.

§ 5. *The Necessity of Theological Science for Clergymen in their practical duties.*

At the close of the preceding century, there was a tendency in many minds to regard classical, aesthetic and philosophical study as a mere article of mental luxury, and to direct all the energies of man to his outward good and the means of advancing it. This was the so-called Philanthropism, of which Salzmann,² and Campe were the apostles. This system, in its theological relations, sanctioned Deism. Christianity was rejected, because it had been established by Jews who had never revered this modern illumination. According to the Philanthropists, the study of theology should be reduced to that of morals and rhetoric, and the time which might remain after these departments were exhausted, should be devoted to that, which would make the parson

¹ Moral Philosophy is taught, by the evangelical divines of Germany, in a far more scriptural and decidedly Christian form than by the moralists of England and America. It is considered a part of systematic theology, and is therefore derived from the inspired volume.—Tr.

² Salzmann, author of the fictitious work, *Carl of Carlsberg*, in 6 volumes, and Campe, were both originally preachers, but afterwards devoted themselves to the instruction of youth, and to the publication of books on the general subject of education. The system of philanthropism, of which Basedow was the founder, and Wolke, Iselin, Campe, Trapp and Salzmann were effective supporters, was introduced into Germany in the latter part of the eighteenth century; was founded on Locke's and Rousseau's maxims of education, and after effecting much both of good and of evil was abandoned in the early part of the present century. It has the merit of abolishing certain objectionable features, which had previously been countenanced in the education of youth; but like many other reformations, it corrected an old abuse by originating a new one, and for the sake of avoiding one extreme rushed into the opposite.—Tr.

much more useful than Dogmatics could render him, to the study of the fine and useful arts, the mode of curing sick cattle, agriculture, etc. By such an education, the country pastor would become a right fatherly friend of his parishioner. With this view and with such principles, did Dr. Barth write the epistle to the minister Zedlitz, on the study of theology as pursued in the German universities. The whole scheme of the philanthropists, in contrast with that of our universities, has been thus characterized: "we regard science as a lofty and heavenly goddess, which is to be revered, the philanthropists regard it as a cow which provides them with milk."

But there is another objection, worthy of more respect, sometimes urged against theological science. It springs from a concern for practical piety. The objector alleges that the study of theology robs our faith of its childlike and simple character, and puffs up the spirit, 1 Cor. 8: 1. It is said to be fully sufficient for a practical clergyman, that he possess, first of all, a pious heart, which will enter with interest into his ministerial duties; secondly, a general education; and thirdly, the gift of eloquence, where this is possible. The Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Methodists have expressly contended against theological education. In reply to their objections we say, that scientific theology does not indeed preserve in us the childlike, undisturbed and unquestioning faith which unlettered Christians have; but it is not a mere misfortune that the child must be matured into a man. It is indeed true, that a danger of pride is connected with learning, as with every other possession, but this is no reason for throwing away all that we possess.

Every one must acknowledge, that the church has at some times been in need of a learned ministry. Christian truth is taught by the inspired penmen in a foreign speech, in foreign forms of thought, in a certain historical drapery. It has required learning to accommodate this truth to nations which adopt different modes of expression, as well as of thought; to procure translations of the Bible, to explain its text, etc. In process of time, the truths which the apostles preached were misrepresented and discolored, and these misunderstandings could have been corrected only by learned theologians. The reformation would have been impossible, had there not been well read divines on the stage at that period.

But we say not only that the church has needed learning in her ministers at some times, she needs it at all times. Her ministers

are, properly, the representatives of theological science. The difference between Christian theologians and Christian laymen is only a difference in degree; one class blends itself with the other; there are in Christianity no exoteric and esoteric systems. Every reflecting layman acquires at the present day some theological education. The commentaries on the Bible, the systematic instruction in the Catechism, the popular histories of the church constitute the beginning of his theological course. Unless he have some insight into the faith which he adopts, then is he blind in his faith. Accordingly, the church needs men who shall be the depositaries of science, devoting themselves to study, so that they may supply the necessities of their congregations. It is natural to demand, that these depositaries of learning should be the practical working clergymen. One such educated man should be stationed over every church. The pastor will not be able to discharge his official duties thoroughly, unless he have a high degree of theological science. This, it is true, will not be sufficient without personal piety and a love to his parishioners, which will induce him to sacrifice his own for their good. But this piety and this love are so much the more efficient and useful, when they are conjoined with a fundamental knowledge of the various theological departments.

The pastor needs, first, a scientific acquaintance with sacred criticism. Then only can he with confidence apply the scriptures to the heart, when he has obtained a full conviction of the meaning of the original text. He must be convinced on critical grounds of the authority of the sacred books, if he would reason from them with assurance. He should also understand the peculiar relations and the precise circumstances, in which Christ and the apostles lived and spoke, in order to interpret their instructions rightly and definitely, as well as to make a practical application of them.

He needs, in the second place, an acquaintance with dogmatic theology and with morals. He must defend his faith, as agreeable to human reason. He must understand the specific doctrines of the gospel in their connection. He must understand the relations of religious truth to the nature of man.

The pastor needs, thirdly, an acquaintance with historical theology. The evangelical church can be understood only when we perceive how she has become what she at present is. All favorable developments in past ages are patterns for the present age; all exploded errors, either in doctrine or in practice, still serve as warnings for the future.

Thus do we see the beneficial influences of theological study, even on the ground that the pastor's congregation are united in the true faith. But at the present day, we cannot assume such a ground. Where, then, the clergyman finds himself standing in opposition to educated skeptics, he must obtain a thorough knowledge of the reasons for their skepticism; and must be able, with the help of theological science, to commend the true faith to their adoption. There are now, besides, many differing confessions and sects. The preacher should be able to defend his own creed, and to use for this object the weapons of erudition. It requires learning to sustain his faith, when he comes into conflict with sectarians, and also to communicate the appropriate arguments to his lay-parishioners, so that they also may refute gainsayers.

§ 6. *Studies auxiliary to Theology.*

Biblical exegesis rests on the basis of classical and oriental philology; dogmatic theology upon the basis of metaphysics, and the philosophy of religion; ethics upon the philosophy of our mutual relations; ecclesiastical history presupposes a knowledge of profane history; and practical theology rests on the principles of anthropology, psychology and rhetoric. It must not however be supposed, that Christian theology is a mosaic, of which the above-named secular studies are the component materials. The proper theological character of these studies is derived from their peculiar relation to Christian truth. The secular historian cannot write a good history of the church without previously becoming a theologian. No one can give a proper view of the ecclesiastical changes that have transpired, unless he have a thorough understanding of the doctrine of the church, and this presupposes an acquaintance both with exegesis and doctrinal theology. The history of the church is a history of doctrines; and a man cannot understand the development of these doctrines, the controversies concerning them, unless he have studied the doctrines themselves. In like manner can no merely classical philologist interpret the New Testament aright. The style of the New Testament cannot be understood without a knowledge of the Hebrew; the contents of it cannot be appreciated without a knowledge of doctrinal theology and ethics. G. Hermann, in his *Programma* (published in 1833) on Gal. 3: 20, has illustrated, in a striking manner, how completely the acuteness of a mere philologist can fail of detecting the meaning of a biblical phrase. Hermann has not differed from theologians, in

his reception of the text of this passage; but the chief difficulty lies in the sense, not in the words, and so little has he done toward clearing up this difficulty, that Rückert confesses himself unable, with all his study, to detect any meaning in Hermann's explanation. Besides, this eminent classical scholar has falsely explained many idiomatic phrases of the epistle to the Galatians, through inattention to the peculiarities of Paul's style. Thus he translates the words *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν* in Gal. 2: 2, by the phrase "Explicationis causa," whereas the meaning of the words is, "by an impulse from God," or, more literally, "because of a revelation."

§ 7. *What is demanded for the right prosecution of Theological Study.*

First, the theologian must himself believe the doctrines which he studies in their scientific form. This is necessary in order to secure the requisite interest in the science. If a student have the impression, that Christ and the apostles have taught nothing more than the Jewish theology prevalent in their day, he cannot have the same enthusiasm in his studies, which he would feel, if he believed that Christ had uttered what he fully and absolutely believed to be the truth; see Matth. 11: 27. Now it must be remembered, that the scientific apprehension of religious doctrines presupposes a religious experience. Without this moral qualification, it is impossible to obtain a true insight into theological dogmas. He who knows not from experience what devotion is, cannot understand a scientific treatise on the state of mind suitable for devotion. So likewise he who regards the Holy Ghost, the new birth, the need of redemption, etc., as mere terms destitute of important meaning, cannot rightly understand a scientific treatise on the doctrines intimated by those words.¹ Besides, the

¹ It is often asserted, that the course of theological study in Germany appeals to the intellect alone, and makes no demand on the affections. It is, however, one of the first principles of German criticism, that heartfelt sympathy with the sentiments of an author is essential to the correct appreciation of him. "An inward interest in the doctrines of theology," writes Hagenbach, "is needful for a biblical interpreter. As we say that a philosophical spirit is demanded for the study of Plato, a poetical taste for the reading of Homer or Pindar, a sensibility to wit and satire for the perusal of Lucian, a patriotic sentiment for the enjoyment of Sallust or Tacitus, just so certain is it that the fitness to understand the profound truths of Scripture, of the New Testament especially, presupposes, as an indispensable requisite, a sentiment of piety, an inward religious experience. So is it ever true, that the Scriptures will not be rightly and spiritually comprehended, unless the Spirit from God become himself the true in-

Evangelical church¹ positively requires that the theologian shall maintain the faith that is taught in her creed, and obliges him, at his ordination, to take an oath that he will teach this faith. If therefore, as the case often is, the student do not freely adopt the articles of our creed, then it should be the object of his theological study to bring his mind through his doubts into the belief of these articles; and as our church presupposes that these articles are received by every clergyman, so should it be the effort of every clergyman to make himself especially familiar with those modes of discussion, which aim at establishing the doctrines of the church, and reconciling them with what is known to be true.

Secondly, the study of theology demands a good degree of natural talent. True, the circle of a theologian's knowledge need not be so extensive as the circle of a philologist's or physician's;² still, the study of our doctrines requires a power of sharp discrimination; and the department of practical theology demands, in a special degree, soundness of judgment. See 2 Tim. 2: 15.

Thirdly, in the Protestant church every clergyman is a preacher. Therefore a natural talent for eloquence is demanded of the clergyman. He must have no defect in his vocal organs, no great degree of bashfulness. In general is it desirable that he have a liveliness of sensibility, by means of which his power in the pulpit will be increased. There is a natural eloquence, and he who possesses it can derive most profit from the rhetorical rules which are prescribed in the books. The man, however, who is deficient in this natural gift, may in some measure supply the place of it by the vivacity and elevation of spirit, which come from a heartfelt faith in the objects about which he discourses (see 2 Cor. 4: 13), and from love to the hearers whom he addresses. The living emotion always suggests the appropriate language. Besides, he who wants the talent for preaching may console himself with the thought, that he can supply his deficiencies for the pulpit by labors in the care of souls, by catechising the children, etc.

Fourthly, the candidate for the sacred office devotes himself

terpreter of his words, the *angelus interpretæ*, who will open to us the true meaning of the Bible." See Lücke's Preface to his N. T. Hermeneutics.—Hagen. Encyc. S. 179.—Tr.

¹ The name of the church of Prussia, since the union of the Calvinistic and the Lutheran into one national establishment.—Tr.

² "A minister can succeed *in a manner*," said Dr. Witherspoon, "without the same degree of talent and learning which are necessary for an accomplished statesman or lawyer or physician; but a minister who would magnify his office, must be second to no other man."—Tr.

to theological science, for the purpose of applying it advantageously to the wants of the church of which he is a servant. He is never allowed, in the progress of his studies, to lose from his vision the grand object of the sacred ministry. His regard to this object will preserve in his mind a conviction of the high value, which he ought to attach to theological science. When the philologist has not prosecuted his studies in the right manner, the evil that ensues is this: he cannot form nor impart an animating and lively picture of antiquity, but has merely a faint image of it. When the jurist has pursued a wrong system in his study, the evil that ensues is this: he puts in hazard the earthly good of widows and orphans, and thus sanctions injustice. When the physician has failed in his scientific education, he incurs the guilt of endangering the life of his fellow-mortals. But when the divine has erred in the prosecution of his studies, he encounters a far greater evil, he leads men astray from the path of endless life.

The high importance of the pastor's office is exhibited in a remarkably impressive style by Baxter, in his *Reformed Pastor* (2d edit, 1834). The rich blessings that may flow from the efforts of a single clergyman are portrayed in Schubert's *Passages from the Life of Oberlin*, 1832.

§ 8. *Studies auxiliary to Exegesis.*

The interpreter of the Old Testament needs the assistance which can be derived from oriental philology. The interpreter of the New Testament needs the aid which can be derived from the oriental and occidental philology. Philology is to be distinguished from linguistics or the study of mere words. The province of philology is to reproduce and bring into our ideal presence, the whole life of a people who have been separated from us both in time and space. Words are only a means for this end. It is through the medium of language, that we can learn what were the manners and customs of the distant people; and it is in the structure of their speech, that we detect some features of their character and their mode of life. The beau ideal of a philologist is well delineated by Wolf in the Preface to the third edition of his *Roman History* (*Römisch. Gesch.*), also in his *Epistle to a young student of philology*, which is found in the second volume of his *Life and Letters* (*Leben und Briefe*). The same is given, in an animating style, in his *Museum of ancient Literature*, Vol. I (*Mus. der Alter-*

thumswiss.). Compare, also, Bernhardy's Encyclopaedia of Philology, 1832. (Encyc. der Phil.)

§ 9. Oriental Philology.

A. In reference to grammatical and lexicographical literature.

A knowledge of the oriental languages is requisite for the thorough understanding of the Old and New Testaments. It is requisite for the Old Testament, because the Hebrew forms of speech are far better comprehended when they are compared with the cognate dialects; because the signification of many Hebrew words can be learned only by aid of these dialects; because some parts of the Old Testament are written in the Chaldaic idiom; because there are some very important translations of the Old Testament into oriental languages; and lastly, because there are some instructive rabbinical commentaries on the Old Testament. A knowledge of the oriental languages is requisite for the thorough understanding of the New Testament, because the Syriac version of this Testament, which is a work of the second century, is very important in respect of exegesis and criticism; because in the time of Christ the Aramaean dialect was commonly spoken in Palestine, and therefore many expressions of the Saviour and his apostles can be explained by the Aramaean; because, lastly, the spirit of the oriental literature is discernible in the New Testament writings, at least in respect of style and form. Thus, for example, in our Lord's prayer is found the word *ὀφειλήματα* (Matt. 6: 12), which is here used in the sense of *culpa*. This application of the word to a moral delinquency is to be explained by the Aramaean dialect, which applies the word כִּשְׁרָא to denote moral guilt. Again, the idiomatic expression in Matt. 7: 4 is to be explained by the Arabic proverb, "A man who has no splinter in his eye," i. e. a sharp-sighted man. Once more, the words, "thought it no robbery," in Phil. 2: 6, are illustrated by a phrase which is found in the Persian and Arabic languages, "to look upon a thing as booty;" and which denotes the striving to get possession of the thing, as quickly as a robber seizes his prey. The meaning of the passage is therefore the following: although the Redeemer might have made use of his divine power at any time, yet he wandered upon the earth in the fashion of a servant, and waited for God to raise him to his pristine state.

Collections of oriental writings, useful for the study of the New Testament, are found in Von Bohlen's *Symbolae Persicae ad ex-*

plicandum codicem sacrum, 1822; and in Gesenius's Contributions to Rosenmüller's exegetical Repertorium, Th. I.

The Arabic language is usually recommended to the theologian, as the most useful of the cognate dialects. This tongue has indeed the most extensive literature, and yields an uncommonly rich amount of grammatical and lexicographical information. It has received the labors of philologists with whom the Arabic was the vernacular tongue. But on account of this very exuberance is the study of the language so difficult that only he can qualify himself to judge, in an independent manner, of its idioms, and thus to derive benefit from their affinity to the Hebrew, who is able to spend a great part of his time in Arabic study. An attention to the Chaldaic and the Syriac tongues will be more fertile of good to the ordinary clergyman, than attention to the Arabic. The literature of these two dialects is indeed not extensive; but the languages themselves are also circumscribed in their lexicographical limits, and are simple in their grammatical forms. Properly speaking, the two languages are only one; the difference between them being, for the most part, in their pronunciation. The Chaldaic language gives the key to the reading of Daniel and of some passages in Ezra. A great part of the Talmud, also, is written in an impure Chaldaic. The Syriac enables us to understand the Peschito, which is the translation of the New Testament into the Syriac language; also, to understand a number of important works connected with the history of the church. From the study of the Rabbinic, is to be gleaned more of new information than from the other dialects. This word, Rabbinic, is used in a narrower and a wider signification. In the more extensive meaning, the term is employed to denote the language found in all the works written by the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem. This wide acceptance is, however, a misuse of the term; for some of these Jewish works are written in pure Hebrew, some in Chaldaic, some in corrupt Hebrew. In the narrower sense, the word signifies a new dialect of the Hebrew, a dialect which has been used since the twelfth century by Jewish authors, and which has the same relation to the pure Hebrew, which the Latin of the Monks has to that of Cicero. Commentaries on the Old Testament are written in this dialect; also a great number of works, some of which are very instructive, others full of absurdities. These books, and the Talmud also, exhibit so many points of contact with the New Testament, both in respect of matter and form, that some philologists, as Gfrörer and others, have supposed the Christian

doctrines to be, with a single exception, purely rabbinical. The only difference between the teachings of the apostles and those of the rabbins is supposed to be this: the rabbins taught that Christ was to come once for all; the apostles, that he was to come twice. Both parties still look for his appearance, but the one party suppose that it will be his second appearance, the other party that it will be his first. It is undeniable, that very much may be learned from the rabbinical writings for the explanation of the New Testament style, the dialectics of Paul, etc.,

Many contributions, which have an important relation to the literature of the rabbins, may be found in Lightfoot, *Horae Talmudicae*, 1679; in Schoettgen, *Horae Talmudicae*, 1733; in the Notes of Wetstein's edition of the New Testament.

B. Oriental philology in reference to matters of fact which are connected with it;—(Archaeology.)

Among these matters of fact we include the antiquities of the East, and the manner in which the habits and life of the people were stamped upon their religion. We include also their forms of government, their progress in arts and sciences, their family arrangements, etc. As the Hebrews were an oriental people, their character and state may be illustrated in various particulars, by the descriptions of the whole eastern world. The theologian can therefore derive profit from reading the books which oriental travellers have written; particularly from the very instructive *Journal of Professor Robinson*. The inhabitants of those countries remain in nearly the same situation, with that of their progenitors; and the influence of climate and of natural scenery upon them is altogether unchanged. A man therefore can experience scenes at the present day in the East, which correspond very strikingly with the scenes described in *Genesis*. *Buckingham* in his *Journey to Mesopotamia* (German Translation, S. 24) relates that when he was in the region where Abraham sat and looked out upon the strangers who were coming towards him, see *Genesis* xviii.—on that identical plain he saw a Turkish officer sitting down like the patriarch of old, and this officer entertained both Mr. Buckingham and his travelling companion, in the same style which was adopted by Abraham in the reception of his guests so long before. The officer went even so far as to wait upon the visitants himself, wash their feet, set before them milk to drink, food to eat, etc. An instructive collection of contributions to this species of oriental literature is found in *Rosenmüller's Ancient*

and Modern Orient (*altes und neues Morgenland*), 1818, in six parts. The work is composed of extracts from the descriptions given by oriental travellers, and is useful for the illustration of many passages in the Old and New Testaments.

The resemblance, however, between the Hebrew life and the life of other eastern nations is not, in all particulars, complete. The great difference of the Jewish religion from the religion of other countries introduced a corresponding diversity into their respective habits. The dissimilitude of the Jewish theology to that of other nations lies chiefly in this; other nations adopted more or less of the worship of nature; the Jews believed in God, who was holy and lifted up above nature. One result from this theological difference was, that the Hebrews manifested in their daily life a sobriety and a considerateness, which were not found among their neighbors. The spirit of the various systems of religion prevalent in the East has been very aptly described by Görres in his account of *Oriental Fables* (*Morgenländ. Mythengeschichte*), 1820. No modern writer is more deeply and thoroughly penetrated with the spirit of the oriental literature than Herder, in his memorials of antiquity (*Denkmälern der Vorzeit*), his poetical fables (*Paramythien*), his spirit of Hebrew Poesy¹ (*Geist der Hebräischen Poesie*), and his work on the oldest records of the Human Race (*älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts*). The following works have appeared in recent years, Rückert on the Edifying and the Contemplative from the Orient (*Erbauliches und Beschauliches aus dem Morgenlande*), 1836; also Rückert's *Tales and Histories of the East* (*Sagen und Geschicht. aus dem Morg.*), 1837. The most beautiful specimens of oriental religious literature, and well vouched illustrations of the extreme fanaticism prevalent in the East, are given in Tholuck's² *Anthology of Oriental Mysticism* (*Blüthensammlung der Morg. Myst.*), 1825.

§ 10. *The Occidental Philology.*

A. In reference to Grammatical and Lexicographical Literature.

Whether the study of the Greek classical authors be productive

¹ Translated by Prof. Marsh of Burlington, Vt.

² The customs and tastes of the Germans allow an author to refer to his own works, much more freely and frequently, than is allowed among ourselves. The celebrated Bruno Bauer remarked in one of his recent writings, that the names of all the professors in the University at Halle will be forgotten by posterity, except so far as they are mentioned, (for the most part in a condemnatory style), in his own writings.—Tr.

of great benefits to the theologian, is a query which will receive different answers according to the opinion which is entertained of the style in which the New Testament is written. In the sixteenth century it was supposed even by some eminent philologists, such as Henry Stephens, that the Greek of the New Testament is pure and classical. On the contrary, it has been maintained by Eichhorn and Bretschneider in modern times, that the apostles did not use the Greek language in performing their mental processes, but that they thought in the Aramaean dialect, and afterwards translated their Aramaean expressions into Greek. The right medium, however, has been adopted by Winer. He supposes that Paul especially had been used to speak the Greek language from childhood, that he spoke it in Tarsus in Asia Minor, where many Greeks lived. He supposes also that other writers, who were natives and citizens of Palestine, had yet learned to speak Greek with some degree of freedom. Not until the time of Hug have scholars generally adopted the opinion, that the Greek language, as well as the Aramaean, was used in Palestine, and that of course the natives of that land were accustomed often to converse in it. Their Greek style, however, was not the classical but the *κοινή*. It was the Alexandrine dialect. This dialect was probably learned by the apostles from conversation; they used therefore chiefly the style of familiar intercourse. It were, of course, a very valuable attainment for a theologian to become acquainted with the Alexandrine dialect, as it was used in domestic converse. And some documents, written in this idiom, have been preserved in a remarkable manner till the present time. They are found in parchment-rolls in the Libraries of Leyden, Paris, Turin and Berlin. They are in part forms of legacies, mercantile contracts, catalogues, etc. They have not as yet been employed for the purpose of illustrating the Greek of the New Testament.

Next to the above named documents are we interested in the literary works of the Alexandrines, the Book of Wisdom, Philo's Writings; also the books which the Jews of Palestine have written in the Greek tongue, Josephus' Works, the Apocryphal writings (die Pseudepigrapha) of the Old Testament, as for example the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, etc. and those apocryphal writings of the New Testament which are of Jewish authorship.

In the next place are those classical authors to be consulted, who flourished not far from the time of the apostles, Herodian,

Polybius, Arrian, and others. Passages parallel to such as are found in the New Testament have been collated from these classical writers. Krebs in his *Observationes* has collected such passages from Josephus; Löwner has collected them from Philo; Raphel from Polybius and Arrian. No philological use has been made by theologians thus far of the Greek style, which is found in the writings of the early Christian fathers. This may contribute much new matter for the explanation of the sacred text. Those portions of the New Testament, which are written in the most purely classical style, are found in the last chapters of the Acts of the apostles, and in the epistle to the Hebrews. The Apocalypse, on the contrary, is the most Hebraistic in its diction, and next in degree, the Gospel of Matthew. The fact that the New Testament displays so little elegance of style, is in entire harmony with the character of the Revelation in other particulars, and also with the whole christian economy. The reason for it is doubtless the same which Paul assigns, for his want of all excellence of speech in proclaiming the Gospel, 1 Cor. 2: 4, 5. If indeed the christian religion, when preached without the aid of human art, has exerted so powerful an influence, then is it the more obvious that the facts and the truths of our religion, and not their adventitious attractions, have overcome the world.

B. Occidental Philology, in reference to the matters of fact which are connected with it;—(Archæology).

The sacred narrative is concerned in great part with Palestine, with Jews and other orientals. The knowledge, therefore, of the western antiquities and history is not so important for theologians as that of the eastern. Still, Greeks and Romans are often introduced into the scriptural history. One part of the narrative, that of the Acts of the Apostles, and also that of our Saviour's passion, is intimately connected with classical scenes. The historical features of Luke's account of the Apostles are very remarkable, on account of the coincidence between two or three hundred data which he gives, and the antiquarian, geographical, historical data given by the classical authors. See Tholuck's *Credibility of the New Testament History*, (*Glaubwürdigkeit der N. T. Geschichte*) c. IV. † 3. See also Krebs, *de usu et præstantia Romanæ Historiæ in interpretatione Novi Testamenti*, 1744.

§ 11. *Sciences auxiliary to Systematic Theology.*

An acquaintance with other religious systems, than that revealed in the Bible, is of great importance to the theologian. It shows him how far removed all human schemes are, from the purity and clearness of that which God has taught us. It shows him also, that the greater part of the truths of Christianity are in unison with sentiments feebly expressed by other religions. This is one evidence that Christianity rests upon an essential want in the nature of man; that the presentiments and longings of the human breast are a prediction of christian truth. It is also an evidence, that other religions are altogether unable to bring mankind to the goal toward which the race aspires. This can only be accomplished by the divine revelation. It may be said that heathenism is the night-sky of religion, and the sky is sown with stars; that Judaism is the moonlight, and Christianity is the sun.

Rationalism regards many truths as the easy and simple discovery of a sound understanding; but yet these very truths are so easy and so simple, solely because a revelation has educated and improved our rational powers. It appears for example that no doctrine is more obvious, none lies nearer our minds, than that of one holy and personal God; and yet among the seven hundred million inhabitants of the earth there are only three hundred million worshippers of one personal Divinity, and the faith of these men rests exclusively upon the Bible. Even the Mohammedans denominate their religion the religion of Abraham, and the Koran is borrowed from the Old and New Testaments. So likewise the duty of loving our enemies appears to be extremely obvious, and yet Socrates has taught that such a love is not obligatory. In a peculiar manner is it useful for the theologian and the teacher, to learn the religious and moral state of the classical world. It is very common for students to become acquainted with only the bright side of this picture. How few there are, for example, who know that in Sparta and Athens, hundreds of human sacrifices were offered, that Aristides sacrificed with his own hand to Dionysius three persons, whom he had taken prisoners, even the three sons of the sister of the Persian king. This dark side of the religious life, which is found among the classical nations, has been described by Tholuck in his essay on the moral influence of heathenism, published in Neander's *Denkwürdigkei-*

ten, Th. 1.¹ The bright side also of the picture deserves to be more fully disclosed than it has been. The theologian finds in the traditions of various countries, and also in the fables of the ancient classics, many correspondencies with the biblical history; such correspondencies as intimate, that these traditions were derived from this history. Of such a nature, are the tales concerning a golden age of our race, an apostasy, a general flood, a future restoration. See Rosenmüller's *Ancient and Modern Orient* (Alt. und Neu. Morg.), Part I, especially chap. III. See also the fourth supplement to Tholuck's *True Consecration of a Skeptic to God* (wahre Weihe des Zweiflers). It may with safety be inferred from these traditions, that the records in the book of Genesis concerning the Apostasy, etc., are not philosophical *μύθοι*; for were they nothing more than the emanations of some Hebrew philosopher, how could they have been spread abroad among all nations? These popular traditions point us to the time when the human family were collected into one place, and afterwards separated into various branches. In this separation, every tribe took with it the traditions that were common to all. The supposition that one traditionary narrative may have been propagated, from the most remote periods of antiquity through successive ages and nations, has been defended with peculiar success by Creuzer.

The theory of Rammeler, Manso and Voss, that the classical mythology exhibits in its fables nothing more than a poetic play of the fancy, is too superficial. In many fables it is easy to detect deep moral truths, which are as the back-ground of a picture. Many of them might be regarded as divinations. The fable of Prometheus, who would fain overstep the limits assigned to his race and steal fire from Jupiter, and whose liver was preyed upon by a vulture until he was freed by Hercules, impresses us as a symbol of a humanity which is fallen, and which is also redeemed by the Son of God and man. In the like method can we discern a moral significance in the fables of Pandora, Tantalus, Narcissus, of the Titans, of the Furies. The Furies are daughters of the night, and were begotten at the very instant when the first crime was committed upon earth, they sprung from the drops of blood which Uranus shed when he was wounded (entmannt) by his son, Saturn. The hand of a fury carries a dagger, she steps forward with a rush, her glance confounds the beholder, she is the awful image of an affrighted conscience.

¹ Translated for the Bib. Repository, Nos. V. and VI, by Prof. Emerson of Andover.

But it is not in the fabulous histories alone, that we discover traces of Christian truth. We also find in the classical writings many features, which may be regarded as prophetic intimations of the ideas revealed in the New Testament. Homer has expressed religious sentiments, which are uncommonly pure and beautiful. Take, for example, the admirable passage concerning repentance and guilt in the ninth Book of the *Iliad*, and also that concerning the answer to prayer, in the first book of the *Iliad*. Aeschylus, Pindar, and Sophocles also are equally rich in expressions of the deepest religious feeling. There may be compiled from the classical authors a collection of *dicta probantia* for a large number of Christian truths. These classical proof-texts are indeed nothing better than presentiments, premonitions of revealed doctrine. If they should be collected, they must previously undergo a severe critical scrutiny, and then, being arranged with discrimination, they would exert a great influence upon the present age. Already have we one work of this kind; Pfanner's *Theologia Gentilis*, 1679. If, for example, offence is taken at the doctrine of native depravity, it may be replied that we find this doctrine taught by the classical authors. Plutarch says, that the passions are born in man, and do not first come to him from without. The two prose authors of antiquity, who are the richest in their developments of religious sentiment, are Plato and Plutarch. From the moral writings of the latter may much instruction be gleaned, particularly from his work *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*,¹ which gives us a commentary on the following scriptural sentiment, God punishes sin even unto the fourth generation.

We are at this time in great need of a good history of religion. There are indeed many writings, which treat of this subject, as the works of Gottlob Schlegel, Haupt, Gerlach, (*Fides, oder die Darstellung aller Culte, The Representation of all Systems of Worship*), 1830. But these writings exhibit no labored investigation into the character of the religions described, and no fundamental understanding of Christianity. A learned work of great value on this subject is that from Stühr, *The Religions of the East, and the Greeks, (die Religionen des Orients und der Hellenen)*. The German Mythology also of Jacob Grimm, published in 1836, is a treasure. Görres too, has given a very good representation of the religions taught in fabulous history. His work is particularly instructive in reference to the Eastern religions.

¹ An edition of this work has been recently published at Andover with valuable notes by Prof. Hackett, of Newton.

The Symbolik of Creuzer treats, in the first four volumes, of the Oriental, Egyptian, Greek and Roman Mythology; in the fifth and sixth volumes (edited by Mone), it treats of the northern Mythology. The work of Baur on Symbolics and Mythology (*Symbolik und Mythologie*,) is also spirited and exciting. It is in three parts, and is written in accordance with the views of Schleiermacher. Another important work on this subject is Nägelsbach on the Theology of Homer (*die homerische Theologie*), 1841.

‡ 12. *Philosophy, especially Metaphysics and the Philosophy of Religion.*

The design of philosophy is, to trace all things to the laws which govern them, and to show the necessary relation of the individual parts to the whole system. Philosophy, then, must be applied to the objects about which theology is conversant. It was applied by the ancients to developing the laws of thought, of moral action and of nature, and was therefore divided into three departments, Logic, Ethics, Physics. But the laws which it discovers cannot be understood, in their true character and fundamental relations, without an extension of our views beyond and above the sphere of created nature, even to God. Hence comes the science which Aristotle denominated, *μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*, the science of things which are above the reach of our senses.

Investigations relating to the Deity, the soul, immortality, etc., were included under the general denomination "Metaphysics," until the days of Wolf. These investigations were drawn out and presented in the form of demonstrative argument. Kant and Jacobi introduced a new method. They both contended, that we have an intuitive perception of those truths which are above the sphere of sensation. Jacobi founded his religious philosophy upon our immediate consciousness of truths pertaining to divine things. We believe with full assurance in God, and in the soul's unending existence, without employing any media of proof. This belief is as direct and firm, as our conviction that there is a material world. The principles of Jacobi are followed in the philosophy of religion published by Bouterweck in Göttingen, by Clossius in Leipsic, and by Suabedissen in Marburg. The work of the last named author, is the best belonging to this school.

But philosophy assumed a new form under the influence of Hegel. According to him, the essence of religion consists in

spontaneous feeling, and there exists, in connection with that feeling, an immediate, an assured conviction of a reality in its object. The province of religious philosophy is, to show how much of truth lies in that conviction. God is the Absolute, and he is, consequently, the highest logical idea. The philosophy of religion begins with the most degraded creed, that of the idolater, and ascends to the loftiest, that of Christianity, unfolding to us, step by step, how much of solid truth is to be found in the various religious systems which have prevailed.

Those theologians who do not recognize the authority of revelation, must of course regard philosophy as the most important branch of theological study. If reason be the great umpire in questions pertaining to God, then must *that* reason be the fittest umpire which is most scientifically disciplined. It is philosophy, which gives this systematic discipline. But the theologian, who surveys the matter from this point of view, must renounce all claim to certainty in his convictions. No philosophy can impart the perfect and absolute truth, for no philosophical system is more than the consciousness which the philosophers of a certain age have of their own thoughts. Now philosophers are representatives of their times, and breathe the spirit of their times. But times change; the spirit of every age is different from that of every other; and therefore a new scheme of philosophy must arise with the new developments of the general mind. Is the spirit of the age irreligious, as it was in France at the close of the preceding century? Then are the philosophical systems also irreligious. Therefore if we are dependent on mere philosophy, we can never obtain the absolute truth. Rationalists have indeed supposed, that thinking men in all ages have been agreed in the essential points of doctrine. Wegscheider says, "*In rebus gravissimis, quæ ad religionem et honestatem pertinent, fere omnes philosophorum scholas inter se convenire constat.*" But this assertion is thoroughly refuted by history; see Hase's *Hutterus Redivivus*, § 31, note 1. It is indeed true that all systems speak of God, of goodness, of immortality, but the definitions of these terms are so diverse that the objects themselves which the terms denote are no longer the same. When Anaxagoras speaks of God, he means by the term the *νοῦς*; when the Eleatics speak of God, they mean the Universe; when the French materialists employ the same word, they use it as equivalent to chance; Spinoza uses it to denote the absolute substance; and Fichte, the moral regulation of the world. Even Cicero has said concerning the

idea of God, *Res nulla est de qua non solum indocti, sed etiam docti tantopere dissentiunt* (de Nat. Deor. I. 2.).

Similar remarks may be made of the term, immortality. Many philosophical systems have entirely denied the doctrine of our future existence. The new development of Hegelism, (that of the left wing, so called) is, that not the individual man but only the race, the genus (*die menscheit*) is immortal. The fact is, philosophy can never remain stationary. Aristotle expressed the hope, as Cicero says in his *Tusculan Questions*, III. 28, *brevi tempore absolutam fore philosophiam*. Kant also in modern times has said, "my philosophy will bring eternal peace to the world" (*Vermischte Schriften*, B. III. S. 339). And yet the progress of philosophy is onward, ever onward, without delay. The truths which are recognized by one system are discarded by another. From this mutability of philosophical dogmas, however, is the truly christian theology exempt. This teaches us to rely on one single man who has made claim to infallibility; *Matth. 2: 36*. So soon as we acknowledge that the absolute truth is revealed by Jesus, then have we such a ground for confidence as can never be shaken. It must indeed be confessed, that there is a great discrepancy between the views, and theories of Christians with regard to the import of the inspired records. It may hence appear to some, that we are not yet brought even by Revelation to an immovable basis on which we can rest. Still there is one common bond, which unites all christian parties. Every existing confession has acknowledged the apostolical creed as an epitome of the truth. The differences of the various confessions relate chiefly to the sacraments, to the diverse modes of regulating the church, to the several orders of ecclesiastical officers. The apostolical creed, however, contains those truths which lie at the foundation of all christian duty and religious life.¹

¹ If the most celebrated confessions of faith may be made to harmonize in the essential principles of Christianity, still there are thousands, who publicly subscribe to these confessions, and yet reject the truths which Prof. Tholuck regards as fundamental. If, too, the agreement of all these confessions with the statements in the apostles' creed prove, that these confessions are alike in their essential principles, then it were easy to show, that all philosophical systems are substantially coincident with one another, for they may all be made to harmonize with a symbol, which is as definite in matters of philosophy, as the apostles' creed in matters of theology. Indeed the left side of the Hegelians are fundamentally one with the evangelical party in Germany, if an agreement with the undefined expressions in that ancient creed be the test of unity; for Feurbach and Strauss believe in "God the Father Almighty," if they may

If, then, the theologian differs from the mere philosopher, in respect of the source whence he derives his articles of faith; if he does not betake himself to philosophy as the fountain of religious truth, then it becomes a question, In what respects is the study of philosophical systems important for a theologian?

First of all, philosophy has an historical interest for the divine. It is a fact, that philosophy has at all times exerted an influence on theology, particularly upon the dogmatic branch of it. A knowledge, then, of the philosophical systems, which have prevailed in former times, is essential to an accurate acquaintance with the theology of those times. The theological systems of the first period in the christian era, were formed under the influence of Platonism; those of the middle ages were accommodated to the system of Aristotle; since the seventeenth century, the theories of Leibnitz and Wolf have modified theology; and it was again modified, at the close of the last century, by the peculiarities of Kant.

But it is not merely in an historical aspect, that philosophical study is of service to a theologian. It is also important in its connection with the dogmatic system. The educated theologian desires to preserve a harmony between his christian faith and his habits of thinking. His habits of thinking are philosophical; and he will reap the greatest benefit from that system of philosophy which prevails among the scholars of his own time. He is under a necessity of showing the consistency of his faith with philo-

be allowed to define the term; and in "Jesus Christ," as they explain that name. The apostles' creed will admit as many diverse explanations as it contains words, and if that be a bond of union, it will unite philosophers as well as theologians. It is indeed true, that the doctrines of the Bible are immutable, and that men in all ages, who search in the right temper, will embrace essentially the same faith; and so is it true that the principles of philosophy are unchangeable, and the same essential dogmas will receive the assent of all men, who diligently and patiently and humbly seek for the truth. The revelation, which God has made through the human mind, is as really true and stable, as that which he has made through the Bible; in many particulars, however, is the former less perspicuous and far less glorious than the latter. It is by no means the fact, that philosophy must change in its essence with the character of successive generations of men; nothing more than its form needs to be modified by the modifications of human tastes and prejudices. Nor is it by any means the fact, that philosophy is in this respect materially different from theology; for the form of the latter science varies with the varying phases of society. The substance remains the same, but the modes change. Who would now speculate in the exact style of Augustine, or even Calvin, and yet who among evangelical divines will hesitate to avow as his own, the essential principles which these two masters have defended?—Tr.

sophical truth, and of presenting it to his philosophizing contemporaries in a form which shall secure their esteem and acquiescence. If the prevalent philosophy contradict his faith, then a contest arises between the truth which is newly proposed to him, and that which he has already possessed. His creed and the prevailing scheme of philosophy measure themselves with each other in this strife. His faith rests on his inward experience, on that conviction which results from all that he has seen or felt, and at the same time on a firm historical basis. The true philosophical system will not contradict the principles which lie at the foundation of the christian scheme. The remark of Bacon applies here: "*philosophia obiter libata a Deo abducit, penitus hausta ad Deum reducit.*" It may happen, indeed, that the Christian will not be able, for a long time, to find out the right weapons, by which he may refute the errors of philosophy. Thus the Pantheism of Spinoza appeared for almost two hundred years to be a consistent, logically accurate and incontrovertible system; so that Jacobi said, "it is the only system to which the reason can arrive in its speculations, and that nothing but religious faith can save man from its influence." Yet the time came, at length, when the proper weapons were discovered for a successful struggle against this Pantheistic scheme. It may now be said, with truth, that the system of Hegel has disproved that of Spinoza.

We can distinguish six different philosophical systems, which are adopted by different classes of men at the present day.

First, the views of Kant still prevail among our elder philosophers. They prevail in part, however, with those modifications which they began to receive from Krug, and by which they have lost much of their original spirit and nerve. According to this system, our reason must inquire at first, whether it be competent to ascertain the infinite truth. It soon perceives that its progress is impeded by express contradictions. The existence of God, therefore, the freedom of the will, and the immortality of the soul, must be regarded as postulates, (for insurmountable difficulties are supposed to lie in the way of proving them by argument). The system of Kant, thus modified, confines its interest almost exclusively, to investigations in morals.

Secondly, some philosophers adopt those modifications of the Kantian system, which have been proposed by Fries. He has given especial importance to a class of our spiritual operations, which have been altogether neglected in the structure of the Kantian philosophy. The feelings are made prominent in his system. He

denies that we can have a speculative knowledge of divine things, but contends that we may have a faith in them by means of feeling, by the instinctive presentiments and longings of our nature. Between knowledge and feeling there exists, as he supposes, a contradiction which cannot be reconciled. De Wette adopts this modification of the Kantian scheme.

Thirdly, a class of our philosophers adopt the system of Kant, as it has been modified by Herbart. This scheme resigns, like the preceding, all pretensions to a knowledge of God. The reason may perceive that a God exists, but cannot determine what is his character. The term "God" is, however, nothing more than a name, if it do not suggest the attributes which are united in the object of that term. Herbart deserves high praise for his originality in unfolding the method of philosophical study in its various departments.

Fourthly, another class of philosophers adopt the system of Jacobi. He wrote in opposition to Wolf and Kant. He contended, that the demonstration of truths relating to God is impossible; that the ground of a demonstration must be higher than that which is demonstrated, and therefore if the existence of God could be proved in this manner, the ground of his existence must be higher than he himself is. Consequently, the reason must believe, immediately and intuitively, in the truths which relate to things above the world, just as the understanding believes in the existence of an external universe.

Fifthly, Schelling's theories are adopted by some of our contemporaries. There is a very great difference between his present system, and that which he formerly advocated. When he first came upon the stage, he advanced the theory, that mind and nature are identical; that nature is only a different mode of expressing the same thing which mind expresses; that the laws of the spirit are reflected from nature; that both nature and mind proceed from the same original ground, and have their unity in that from which they alike emanate. This original ground is called the absolute identity, or (simply) the absolute, or the indifference. Therefore is Schelling's philosophy, in its first shape, called the Identity-system. It is Pantheism. But in 1809 he changed the form of his system, and issued his treatise on human liberty. He endeavors, in this treatise, to free himself from the Pantheistic scheme, and displays a great degree of ingenuity in his struggle for deliverance.

Sixthly, the system of Hegel continues to have a large num-

ber of adherents. When this philosopher began to publish his peculiar views, they promised to be entirely accordant with Christianity. The principles of the christian religion, as they exist in the feelings, were recognized as true, but raised to the rank of ideas, true knowledge. Göschel published at that time a work in aid of the Hegelian philosophy. It was entitled, "Aphorisms on not knowing and on knowing absolutely" (Aph. über Nichtwiss. und absolut. Wiss.), 1829. Hegel himself expressed his approbation of Göschel's principles and statements.

But the christian attitude of the philosophy has been changed, since the death of its author, and especially since the publications of Strauss. This last-named writer has explicitly shown that Hegel combined differing elements in his philosophy of religion, some of them purely Pantheistic, and some positively Christian, and that the main tendency of his system is to Pantheism. See the 3d vol. of Strauss's Controversial Writings (Streitschriften). That mode of interpreting the Hegelian propositions, which was adopted by Strauss, has become the characteristic of a new philosophical party. It is a party who regard themselves as followers of Hegel, and are called Hegelians of the left wing, left side. Those of the right wing, the conservative side, are constantly declining in numbers, and the intermediate party, the "centrum," as Strauss denominates them, of whom Rosencranz is a representative, have been approximating more and more to the left side.¹

¹ These designations, right and left side, right and left wing, are derived from similar designations in the French Chamber of Deputies and other halls of legislation, where the party for the existing administration of government occupy the right side of the hall, and the party against the administration occupy the left. The right wing of the Hegelians are, at present, superior to the left in point of taste, refinement, and general character; but are inferior in point of acumen and exact discrimination. The representatives of the right side are Göschel, Marheinecke, Gabel, Heinrichs and others. Daub was the ablest of all the right-hand Hegelians, and his works exhibit a great degree of acuteness as well as learning. In the early part of his life he advocated Kant's system; when Fichte appeared, he changed his Kantian for the Fichtean views; the writings of Schelling converted him from the philosophy of Fichte to that of the new theorist; and afterwards, when Hegel had introduced a newer system, he left the school of Schelling and became an Hegelian. Thus he kept pace with the progress of his age; but he died before the left wing of the Hegelians had advanced their still more progressive theories. The representatives of the left side are, Strauss, Michelet, Gans, Feuerbach, Rüge, editor of the celebrated *Deutscher Jahrbücher*, Bruno Baur, formerly *privat-docent* in the university of Bonn, but deposed from his office in consequence of the irreligious tendency of his speculations. Vatke, also, who has been recently engaged in a controversy

The following are some of the principles, which are adopted by Strauss : God and man are spirit ; consequently there must exist a oneness between God and man. God is not the infinite, who keeps himself high above the finite, as a distinct existence, but his own personal being is merged into the universal. The divine nature empties itself into the whole system of things. The logical categories are merged into nature and the human spirit. They exist in nature as really as in man, but are not attended with self-consciousness. They exist in man not only *in* themselves but also *for* themselves, and are accompanied with a consciousness of their existence. Deity, therefore, attains to the knowledge of himself first in the human soul. Man thus becomes the infinite, as the infinite is merged into human nature. When the man has a deep insight into the infinite, then only does he become a true soul. God has no real existence, if he be regarded as a distinct being cut off from finite natures, and possessing an independent personality. He has a real existence, when he is regarded as having emptied himself into nature and man ; (the infinite becoming thus *entäußert* into the finite). In agreement with these principles, religion consists in the consciousness of the identity between God and man. It includes the various degrees, in which man has attained a knowledge of God, and in which, therefore, God has become conscious of himself.¹ The grand duty of man is to advance into the infinite. The true life of an individual is only in his relations to other beings, (or in his forming an integral part of the history of his race). Whenever a man rightly understands the glory of this world, he will lose his interest in the prospect of existence in another world. The soul's immortality will be

with Julius Müller on the nature of sin, may be considered as belonging to this school. Strauss, who was appointed Professor at Zurich, but whose appointment was so unpopular as to cause a deadly riot among the citizens, was induced to forego the active duties of his professorship by an offer of a pension of a thousand francs per year, to be continued during life. Considering himself to have annihilated theology as a distinct science, he now devotes his attention to the various branches of natural philosophy, this being the only divine philosophy, as nature, including man, is the only God. He has married an opera dancer, and resides, as a retired gentleman and student, in the neighborhood of Stuttgart. He is doubtless a man of remarkable powers of mind, and his style of writing is considered a model for a German scholar.—Tr.

¹ One of the favorite and standard expressions of Hegel, by which he would communicate his views of the divine nature, is this : "the consciousness which man has of himself is the consciousness which God has of himself ;" i. e. God is a conscious being only in the human soul, as it takes knowledge of itself. Man's consciousness of himself, is thus his consciousness of God ; and God's knowledge of man is nothing but man's self-consciousness.—Tr.

to him an antiquated doctrine. Christ is that individual of our race, who first obtained a clear perception of the truth, that man is nothing more nor less than a God, who has been diffused into the universe, and emptied of his individuality. It was through Christ, that the knowledge of this identity between God and human nature was first attained by man.

The most powerful opponents of the Hegelian system are those, who were originally educated in the school of its founder, but have more recently adopted the new system of Schelling. Such are Fichte, (son of the eminent philosopher of that name), Weisse, Fischer. Schaller, in his *Philosophy of our Times* (*Phil. unserer Zeit*), has defended Hegelism against the attacks made by the three above-named philosophers, and has endeavored to prove that Hegelism is not Pantheistic. It must in truth be confessed, that notwithstanding the Hegelian system comes in the most decided conflict with Christianity, when the system is pursued to its legitimate consequences, still its forms of thought are none the less fruitful of speculative truth, and we may do essential service to the scheme of christian theology by a profound and successful study of the Hegelian categories.¹ Daub has applied the system to theology with this view of its usefulness. So likewise has Göschel in his work on "God, Man, and the God-man, (*von Gott, dem Menschen und dem Gottmenschen*), 1838.

In pursuing a course of philosophical study, it is advisable to begin with the history of philosophy, and to learn the principles of truth from the account of the mode in which they were developed. Three advantages result from this historical view. First, the science of theology demands an acquaintance with the most important philosophical systems, in the order of their development. Secondly, the best philosophical discipline is found in an investigation of the methods in which one system is evolved from another. Thirdly, the historical view furnishes illustrations of the fact, that every system of philosophy is in a peculiar harmony with the time in which it was produced, takes its form from

¹ It is very frequently admitted by the German opponents of the Hegelian philosophy, that it is an unrivalled system of mental gymnastics; and it is therefore often studied, as the mathematical sciences, chiefly for the discipline it affords. That theologian of Germany, who is perhaps more decidedly averse to Hegelism than Schelling even; he whose works are regarded, in Great Britain and the United States, as more strictly orthodox than those of any other writer in that land, has declared that "the philosophy of Hegel, (when viewed independently of its truth or falsehood), is the most profound and complete system, which was ever formed by an uninspired writer!"—*Tr.*

the peculiar relations of its author, and also that no one system can demand our implicit subjection to it.

The following works are to be recommended, for the study of this species of history: H. Ritter's *History of the Ancient Philosophy* (*Gesch. der vorchrist. Phil.* 6 L.), Hegel's *Hist. Phil.* (*Gesch. der Phil.* 3 B), Rixner's *Hist. Phil.* (*Geschichte der Phil.* 3 B), Schluter's *System of Spinoza* (*das Sys. des Spin.*), 1836, Erdmann's *Hist. of Philosophy from the Times of Des Cartes to the present*, in 2 parts.

If one wishes to investigate a particular system of philosophy, he may with great advantage direct his attention to the two modern schemes, in which the opposition of our contemporary philosophers to each other is most conspicuous. These are the scheme of Jacobi and that of Hegel. The former proceeds from the principle, that every consistent system of philosophy, which rests on a series of arguments, must be Pantheism, and that therefore the christian philosophy demands nothing more than the faith of the reason. The latter scheme, that of Hegel, promises to give man an adequate knowledge of the truth, and to provide an immovable foundation for the religious faith. It considers feeling and faith as the subordinate gradations of an uneducated christian. The treatise on the "Things pertaining to God and their Revelation" (*von der göttl. Dingen und ihrer Offen.*), is of especial importance for acquiring a knowledge of Jacobi's views. The study of Hegel's system may be properly commenced with his *Philosophy of the World*; then, his *Philosophy of History* may be taken up; next, his *History of Philosophy*; afterward, his *Phenomenology*, with the commentary of Gabler; then, his *Introduction to Philosophy*; and, finally, his *Logic*. He who studies Hegel's works should also peruse, in connection with them, such books as are devoted to the criticism of the Hegelian scheme. These are, the writings of the younger Fichte, and of Weisse, also Fichte's *Philosophical Journal*. To the theologian the work of Dörner is particularly serviceable, on the *History of the Development of the Doctrine of Christ's Personality*, from the earliest to the latest Times, Stuttgart, 1839. (*Entwick. der Lehre von der Per. Christi*). This work shows, with great discrimination and freedom from party spirit, what is worthy of approval, and what of censure, in the Hegelian views of God, the Trinity, the relation of God to the world, etc., in so far as these views have reference to the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. The same work, also, acquaints us with the great discrepancy which exists among the disciples of

Hegel, in their treatment of the doctrines of theology. The work is fundamental in its investigations, and is at the same time clear and intelligible.

§ 13. *Ethical Philosophy.*

The study of the philosophy of morals is an aid to the study of christian morality, in two respects. First, it educates the mind to think systematically on moral subjects; and secondly it unfolds the great difference between the ethical spirit of the schools before Christ and those after him. It is very useful to the theologian to know this difference. Many sects of philosophers before the christian era justified certain crimes. The Cyrenaic school defended lasciviousness. The Stoics defended suicide and unnatural sensuality. Even the noblest of the ancient moral systems, that of Plato, is distinguished in a striking manner, and a manner discreditable to itself, from the ethics which Christianity has sanctioned. Plato has exhibited, in his imaginary State, what he regarded as the true moral ideal of our race. He abolishes, in this State, the institution of marriage, the family circle, allows a community of wives, requires that the children be educated by the public, bestows the dignity of freemen only on philosophers, and places the unphilosophical in the rank of beings destitute of will. He sanctions many other immoral usages. See Baur's Socrates and Christ, or the Christian Element in Plato, 1837. (das Christl. im Plato); Ackermann's Christian Element in the Platonic Philosophy, 1835 (das Christl. in der Platonisch. Phil.).

§ 14. *Sciences auxiliary to Historical Theology.*

The first of these auxiliary studies is that of secular history. The theologian cannot understand the history of the church, without previously understanding that of the world; for the threads of the one are closely interwoven with those of the other. The divine must, therefore, acquaint himself with those periods and those personages, which are described by the accomplished secular historian, and which have exerted an influence over the destinies of the church. He must study, therefore, many such works as the following: Robertson's Life of Charles the Fifth; Neander's Life of the Emperor Julian; Raumer's Account of the Emperor Frederic the Second, in his Hohenstaufen, etc.

The history of the world has also a religious importance in it-

self, apart from its references to the history of the church. It is very instructive to the theologian, as it illustrates the government of God, and also the nature of man. It is indeed true, that the first glance at secular history may shake our faith in the divine administration, because vice triumphs so often and virtue is overpowered. Our faith, however, may remain firm, if we view the prosperity of crime in the light presented by Walter Scott, where he introduces his account of the continued successes of the French Atheists in the preceding century, with these words: "How exceedingly small is the good which consists in the splendor and the triumphs of dominion, since we see that Providence awards this splendor and these triumphs to men who are so undeserving." Notwithstanding all the prosperity of wickedness, it is still true that man has never lost his faith in that divine justice which will recompense the guilty. That justice, however, has been more easily discoverable in the great affairs of the world, and in the complete series of events, than in particular insulated occurrences. The voice of ancient history speaks nobly of Nemesis, as a Power which subdues the presumptuous spirit of man. It says to us that the very nature of presumption is, to rush onward blindly and hasten its own ruin; that vice condemns and punishes itself; compare Herodotus IX. 16. I. 207. Herder's *Adrastea*, etc. See also Plutarch, *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*. Even a Grecian historian, Diodorus Siculus, applies to the writer of history the noble predicate, *ἡγήετης τῆς πρόνοιᾶς*.

A knowledge of human nature, it has been said, may be derived from history; particularly may it be drawn from the accounts of the race in their more degenerate state; as from the narratives of Tacitus, the details of the French Revolution, etc. The great object of the historian should be, to describe the character of men with reference to the ultimate object of their existence. What is the grand design of all human developments? As Christians we can only answer, that men should be trained for the kingdom of God; they should be educated so as to correspond with that true ideal of a man, which is exhibited in Christ and made actual in his kingdom. The philosophy of the world's history, as it is ordinarily written, although it pretends to consider man in his relations to the ultimate design of his being, speaks only of his civilization and refinement. It does not penetrate deep enough to show, that man becomes truly refined by means only of the christian religion. The most celebrated works on this subject are Herder's *Ideas on the Philosophy of the His-*

tory of man, (*Ideen für der Gesch. der Mensch.*), and Fred. Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*, (*Phil. der. Gesch.*) 1829, in two parts. The work of Herder is uncommonly spirited and exciting; but John Müller says of it, not inaptly, "I find in this book every thing except Christ, and what is the history of the world without Christ?" In this regard Schlegel is more satisfactory than Herder, but he refers everything, not so much to Christianity as to Roman Catholicism. Leo has written his *Universal History* with a felt reference to the christian state, as the ultimate good to which our race can aspire. His work bears the appropriate motto, Acts 17: 26, 27. In this passage are contained the truths, first that the kingdom of God is the proper object for which man should strive, since it is in this kingdom that the divine character is fully manifested; and secondly, that God in stationing men in different parts of the earth, and at different periods of time, has intended to prepare them step by step, for the true religion. Leo has shown in his history, that during the ages preceding the advent of Christ, the way had been preparing for the introduction of the kingdom of God, as it is portrayed in the New Testament. These preparative processes were in part negative, for men had exalted nature, or art, or the State, into the chief object of their existence, and had thus precluded the possibility of a true and perfect development of their capabilities. These preparatory processes were also in part positive; for Judaism had previously given the first outlines, and the symbolical representations of christian truths and ordinances.

[The First Part of the *Encyclopaedia* will be concluded with three more sections, one on the Science of Writing History, one on Anthropology, and one on Rhetoric.—Tn.]

ARTICLE IX.

NOTES ON BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY.

By E. Robinson, D. D. Prof. of Bib. Lit. in the Union Theol. Sem. New York.

I. ELEUTHEROPOLIS.

THE evidence on which I was led to approve and maintain the identity of this metropolitan city with the ancient Betogabra, now Beit Jibrin, is fully detailed in the second volume of the *Biblical Researches in Palestine*. The ancient importance of this city led Eusebius and Jerome to make it the central point in Southern Palestine, by which to mark the

position of some twenty places in the same region, the direction and distance of which from Eleutheropolis they specify. Six of these places viz. Zorah, Bethshamesh, Jarmuk, Socoh, Jedna, and Nezhib, lying in various directions from Eleutheropolis, the Rev. Mr. Smith and myself were able to identify; and following out the directions and distances as assigned by Eusebius and Jerome, they brought us in every instance to Beit Jibrin as the great central point. The conviction thus wrought on our minds as to the site of Eleutheropolis, was strengthened by several minor historical circumstances;¹ and so strong was the proof, that the correctness of our position was at once admitted by all scholars.

But at the time, no direct historical testimony could be found, on which this identity could be distinctly noted. There was still wanting some indubitable evidence of this kind, out of a period when a knowledge of the identity in question could be presupposed as a matter of common notoriety. Such a testimony has since been found by Prof. Roediger of Halle, in the *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum*, published by Assemani in Syriac, Greek and Latin. The martyr Peter Abaelama, it is there said in the Syriac account, was born at Anea, which lies in the district of Belh-Gubrin,

ⲁⲛⲉⲁ ; which the Greek and Latin accounts both read, in the district of Eleutheropolis.² This testimony seems decisive; and I know not what can be alleged against it.

More recently, K. von Raumer, in his *Beiträge zur biblischen Geographie*, has brought forward another corroborative proof of the same identity. It is derived from the comparison of two lists of ancient bishoprics in Palestine; one ascribed to Nilus Doxopatrius, a Greek writer who flourished in Sicily about A. D. 1143;³ the other said to be collected by Petrus Regemorterus, and appended to the History of William of Tyre. They are both found in Reland's *Palaestina*, p. 219 sq. p. 225 sq.

NILUS.

1. *Diaspolis*, s. urbs Georgii.
2. Ascalon.
3. Joppe.
4. Gaza.
5. *Anthedon*.
6. Diocletianopolis.
7. ELEUTHEROPOLIS.
8. Neapolis.
9. Sebaste.
10. *Jordan*.
11. Tiberias.
12. Diocaesarea.

ON WILLIAM OF TYRE.

1. *Lidda*.
2. Joppe.
3. Ascalon.
4. Gaza.
5. *Meimas*.
6. Diocletianopolis.
7. BEITT GERBEIN (Beit Jibrin).
8. Neapolis.
9. Sebastia.
10. *Jericynthus*.
11. Tyberias.
12. Diocaesarea.

¹ Bibl. Researches in Palestine, II. p. 404 sq.

² See Assemani *Acta Sanctor. Martyr. Oriental. Tom. II. p. 209, comp. p. 207. Allgem. Lit. Zeit. 1842, No. 72.*

³ See Leo Allatius de Nilis, appended to Fabricii *Biblioth. Graec. Tom. V. Cave and Du Pin erroneously assign Nilus to A. D. 1043. He flourished under Count Roger.*

NILUS.

13. MAXIMIANOPOLIS.
14. Capitolia.
15. Myrum.
16. Gadara.
17. Nazareth.
18. Mons Thabor.
19. *Cyriacopolis*.
20. Adria.
21. Gabala.
22. Ælia.
23. Phara.
24. Helenopolis.
25. Mons Sina.

ON WILLIAM OF TYRE.

13. LEGIONUM.
14. Capitolina.
15. Mauronensis.
16. Gedera.
17. Nazareth.
18. Thabor.
19. *Caracha* v. *Petra*.
20. Adroga.
21. *Afra*.
22. Ælis.
23. Faram.
24. Elinopolis.
25. Mons Sina.

Of these lists that of Nilus is in the Greek; the other in Latin. Their general coincidence shows, that they were drawn from similar sources; while the occasional discrepancy indicates that the sources were not always the same. The Greek writer prefers Greek names; the other the later and then more common ones; as in the case of *Diospolis* and *Lidda*.

Where the names of the two lists differ, do they refer to one and the same place? In the case of *Diospolis* and *Lidda*, they do so most undoubtedly; the former being the Greek name, and the latter the native name, which ultimately excluded the other. So too in No. 10, the bishopric which Nilus assigns to *the Jordan*, is doubtless equivalent to that of *Jericho*. The same is unquestionably true in No. 19 of *Cyriacopolis* and *Caracha*, the modern Kerak. On the strength of these coincidences, Raumer at once derives an argument for the like identity of *Eleutheropolis* and *Beit Gerbein* (Beit Jibrin).

But there are some other points at which Raumer did not look. Thus in No. 5, it would follow, on the same principle, that *Anthedon* and *Meimas* were identical. But Anthedon was a city, the seat of a bishop, situated on the sea-coast twenty stadia from Gaza toward the south;¹ while Meimas can well be no other than *Majuma* (Gr. *Μαύμας*), the port of Gaza itself.² As no one, I believe, supposes these two places to be identical; it follows, either that after the decay of Anthedon the bishopric was transferred to Majuma; or, more probably, that Majuma is mentioned by the Latin writer as the chief remaining community pertaining to that bishopric, and so its representative.—In like manner, there is no evidence that *Gabala* and *Afra* (in No. 21) were identical. Josephus speaks of a city *Gabala* in Galilee, which he also calls *Gamala*; and Eusebius mentions a place *Aphraim*, six miles north of Legio. But whether these are the same referred to in the lists, we have no means of determining.

It hence appears, that where the names of the two lists differ, they are not always, nor necessarily, synonymous; and may refer to different, though probably adjacent places. From the lists, therefore, the only legitimate inference that can be drawn, is, that Eleutheropolis and Betoga-

¹ Raumer's Palaestina, p. 170. Reland's Palaest. p. 566.

² Raumer, ib. p. 191. Reland, ib. p. 566. Comp. Ptolemy in Reland, p. 460.

bra were not far distant from each other. But, their identity being otherwise established, the evidence of the lists certainly becomes corroborative.

II. LEGIO, MEGIDDO, MAXIMIANOPOLIS.

In the Biblical Researches, Vol. III. p. 179 sq., I have stated the circumstances which led me to regard the ancient name *Megiddo*, so often mentioned along with Taanach, as having been lost in the later Roman name *Legio*, the present Lejjûn. *Megiddo* was an important place, not far from Taanach; so important indeed as to give its name to that portion of the great plain. In like manner *Legio*, in the writings of Eusebius and Jerome, gives its name to the same part of the plain; and is moreover assumed as the central point, from which to mark the position, of several adjacent places.

To this supposed identity of *Megiddo* and *Legio*, Raumer in his *Beiträge* objects; and prefers to regard *Legio* as representing the ancient Maximianopolis, which, as Jerome tells us was in his day the name of the more ancient Hadad-rimmon. His arguments are the two following:

1. A comparison of the foregoing lists (No. 13) shows, that where Nilus mentions *Maximianopolis*, the Latin text has *Legionum*; and hence the identity of the two is to be inferred; just as in the case of Diospolis and Lidda, Eleutheropolis and Beitt Gerbein, etc.—But here again he overlooks the fact, that in some cases in these lists the different names are not synonymous. E. g. Anthedon and Meimas, as shown above. The insertion of *Legionum* in the Latin list, may then be accounted for in the like way.

2. The *Rin. Heros*. gives the distance of Maximianopolis from Caesarea at 17 R. M. and from Jezreel at 10 R. M. On Kiepert's map Raumer finds the distance of Lejjûn from Caesarea to be 18 R. M. and from Jezreel 10 R. M. Hence again he infers the identity of the two places.—But since as he admits, Maximianopolis (Hadad-rimmon) must have lain near *Megiddo*,¹ it is obvious that these distances would apply to it just as well, if it lay not far south of Lejjûn; for example, at or near the present village of Salim, as seen by Mr. Wolcott.² That is to say, the Bourdeaux pilgrim, in travelling directly from Caesarea to Jezreel, would not necessarily go through *Legio*; but would more naturally pass further south.

I see no reason, therefore, for giving up, on these grounds, the identity of *Legio* and *Megiddo* in favor of the new hypothesis. And there is, further, this strong objection, that if we admit Raumer's view, then we have at one and the same time the two Roman names, Maximianopolis and *Legio*, currently applied to the same ancient place, Hadad-rimmon,—a fact apparently without a parallel, and not very probable in itself.

On the other hand, the phrase, "the waters of *Megiddo*," in the Song of Deborah, seems naturally to imply waters near *Megiddo* itself, and not merely the Kishon in the plain. In illustration of this, Mr. Wolcott informs us, that the present Nahr Lejjûn, even when not swollen, is a stream five or six feet wide, which feeds three or four mills, and comes

¹ Zech. 12: 16, "Hadad-rimmon in the valley of *Megiddo*."

² Bibliotheca Sacra, 1843, p. 77.

from the hills above. This is the largest stream in all the southern region of the great plain; and in the general dearth of perennial waters, would be an object worthy of poetical notice. The existence of such a stream at Lejjûn (Legio), seems to me greatly to strengthen the argument in favor of the identity of Legio and Megiddo.

ARTICLE X.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLIMATOLOGY OF PALESTINE.

By H. A. De Forest, M. D., Missionary at Beirut. Communicated by E. Robinson, D. D.

DURING the last year Dr. De Forest transmitted to me a copy of the daily record of meteorological observations made at Beirut and on Mount Lebanon, drawn out in the form of tables; and also the general averages and results, arranged in the like manner. These tables, though highly interesting and important to the scientific explorer of this aspect of nature, would yet hardly be appropriate to a work like the present. The main results, however, are embraced in the following letter, which accompanied the tables. Meantime we may hope, that Dr. De Forest and the other missionaries will persevere in making and recording their observations; which in time cannot fail to possess a high value. E. R.

Beirut, June, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the record of observations which I have kept during the last fourteen months at Beirut and at Bhamdûn on Mount Lebanon. I send also the record kept at 'Aithâth on Mount Lebanon, during a portion of the winter and spring, by Dr. Van Dyck of our mission.

Beirut lies in Lat. 33° 50' N. and Long. 55° 30' E. and is elevated but little above the sea. Bhamdûn in Mount Lebanon is about five hours S. E. of Beirut, and is about 4,000 feet above the sea. 'Aithâth is three hours S. S. E. from the city; and has an elevation of near 3,000 feet.

It will be seen from the tables, that during the year ending April 30, 1843, the coldest day at Beirut was March 23d; when the mercury stood at sun-rise 50° Far.; at 2 P. M. 57°; at sun-set 53°; average, 53° .33 Far. The warmest day was Aug. 7th; when the mercury was at sun-rise 77°; at 2 P. M. 95°; at sun-set 83°; average 85° F. The difference of the extremes of temperature was 45°.

The average temperature of December was lower at Beirut than that of any other month in the year; it being 60° .13. July had the highest average, viz. 83°. These averages, it will be observed, are not of the entire twenty-four hours; but of the time from sun-rise to sun-set.

The average difference of temperature between Beirut and Bhamdûn from July 20th to Oct. 15th, was 12° .01 lower at Bhamdûn. In like manner the average difference between Beirut and 'Aithâth during the

months of December, January, March and April, was $7^{\circ}.11$ lower at 'Aithâth.

It will be seen, that during the same year ending April 30, 1843, rain fell at Beirût, more or less, on *seventy-three* days; or one day in five on an average; although on many of those days it was only in short showers. From June 2d there was no rain at Beirût until Sept. 21st; and from that time until Nov. 1st there were but four very slight showers.—From early in June until Oct. 16th, there was no rain at Bhamdûn; except a sprinkling of five minutes, Sept. 21st and a heavy shower Oct. 10th, P. M.

During summer our west and south-west winds at Beirût commonly subside soon after sun-set; and about eight or nine o'clock in the evening a land-breeze, flowing down the mountain, renders our nights comparatively comfortable. Some time after sun-rise the wind returns again, usually, quite fresh from the sea; and five-sixths of the time from the west or the south-west.

I regret that we have but one barometer in the mission; as comparative observations with that instrument, in the mountain and on the plain, would be interesting. The fall of the mercury during the Sirocco will be observed.

Since copying out the other tables, I have received a register of the thermometer at Jerusalem for the month of May, 1843, from Rev. G. B. Whiting, our missionary in that place. The coldest day was the 4th, marked as winter weather; when the mercury stood at sun-rise 49° ; at 2 P. M. 49° ; at sun-set 50° ; average $49^{\circ}.33$. The warmest day was the 14th, with a Sirocco; the mercury was at sun-rise 70° ; at 2 P. M. 86° ; at 3 P. M. 90° ; at sun-set 75° ; average $80^{\circ}.25$.

The difference between the average temperature of Beirût and Jerusalem during the same month, was as follows: at sun-rise Beirût averaged $4^{\circ}.92$ higher; at 2 P. M. $0^{\circ}.46$ lower: at sun-set $0^{\circ}.22$ lower; and on a general average, Beirût $1^{\circ}.41$ higher than Jerusalem.

The high average of the thermometer in the holy city was owing to the prevalence of easterly (Sirocco) winds during ten days of the month; while the wind blew from the west only eighteen days; from the north one day; and was 'variable' two days.—In Beirût, during the same month, we had easterly winds but two days; while we had westerly twenty-six days; south, one day; and north, two days.—In 'Aithâth the winds were easterly two days; westerly, twenty-three days; north, six days.

Yours, truly,

H. A. DE FOREST.

GENERAL RESULTS.

At Beirût.

	Monthly average.	Highest Temp.	Lowest Temp.	Diff. of Extr.	Rain.
1842. April	$67^{\circ}.80$	92°	63°	29°	2 days
May	$73^{\circ}.83$	92	62	30	8 "
June	$75^{\circ}.43$	84	69	15	1 "
July	$82^{\circ}.37$	95	76	19	none
Aug.	83°	89	77	12	none

		Monthly average.	Highest Temp.	Lowest Temp.	Diff. of Extr.	Rain.
	Sept.	82° .66	93°	78°	15°	1 day
	Oct.	79° .82	90	72	18	3 days
	Nov.	68° .56	81	58	23	11 "
	Dec.	60° .13	70	52	18	12 "
1843.	Jan.	56° .87	66	51	15	12 "
	Feb.	60° .82	69	53	16	9 "
	March	60° .32	73	50	23	7 "
	April	64° .16	74	55	19	9 "
	May	69° .30	80	56	24	5 "
<i>At Bhamdún.</i>						
1843.	July 20—31	73° .50	78°	68°	10°	none
	Aug.	69° .16	84	62	22	none
	Sept.	71° .83	83	62	21	1 day, slight
	Oct. 1—15	67° .33	82	53	29	1 day
<i>At 'Aitháth.</i>						
1842.	Dec.	51° .87	66°	42°	24°	8 days
1843.	Jan.	49° .75	59	42	17	10 "
	Feb.	—	—	—	—	—
	March	53° .62	76	40	36	9 "
	April	57° .80	76	42	34	7 "
	May	64° .89	82	48	34	4 "
<i>At Jerusalem.</i>						
1843.	May	67° .89	90	49	41	2 "

TEMPERATURE OF WATER AT SEVERAL FOUNTAINS IN MOUNT LEBANON.

1842.	June	2.	At Bhamdún	55°
	"	9.	'Ain 'Anúb	64
	"	9.	'Ain Baaba	66
	"	9.	'Aináb	59
	"	10.	'Abeih	59
	"	10.	'Aleih	61
	"	10.	Khán Kehaly	64
Sept.	5.	Below 'Ain Zhalteh	58	
	"	5.	At 'Ain Zhalteh	62
	"	5.	B'arúk	53
	"	7.	Jezzin	55
	"	7.	'Ammatúr	57
	"	27.	Falugha	62
	"	27.	Kefr Silwán	54
	"	28.	Between Kefr Silwán and Jebel Sünin	50
	"	29.	'Ain Mustüle, at the base of " "	47
	"	30.	At Karneil	59
Oct.	1.	'Ain ed-Dilbeh	57	

NOTE. The three fountains, at 'Ain Zhalteh, at B'arúk, and at Jezzin,

are of sufficient size to turn two pairs of mill-stones each, with a fall of only six or eight feet.—'Ain ed-Dilbeh is of similar size, and is one of the heads of Beirût river.

INTELLIGENCE.

THE Translation of DR. KUEHNER'S SCHOOL-GRAMMAR OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE, will be published in the early part of May next, in a volume of about 600 pages, by Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, Andover. It has been translated from the sheets of the second edition of the original, furnished for this purpose by the author himself. The Grammar which has been published in England is the small Elementary Grammar, containing about 250 pages, translated from the second edition. A third edition of this Grammar has just appeared in Germany. This will be translated and published at Andover.

In preparation, "The Preacher and the Pastor," a collection of treatises from the works of George Herbert, Baxter, Doddridge, Fenelon, and others; edited, and accompanied with an Introductory Essay by E. A. Park, Prof. in Andover Theol. Sem.; in one vol. 12mo.

We understand that the German work of Munk on the "Metre of the Greeks and Romans," has been translated by Professors Beck and Felton of Harvard University, and will soon be printed. A new edition of Homer's Iliad is in preparation by Prof. Felton. The Notes will be greatly enlarged.

A translation of the new Arabic Grammar of Dr. Caspari of Leipsic is in preparation at Andover.

Rev. John J. Owen, editor of Xenophon's Anabasis, is preparing an edition of Homer's Odyssey. An edition of the same is also announced by Prof. Crosby of Dartmouth college.

An edition of the Psalms in Hebrew will soon be published by Allen, Morrill and Wardwell, of Andover.

The publication of the present Number of the Theological Review has been unavoidably delayed. Several articles are necessarily postponed. The second Number of the work will be published on the first of May.

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NO. II

MAY, 1844.

ARTICLE I.

PATRISTICAL AND EXEGETICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE QUESTION RESPECTING THE REAL BODILY PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE ELEMENTS OF THE LORD'S SUPPER. (Continued.)

By M. Stuart, Professor in the Theol. Seminary, Andover.

§ 7. SCRIPTURAL USAGE IN REGARD TO SYMBOL AND TROPE.

I HAVE endeavoured to show, in the preceding No. of the Review, first of all, that we are not bound by any appeal to the Christian fathers, in respect to the opinion which we ought to form with regard to the consecrating words at the institution of the Lord's supper. THE SCRIPTURES ARE THE SUFFICIENT AND ONLY RULE OF FAITH AND PRACTICE, is a truth or maxim which lies at the basis of all which is properly called *Protestantism*. In the second place, I have made it an object to develop, historically, what the opinions of the fathers were; and by virtue of this exposition we come to the conclusion, that if the ancient Christian fathers are to be appealed to as a standard, neither the Romanists, nor the Lutherans, can find in them the opinions which they avow or defend. In fact, I cannot help feeling that it is only ignorance of the true state of this matter among the fathers, or party spirit which blinds the eyes of many men, or else a design to deceive, which can lead men at the present day, when the subject has been so fully developed, to appeal to *Christian antiquity* as fairly and properly supporting either *transubstantiation* or *consubstantiation*. Nor can those who regard the eucharistic elements merely as *symbols* of the blood and body of Christ, find much among the

fathers which is direct and certain in their favour. The Alexandrine fathers, and indeed the African fathers in general, had clearly a leaning toward this opinion; and we have seen, that Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian, appear to have substantially adopted the *symbolic* exegesis. Most fully and unequivocally is this the case respecting Origen, and afterwards in respect to Augustine. But these views were, in most cases, mingled with some others that savoured somewhat of the excessive, in regard to the mysterious and inexplicable virtue of the eucharist.

After all our pains-taking, then, we are cast back upon the source from which we set out; that is, we are obliged to resort only to the BIBLE, and to find out, if we can, by the proper rules of interpretation, what is the true meaning of the words: "This is my body; this is my blood."

To this work, then, let us now address ourselves; and the more heartily, inasmuch as we have seen that all attempts to settle the question about the meaning of those words from the ancient fathers, are but in vain. Down to the middle of the ninth century, the matter was open for every one to form his own opinion, without being interfered with. And when Paschasius first broached the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, it was assailed, as we have seen, from many different quarters, by the leading men of the day. It was not until A. D. 1215, that the Pope ventured to decide in favour of this doctrine; and even then it was not so firmly established, that the Council of Trent, in the middle of the sixteenth century, thought it safe to leave men to think as they would. Their anathema against all who deny transubstantiation, has silenced opposers in their churches if it has not convinced them. We must evidently look then to the Bible, and only to this, in order to discover what we ought to believe as it concerns the words employed to consecrate the elements of the eucharist.

That it is impossible to interpret the consecrating words of the Lord's supper in a literal manner, without renouncing the use of our reason and understanding, and without violating the sound principles of scriptural interpretation, is a proposition which I fully believe, and which I shall, in the sequel, endeavour to confirm and illustrate. My belief respecting the meaning of Christ's words, is, that he meant to say, and to be understood by his disciples as averring, that the bread that was broken was a sign, symbol, or emblem, of his body that was to be broken, and, after his death, of his body that had been broken; and, in like manner, that the wine which was poured

out was a symbol or emblem of his blood that was then to be shed, and afterwards, of his blood that had been shed.

This, I readily acknowledge, is not in accordance with the *literal* sense of the words. If this sense is to be urged, and there is no other lawful and proper exegesis but the literal one, I must yield at once; I have not another word to say. Mysterious as the declaration would then be, or rather, impossible and contradictory as the matter would then be, I must either yield to it, or give up my belief in the binding authority of the sacred writers.

But what shall we say of such a principle of interpretation? Where are its *metes and bounds*? Does it pervade the whole Bible? Do any party of Christians so named admit the universality of such a principle? Not at all. Although the Bible speaks, in countless instances, of God as possessing all the members and parts of the human body, and attributes to him anger, revenge, penitence, sorrow, exultation, and other passions and affections of the human breast, there is hardly a man to be found, who reads the Scriptures, that does not give a *tropical* sense to these and the like expressions, or at all events so modify them, that they will not ascribe any imperfection to the Godhead. So is it, also, in regard to the armour or instruments of the warrior ascribed to God, such as the bow, the arrows, the quiver, the helmet, the breastplate, the shield, the sword, the spear, the javelin, and other weapons. Who ventures, like Homer of old in respect to his gods, to bring Jehovah literally upon the field of battle as a combatant, armed at all points as one panting for the contest? And what is the chariot of the Almighty, his throne, his riding upon the clouds, his walking upon the sea, his ascending, his descending, his encircling himself with conglomerated clouds and darkness, his putting on the garments of vengeance, and other like things? What means it when wings and feathers are ascribed to him, under which the righteous shelter themselves and are safe? What say we, when the Bible speaks of his soliciting the hand of Israel in marriage, of his being married to her, of his divorcing her, and again receiving her after her penitence and submission? What is to be said of God's remembering and forgetting, loving and hating, rejoicing and weeping, apparently in the same way as men do?

What shall be said, moreover, of heaven, which John in the Apocalypse represents as 375 miles square, of the houses in it which are of the same height, of the walls that are eighteen miles high, of the foundations of these walls, which are twelve rows of

precious stones, of the superstructure which consists of jasper, of the gates which though as high as the walls are each of one pearl, of the streets of pure gold, of the river of life that runs through the city, of the trees on its borders bearing fruit each month in the year? What shall we say of leaning on Abraham's bosom in heaven while reclining at the feast-table, of the viands with which that table is spread, of the feasts of love there held, of the banqueting and the new wine there, of the crowns and garlands and palm branches and white robes of saints there, of their harps and trumpets and shouting and exultation; of the heavenly host going forth to battle, armed most thoroughly and mounted upon horses? Or what shall we say of hell—now a deep and lonely and dark pit in which the wicked are confined with chains; again, an immense burning lake; then, an under-ground residence, where only shadowy beings flit around; then, a prison with walls that cannot be scaled; now so near to heaven, that Abraham and the rich man in hell can address each other; then in the extremity of the universe, at the farthest possible distance from Jehovah?

What shall we say of the floods clapping their hands, of the hills being joyful together, of the mountains skipping like rams, the little hills like lambs, of the elements singing praise to God, of inanimate nature as discoursing on his glory, of the earth being turned up side down, of its being emptied of its inhabitants, of its mourning and weeping, and a multitude of the like representations? There is not a man in his senses on earth, who will not in an instant reject the *literal* interpretation in these and in unnumbered other instances of a similar nature. Reason does this instinctively. She needs no precepts in this case; for she spontaneously makes precepts, on such occasions. She decides at once, without even any deliberation, on admitting only the *tropical* or *figurative* meaning in all cases of this nature.

And why? Plainly it is because every man's reason spontaneously decides, that the literal interpretation of such passages would involve absurdities, incongruities, impossibilities. No one can force himself to believe, that the sacred writers meant to be understood as uttering either of these. Of course, every one assigns to language of this nature, when employed in regard to such matters, a *figurative* or *tropical* meaning. Now if it can be made to appear, that the sacramental consecrating words are in the same predicament, and must involve absurdities and impossibili-

ties, in case they are literally construed, why should not the same rule of interpretation be applied to them?

But some advocate for the literal interpretation will say to me, perhaps, that I remit him to the Old Testament for examples of the figurative; and is ready to grant, that the Hebrews, especially in their poetry, dealt largely in trope and allegory. But this reply will not suffice. I have not resorted to the Old Testament alone. If he insists on more examples of the tropical and symbolical from the New Testament, I will readily appeal to it. It is in the New Testament where we are taught, that the righteous will sit at the table in heaven, and will eat and drink with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. (Luke 14 : 15. 22 : 29 seq. Matt 8 : 11. 19 : 28. See also Matt. 20 : 21 seq. 31 : 21. Mark 10 : 37 seq.) Christ says of the Pharisees, that "they devour, i. e. swallow down, widows' houses," (Matt. 23 : 14. Mark 12 : 40. Luke 20 : 47); that they strain at a gnat and swallow down a camel, (Matt. 23 : 24); that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God, (Matt. 19 : 24); that everything is possible to him who believeth, (Mark 9 : 23). Mark tells us, that the whole town, on a certain occasion, were assembled at the door where Jesus was, (Mark 1 : 33); Matthew says that Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, went out to John, and were baptized of him in the Jordan, confessing their sins, (Matt. 3 : 6, 7). Does he mean, that infants, the sick, the impotent—all repaired to John without exception? Jesus says: The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up, (John 2 : 17). Jesus says again: Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, (John 7 : 37). He says of him that comes to him and drinks, that the water which he will give him shall be in him a well of water springing up with perpetual life and vigour, (John 4 : 14). He says again: Whosoever believeth on me as the Scripture hath said: Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water, (John 7 : 38). He tells us, moreover, that we must be born again. Must we understand this as Nicodemus did? Jesus tells his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees and of Herod, (Matt. 16 : 6. Mark 8 : 15). Paul tells us, that we must be raised from the dead, in order to become Christians; that we must be created anew in Christ Jesus; that we must circumcise our hearts; that we must deny and crucify our old man; that we must put on the new man; that the rock which followed Israel in the wilderness was Christ; that we must put on Christ. He tells

the Ephesians, that they had been darkness, but now are light in the Lord, (Eph. 5: 8); and he cautions the Galatians not to bite and swallow down one another, (Gal. 5: 15). Peter says, that we are made partakers of the divine nature, (2 Pet. 1: 4); and he exhorts Christians to gird up the loins of their understanding. Our Saviour speaks of the eyes that see him and the ears that hear him as being happy, (Matt. 13: 16); and Paul says, that the feet of preachers of the gospel are beautiful, (Rom. 10: 15).

But where shall I begin, and where end in such an undertaking as this? I have not recited a tithe of what exists in the New Testament of the like nature.

The New Testament to be all *literally* interpreted! What then are all the parables of the Saviour? A method of instruction that was a favorite one with him. What is the whole book of the Apocalypse? What is almost every paragraph in the Sermon on the Mount? What is the tenor of Jesus' language, as recorded by John, in all his disputes with the Jews? There is not a serious book on earth, that has more of the tropical and the figurative in it, than most parts of the New Testament.

If now any one should say, that the instances which I have produced of the necessity of a *tropical* sense in the New Testament differ from the passage in question respecting the body and blood of Christ, inasmuch as the bread and wine, if they are not to be literally understood, must be *symbols* and not *tropes*; my reply is, that there is no good foundation for any argument from this, in favour of transubstantiation or of consubstantiation. The only difference between *TROPE* or *PARABLE* and *SYMBOL* is, that the former points out some resemblance by means of *words*, the latter by means of *actions* or *things*. A *discourse* may be a parable or an allegory, or be filled with tropes or metaphors; while symbols must be *significant actions* or *things*. In short, the one is addressed to the ear, in language; the other to the eye, by significant actions or objects. Thus we have before us all the parables of the Saviour, and his tropical expressions, submitted to our understanding through the medium of discourse; while the *symbolic actions*, (which indeed must be described by language,) are themselves the principal and the immediate objects of our inquiry in regard to their significance.

This is easily illustrated by examples. When Jesus girded himself with a towel, and washed and wiped the feet of his disciples, this was a *symbolic action*. No one can well misunderstand it. It taught the disciples the importance of condescension and

kindness. Now what kind of water Jesus used, or the particular manner in which he performed the washing and the wiping, matters nothing at all as to the significancy of the symbol. And as to this, I trust no one will say, that the great object of Jesus was, to show his disciples the necessity of literally washing each other's feet. (John 13 : 3 seq.)

When Jesus breathed on his disciples, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost ; was this breathing anything more than *symbol*? or, in other words, was the Holy Ghost actually enclosed in the air which Jesus breathed, and thus communicated to the disciples? I may take it for granted, that no one will seriously contend for this. What then was the *breathing*? Merely a symbol of the gift of the Spirit, and nothing more. When the Holy Ghost descended upon Jesus, after his baptism, in the bodily shape of a dove, did this dove contain and enclose the Holy Spirit, in his essential nature? I trust that the infinite God is not thus circumscribed. The dove was merely the symbol of his descent upon the baptized Saviour, and nothing more. (Matt. iii. Luke iii. Mark i.) When Jesus took a little child, and set him in the midst of his disciples, and said unto them : Except ye be converted, and become as this little child, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven ; did his disciples feel themselves commanded to become literally like the little child in question? No ; but they had been disputing with each other about *precedence*, and they felt rebuked, by the symbol in question, for their ambitious and selfish spirit. (Matt. 18 : 2 seq.) And what shall we say of the Saviour's declaration, at the same time, that if any one should receive a little child in his name, that individual would receive him? Are Jesus and a little child one and the same, or physically identical?

When Jesus says to Peter : I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; are we to suppose that heaven is a place with bolts and locks and gates, and that Peter carried the key of the same along with him? (Matt. 16 : 19.) Here is a symbol merely, by which was signified to Peter, that he should be made an instrument of the access of many to the kingdom of heaven.

When Christ and the apostles laid their hands upon the sick and infirm, and healed them, was it the outstretched arm and hand that performed the miracle of healing, or was this only a token or symbol of the blessing to be bestowed? We cannot hesitate in this matter. (Matt. 19 : 13. Mark 10 : 13.) And when the same ceremony is performed in the ordination of preachers of the gospel, is it anything more than a symbol of wishes and desires

that spiritual gifts and graces should be imparted, and of belief that they will be, in case the person ordained should be faithful to his vows?

When the apostles were directed to shake off the dust of their feet, after leaving cities which refused to hearken to their message, what else is this but a symbol or token, that religious intercourse between the preacher and the infidel hearers is thenceforth to be suspended? The message has been proffered and rejected; the intercourse must therefore cease. (Luke 9: 5. 10: 11. Matt. 10: 14. Acts 13: 51. 18: 6.)

When the prophet Agabus took Paul's girdle and bound his hands and feet, (Acts 21: 10 seq.), was not this a symbol or token, that Paul would be apprehended and bound by the Jews? When Pilate took water and washed his hands before the Jews, as they were about to crucify Jesus, was this anything more than a symbol or token, that he disclaimed any responsibility in respect to the condemnation and death of Jesus? (Matt. 27: 24). And when it is said, as it often is, that the blood of Jesus cleanseth us from all sin, (1 John 1: 7 seq. Heb. 9: 24), is it then the physical material element which does this, or is it the virtue of his sufferings and death which accomplishes the object here named? There is no man who can hesitate in any of these cases. They are too plain to admit of any doubt.

When Mary anointed Jesus's feet with spikenard, (John 12: 1 seq.), what is this but a symbol of his being embalmed for burial? So Jesus himself explains it.

Last of all, (for I must desist from further examples), what else does the water of baptism mean, except to symbolize the moral and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, and also, it may be, our need of them? Is the Holy Ghost actually comprised in the baptismal water? And is the Holy Spirit conveyed, with or without his consent,—conveyed by necessity—to the person baptized, whether this rite is performed by a saint or a reprobate? Is the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, then, placed at the beck of any and every regularly ordained priest, or other person who may administer the rite of baptism, and imparted to the baptized even against his own consent? If the person to be baptized is a son of perdition, may we not take it for granted, that the Holy Spirit retains a liberty to refuse being imparted? What else, then, is the rite of baptism but a *symbol*? It is—it can be—nothing more; unless indeed you deny that all the like things in the New Testament are symbols, and maintain that the

actions and things themselves, which are apparently employed as symbols, do in fact accomplish all which they seem to betoken. But would it not be a desperate measure in exegesis, to take such a position? The Bible, in case any one would be consistent throughout with his own principles, would become a mere tissue of incongruities and absurdities under such a process.

We see then, that the Old and the New Testament are filled with examples of trope and symbol. It were easy, moreover, to occupy a whole essay with merely adducing and describing the symbols employed by the Hebrew prophets. Of all the nations in the world, the Hebrews appear to be most conspicuous among those who love trope and symbol. Nothing can be more natural than to expect, that we shall find them in the New Testament, and in the instruction which Jesus gave to his disciples, and his disciples to others. The passover-lamb with its blood sprinkled on the door-posts—what was it? Was it anything more or less than a *symbol* or *token*? Surely not. When the destroying angel saw this token, he passed by and spared the inmates of the house. And when the bread and wine, which betoken the broken and bleeding body of our Saviour, are exhibited by us, is it anything more than a symbol, that Christ by his death has procured exemption from the second death for all his followers? It is not the bread, nor the wine, which procures this; it is that which the bread and wine betoken, which has procured eternal redemption for us. If it were otherwise, then all who partake of the sacrament would be saved. But as confessedly this cannot be true, so it cannot be true that the elements of the eucharist are themselves of a saving nature. They are merely symbolical or significant of what is saving.

I merely add here, after all that has been said about *symbol* and *trope*, that however different the mere manner of them may be, they both agree in that which is important and essential. Both of them teach by resemblances or similitudes. In all tropes, there is some resemblance, either real or supposed, between the sign, i. e. what the tropical words express, and the thing signified. When I say: *The vine creeps*, or *the rose blushes*, I take it for granted that there is some similitude between the action of creeping and the low movement of the vine along the ground, and also some resemblance between the beautiful red and white of the rose and the blushing of the human cheek. When Jesus washes the feet of his disciples, this action indicates, that condescension and kindness should move us, to perform even very humble

offices to our friends. What the action of Jesus teaches, in this case, is to be *generalized* as to its principle; and we are to act in conformity with the principle established.

Of course both trope and symbol have the same general end in view. They proffer similitudes to our notice, from which we are to learn instruction. It is a law of our nature to see and apply these. It costs no efforts. It needs no technical rules. And hence we find every part of the Scriptures filled with examples of conveying instruction in this manner.

§ 8. EXAMINATION OF THE WORDS BODY AND BLOOD; WITH RESULTS.

We have seen that the Old and New Testaments are filled with trope and symbol. On the general ground of analogy, then, there can be no difficulty in assigning a tropical meaning to the consecrating words of the eucharist; no more than there is in considering baptismal water as the symbol of the sanctifying and purifying influences of the Holy Spirit. Is there any reasonable man, Romanist, Lutheran, or Calvinist, who will seriously aver and maintain, that the baptismal water is converted into the Holy Spirit, after it is consecrated by prayer? Is there any one who will contend, that the Holy Spirit is *in, with, and under* the water, so that he is actually and essentially contained in it, or encompassed by it? If there be any such person, it has not been my fortune to meet with him. I have indeed met with those who assert, that when baptism is duly administered, the germ of regeneration is of course implanted; and that it remains for the baptized person himself to decide, by his future conduct, whether this germ shall grow up and expand into a tree of life. But I do not understand even in these cases, (which indeed are very numerous and widely spread), that the Holy Spirit is regarded as being embodied in the water, and physically conveyed by the use of this element in baptism. The water, then, can be no more than a *symbol* of his purifying influences. Even if the doctrine of those who hold to baptismal regeneration be true, it is not because the Holy Spirit is incorporated with the baptismal water, and conveyed by means of it in a sensible way to the baptized, but merely because, as they assert and believe, he has promised to bless his own ordinance with his sanctifying influence.

Now why should not this be the case with the *bread and wine* of the eucharist, as well as with the water used in baptizing? But if such be the case, then of course it is not the physical

body and blood of Christ which profit the communicant; for the elements are only *symbols* or *tokens* of his body that was broken and of his blood that was poured out. Analogy with the sacrament of baptism, if admitted, would easily settle and determine the question before us.

But we shall be told at once here, that there is a great difference between the two cases. Christ himself says: *This is my body; this is my blood.* But it is nowhere said of baptismal water: *This is the Holy Spirit.*

We come, then, of necessity to *examine the diction employed in the consecrating words of the eucharist*; in order that we may see, whether any argument for the physical presence of Christ in the elements can be founded upon this.

First of all, then, what is *body*? (*σῶμα*). This question has not received a proper share of attention, in the contest about the sacramental elements. *Body* does not mean the same as *flesh*. Paul has taught us most clearly, in Rom. xi., what *body* means. "The body is not one member, but many," (v. 14). "As the body is one, and hath many members, and all these members of the body, being many, are one body, etc." (v. 12). The *body*, then, is not the flesh of a man, as such, but the idea conveyed by the word is of a composite and generic nature. It includes flesh, bones, muscles, limbs, head, trunk, blood, and (in a word) the whole outward man, i. e. the outward man as a whole, made up of a great variety of parts.

That such is the plain and constant biblical usage, is sufficiently manifest from the fact, that the sacred writers do not contrast anywhere *body* and *blood*, but always *flesh* and *blood*. The obvious reason of this is, that *body* does of itself comprehend the blood, as well as all other particular parts as constituents of the human frame. The *flesh* is only that part of this frame which consists of soft and cellular substance; the *blood* is only the fluid which courses through the veins, and which, in case of violent death, is usually shed or poured out. Hence the Bible does not speak of eating the *bodies* of men, but of eating their *flesh* and drinking their *blood*. If in one or two cases, in all Scripture, instances may be found of the expression *φαγεῖν σῶμα*, to eat or devour a body, these instances belong only to that category of cases, where the idea of *swallowing whole* is the one to be conveyed. (1 K. 13: 28).

If any one doubts in what a different sense *body* is employed from what *flesh* bears, let him consider, that the apostle never

speaks of the desires of the body, the lusts of the body, the works of the body, the mind of the body, but always of the desires, the lusts, the mind, the works, of the flesh. *To be in the body, to live in the body*, is no sin. It indicates simply a frail and mortal condition. Christ was in the body, during his incarnation. But *to be in the flesh*, or, in other words, to live after the flesh, to do the deeds of the flesh, to be fleshly minded, these are all indications of a corrupt moral state. So very different is the usage of the sacred writers in respect to the two words in question. The apostle speaks often of our *bodies* being raised, at the last day; but he tells us, in so many plain and explicit words, that *flesh* and *blood* cannot inherit the kingdom of God. So our *bodies* may be newly fashioned, and composed of different elements, and still be our bodies.

On the other hand, *flesh* is, in its *literal* sense, merely the soft animal substance of our bodies. But let it be remembered, that it is *living* flesh (and not dead flesh or meat) which the word *σάρξ* indicates. Flesh as dead and eatable is *κρέας* not *σάρξ*. (Rom. 14 : 21. 1 Cor. 8 : 13. Hag. 2 : 13. Zech. 11 : 16. Deut. 28 : 53. Ezek. 39 : 17, 18. Rev. 16 : 16. 19 : 18. Flesh and blood are often employed by the sacred writers to denote the living animated man. A *dead* man is not so described. *Πτώμα*, i. e. *corpse*, is the appropriate word to designate the body of a dead man. (Mark 6 : 29. Rev. 11 : 8, 9.) The various *tropical* meanings of *flesh* (*σάρξ*), I cannot trace here; nor are they necessary for my purpose.

As to *blood*, when taken in the literal sense, it needs no explanation. But still it should be remarked here, that in accordance with the spirit of what was said to Noah when *blood* was forbidden as food, viz. that the blood of an animal is the *life* thereof, do we find the tenor of the Levitical precepts to be respecting blood. Blood was considered as the grand medium and source of animal life. Hence under the ancient dispensation, it was most strictly and solemnly forbidden, in all its forms, as food; yea as food even at the solemn religious feasts. The blood of victims was poured out at the foot of the altar, and sprinkled upon it. It belonged only and exclusively to God. That man was even to be cut off from the people of God, who partook of blood as food. (Lev. 17; 10 seq. 3 : 17. 7 : 26 seq. comp. Gen. 9 : 4. Deut. 12 : 16, 23. 1 Sam. 14 : 32 seq.) Even in the apostles' day, and under the new dispensation, *the eating of things strangled and of blood* was forbidden to Gentile as well as Jewish converts; for things strangled are virtually included in the prohibition respecting blood, because the blood remains in them. It is thus the God of Jews and

Christians has always inculcated a horror of eating or drinking blood.

In the Bible throughout, however, there are but few cases where *shedding of blood* is spoken of, which are to be literally interpreted. As blood was *the life*, so the *shedding* of it, *pouring it out, causing it to flow*, and the like expressions, very often have a tropical sense, and mean simply the destruction of life, or the infliction of violent death. And we must acknowledge, surely, that by a very natural and easy metaphor these expressions were so employed.

Let us now see what are the RESULTS of this investigation. They are, first, that when Christ said: *This is my body*, if the literal sense must be insisted on, then the bread represented his *whole body*, flesh, blood, bones, nerves, and all other constituent parts; for this is the certain meaning of body, *σῶμα*. If then each communicant receives the *body* of Christ, in the bread, then each one receives, masticates, swallows, and digests, the whole body of Christ, in all its parts. And as each communicant receives the whole of Christ's physical frame, so there must be as many physical frames of Christ as there are communicants, at the same time, or successively.

But secondly, this cannot possibly be the meaning of the first sacramental declaration, because it is followed by a second, which would be a mere useless repetition. The *blood* is part of the body. Even the schoolmen, in the midst of the dark ages, made this discovery. But they made no other use of it, than to take away the cup from the laity. This they did on the very ground, that the *body* of Christ included also his *blood*. But then why did they, after this discovery, continue to distribute the *cup* among the clergy? For some other reason, we have reason to believe, than a holy and sacramental one.

The injunction, then, literally considered, to partake of the blood of Christ, after having partaken of his *body*, must be wholly superfluous. He who has eaten and swallowed the whole physical frame of Christ, has surely been already a partaker of his blood. He need not repeat the transaction.

We are forced, then, upon another and different meaning of the word *body*, *σῶμα*, provided we hold to the literal sense here. And what is this? The same, say the Romanists and others, as *flesh*. But let us inquire, for a moment. *Flesh*, *σὰρξ*, is *living, animated* flesh; not dead flesh, not meat. Now if the body of Christ had been broken and dispensed to the disciples, and his blood had

been poured out, before they received the sacramental elements. (and surely the words of Christ imply this), then was Christ's flesh no longer living flesh. The blood thereof, which was the life thereof, was gone, or, as the evangelist has it, was *poured out*. The animating principle was no more in the flesh. Christ's body was a *πρῶμα*, a *corpse*; his flesh was *κρίας*, *dead flesh*, not *σὰρξ*, i. e. living and animated flesh. How then could the disciples eat the body of Christ, even if this means to eat of the *flesh* of Christ; and then afterwards drink his blood? If they ate his *body*, they ate the blood with it; they must have swallowed the physical frame whole, and *living* also; for *σὰρξ* is *live* flesh. If they ate his *flesh*, i. e. his living flesh, then they must have eaten it before the blood was poured out from it. But this they did not; for it was the *broken* body of Christ which they ate, if they did literally eat his body at all; or if you choose the other mode of expression, and speak of eating his *flesh*, then it was the flesh from which the blood had been exhausted.

It would seem, now, that the literal sense of these passages presents us, at the very outset, with a great incongruity in the very nature of the diction. It either presents absolute impossibilities, or else absolute incongruities and absurdities. Those who know little or nothing of Greek idiom or usage, may doubt, or deny, or overlook all this. But no man who does understand it, can fail to perceive the urgency of the case; yea, he cannot overlook or avoid the irrefragable consequences which flow from it.

How then are these difficulties to be met? Luther and his adherents met them, by denying that there is any gross or sensible mastication and deglutition and digestion of Christ's body and blood—that there is any *Capernaïtish* feeding upon it, as they express it, i. e. any gross and sensible manducation, such as the Jews of Capernaum supposed, when Jesus spoke to them of giving his flesh to eat. What then? Did Luther, or do the Romanists, who deny such a *sensual feeding*, (as they name it), admit, after all, that the physical body and blood of Christ were not eaten? Not at all. This was the very point of sound orthodoxy with them—the “*articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae*.” They held fast to it, in all circumstances, in all attitudes. And so the Romanists and Greek churches still do. Some of the Lutherans, however, have long since begun to speak of feeding, not on Christ's *material* body, but on Christ's *spiritual* and *glorified* body. With how little reason, we shall see in the sequel.

What have we here, then, as the explanation of the words: This is my body; this is my blood? We have the actual and real feeding upon the actual and real body and blood of Christ, and yet in a supernatural and miraculous way. The senses declare, unequivocally, that there is no actual mastication or deglutition of any body or blood; reason and understanding also doubt or deny it. But we are told, that neither our senses nor our reason are to be believed, in this case; and that Christ has asserted, in so many plain and absolute words, that it is his body and blood. What has carnal reason, it is asked, to do with rejecting this testimony? And our senses too—can they not be deceived and misled? And are we to trust them, rather than the testimony of an infallible witness, i. e. Christ himself? It partakes of unbelief—it belongs to heresy—to reject his testimony. The omnipotence of God can easily work a miracle; and so long as this is the case, why should we call in question the real presence of Christ's body and blood?

All this may, to some minds, have a show of humble and pious belief. But *show* is all. There never was a disciple of St. Dominic or of Immanuel Swedenborg, who, if he possessed any adroitness, did not reason in the same way. But the difficulty with the reasoning in all these cases is, that it assumes, or takes for granted, the very point in question. For example, in the case before us, the assumption is, that a real miracle is wrought in the case of every individual, so often as he is a partaker at the sacramental table; and therefore, that countless miracles are still wrought, every week, in this way.

What now is the *proof*, that Christ is physically fed upon, at the Lord's Supper? It is not addressed to any of our senses. Our sight, taste, smell, feeling, I might even say hearing, are all in array against the reality of such a miracle. We see no flesh or blood; there is no odour of either; no taste of either; no feeling that we are masticating or swallowing flesh and blood. The senses all unite in the highest possible testimony which they can give, that there is no miracle, at all events none of a physical nature, in this case. They are the most fatal witnesses, that the advocates of the real presence could summon.

What then do these advocates appeal to? To the *express assertion* of Christ that the elements of the eucharist are his body and blood. If we reply that all the apparent evidence is against this; they exclaim at once: 'It is a great, an unfathomable mys-

tery; it is miraculous. Neither the senses nor reason has anything to do with this.'

But why must I give credit to these allegations? In other cases of miracles the senses are appealed to. When Jesus made the water wine, at Cana, the taste of the guests decided that the miracle had been wrought. When the blind were made to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the lame to walk, the sick to rise from the bed of languishment, the dead to burst their tombs and stand forth living and moving and speaking, demoniacs to be free from their malady and to return to sanity and reason—all these cases were examined and judged of by the senses. They were the only decisive witnesses. Why should they be appealed to, everywhere and always, in respect to miracles, and yet be utterly rejected in the case before us? No man can give a satisfactory reason. A party reason he may give; and if he gives it truly he will say: 'We reject the testimony of the senses, because it is against our belief.'

Then again, when they speak of *miracles* here, what can be meant? A miracle is something which is possible; I will not say *probable*, i. e. probable to the mind of man who has witnessed only the natural course of things. But it must be *possible*. It cannot involve a contradiction, nor an absurdity. But the *physical* presence of Christ, unperceived by any of the senses, is an absurdity—a contradiction. A man's whole body and blood cannot be masticated and swallowed, (and less than this cannot be meant by the sacramental words, if they are to be literally taken), without a perception by at least four of the senses. Yet it is not even contended, that there is any such perception. Then if all this could be done, how is a whole human body to be lodged in our interior? It is contradictory; the very idea of it is an absurdity.

'But,' exclaim our opponents with indignation, 'this is only gross perversion—a mere sensual, *Capernaïtic* eating. We do not maintain any such thing; we openly disavow it.'

Very well; but the matter is not at an end by this disavowal. You do still maintain the actual presence of Christ's actual and physical body and blood, in the elements; they are eaten and drunk, (no matter whether in the way of transubstantiation or consubstantiation); and if a physical body and blood is eaten and drunk, then there is only one possible way of doing this, and that is, by actual mastication and deglutition. Nothing can be physically appropriated to our nutriment, which is not disposed of in this way. The thing which you assert, then, i. e. the feeding on

Christ's actual and physical body and blood, without any of the senses perceiving it, is an impossibility. It is a downright contradiction—and therefore an absurdity. No real miracle can involve an absurdity.

Will you tell me, that I am still *Capernaïtic* in my views and reasonings? I disavow this. It is fair deduction from your premises. Do you not still hold fast to the real presence of the real body and blood of Christ—of his human body and blood? You do. Then I say again, that to eat and drink these in the shape in which you present them, to eat and drink them without any knowledge of the senses, yea with all the senses testifying exactly the contrary, is a contradiction—a real and downright absurdity.

But you reply, that you assume a supernatural, a miraculous eating and drinking. Very well—then you are bound to admit that there must be a supernatural body and blood to feed upon. But if this is the case, then the physical body and blood of Christ, as such, are not fed upon. To say that we actually eat and drink a human body and blood, without any actual perception or evidence of any of our senses—is, I say again, a downright contradiction, an absurdity. If the eating and drinking be supernatural, something above us, beyond us, not carried on by any organs that we possess, then it is not any act of ours; it is not *we* who eat and drink; it is omnipotence which accomplishes certain things that are merely carried on within us, and of which we are not so much as even the conscious instruments. If it is the exclusive work of omnipotence, then how comes the work ever to be done wrongly? How can any man eat and drink damnation to himself? How can even Christians offend in this matter, and become weak and sickly, or sleep in death, as some of the Corinthians did, in the way of chastisement for *their* sin? I may say once more, then, that this whole matter is an impossibility; it is an absolute incongruity, which is not even supposable.

If now, after all, you retreat a little and say, that 'although Christ's bodily presence in the elements cannot be maintained and defended, yet we may suppose, that the almighty power of God so directs and controls this matter of the eucharist, that Christ's body and blood is, after all, actually fed upon, although there is no perception of it by any of the senses; then where is the evidence, I ask again, of such a feeding? Not our senses; this will not be contended for. Is it the testimony of others? But they can know nothing of the matter, except through the medium of their

senses ; and this is less satisfactory than the testimony of one's own senses. Of course we are sent back at last to the force of the declarations : *This is my body, this is my blood.* But before we examine these declarations as a whole, let us take some notice of an opinion somewhat current among Lutherans on the continent of Europe, to which I have already adverted. This is, that Christ's *glorified* body is partaken of at the sacramental table.

It seems to me not difficult to dispose of this view of our subject. Paul assures us, in the most direct and unequivocal language, that *flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.* Christ tells us, that at the resurrection, *the saints will be made like to the angels.* The very nature of the heavenly world would decide the same thing, if the Scriptures had not said a word upon the subject.

How then can we now feed on Christ's flesh and blood, since in his glorified nature he retains neither? It is certain that he is in the kingdom of God, at the right hand of the Father in heaven. It is equally certain, that *flesh and blood* cannot inherit that kingdom. Then his body has become what the apostle calls (for want of a better name) a *spiritual body*, i. e. a body adapted to a spiritual and never ending state of existence. Why talk then any longer of the corporeal and physical presence of Christ? There has been no such body in existence, for these 1800 years—never since his ascension to glory. Do you profess now to feed on a body that is and exists at the present time, or on one which existed 1800 years ago? On the former, no doubt. But where is it? It is a nihility; it is no-where. It ceased to exist the moment Jesus began to ascend, if not before. He was transformed. He has now an immortal body.

'Well' the Lutheran may say, perhaps, 'we are content to understand the sacramental words as implying that we feed on such a glorified body.' But if you in reality do consent to this, then you abandon the position that Christ is *corporeally* and *physically* present in the elements. You abandon the position, that he is eaten and drunk; for what possible meaning, in a literal way, can the expression, eating and drinking a *spiritual* body, have? It is incongruous; it is evidently absurd. It is just as absurd as to say that matter is spirit, or that spirit is matter.

Indeed, neither Luther nor his original adherents ever seem to have thought of this escape from the difficulties of the subject before us. Well they might refrain from such a view of the matter. It presents a case replete with contradictions to the very na-

ture of things. Either the material and physical presence must be given up, or else the feeding on a spiritualized body must be abandoned. Or if you persevere in saying, that the whole matter must be regarded as miraculous, and purely so, then you are bound to show some satisfactory evidence in the case, that there is a miraculous intervention. You will not—you dare not—appeal to the senses, nor to reason. Your only appeal, at last, is after all to the form of the words: *This is my body; This is my blood.*

But is it the real and true *meaning* of these words, which we are called upon to believe in, or is it only in the *form* and *literal sense* of them? The latter, you will say. But I must deny that the latter is either a probable or a possible sense. I pledge myself to show from the Scriptures, that there is nothing in the form of the expression which binds us to the literal sense.

§ 9. MEANING OF THE VERB *is* IN THE CONSECRATING WORDS OF THE EUCHARIST.

The next question is, whether, according to the use of language by the sacred writers, we are bound to interpret the affirmation in the expressions: *This is my body, this is my blood*, in a *literal* manner.

If the declaration, *this is*, makes it a matter of imperious necessity that we should give a *literal* interpretation, then of course the same rule of exegesis must be extended to other cases of a similar nature. We are surely bound to be consistent and congruous, in the application of a general principle. We must make the appeal to the Scriptures, then, and inquire how this principle will operate, when applied to the Bible in general.

But before I do this, I must beg the liberty of making a few remarks on an idiom of the sacred writers, which has special regard to the matter before us.

Every critical reader of the Scriptures well knows, that in the very numerous cases where one thing is compared with another, or likened to another, or may be represented or symbolized by another, the Hebrews did not usually designate this by inserting words which literally and directly express the idea, *it is like to*, or *it may be compared with*, *it resembles*, *it is symbolized by*, *it signifies*. Seldom, very seldom, are these words to be met with in the Scriptures, where a mere similitude of a rhetorical nature is designed to be expressed. Throughout the Old and New Testa-

ments, the usual and ordinary mode of asserting or expressing these and the like ideas, is by the use of the verb *is*, either expressed or implied.

This will be abundantly illustrated in the sequel. But in order to show how much is taken for granted by the sacred writers in making *comparisons*, how much of the appeal is made to the reason and understanding of readers, how often it is assumed that they will mentally supply the requisite meaning, I will merely advert to what may be extensively found in the Hebrew Scriptures, but specially in poetry and in proverbs. I open my Hebrew Bible at random, and fall upon the 26th chapter of the book of Proverbs. Let us follow this for a moment, in order to illustrate the principle before us. I shall translate as literally as possible, with a design to show, as nearly as may be, the exact shape of the original Hebrew.

V. 6. "He who maiming his feet suffereth violence, *is* he who sendeth messages by the hand of a fool. V. 7. The legs of the lame hang down dangling, and a proverb in the mouth of fools. V. 8. A thorn shoots up into the hand of a drunkard, and a proverb in the mouth of fools. V. 10. An arrow which wounds all *is* he who hireth a fool, and who hireth travellers by the way. V. 14. The door turneth upon its hinge, and the slothful upon his bed. V. 17. He who taketh a dog by the ears *is* he, who, passing by, intermeddleth with a strife that does not belong to him. V. 21. Charcoal for burning coals, and wood for fire, and a quarrelsome man to kindle a strife. V. 23. Silver-dross spread over an earthen vessel *are* burning lips and a bad heart."

Here then, in this chapter, about one third part of the composition is of the tenor that I have described. The words *is like, may be compared to, resembles, is a symbol of, signifies*, none of them, are once inserted. Not even the particles of similitude *so as* (שֶׁ כִּי) are employed. These are left purposely for the wit and reason of the reader to supply. And so it is throughout most of the book of Proverbs; so is it more or less in all parts of the Old Testament, but especially in the poetic parts of it, which often adopt the most concise and sententious methods of speech.

Who now, in perusing the Proverbs that I have just exhibited, would think of making the verb *is*, indicative of literal and substantial reality? For example: "An arrow which wounds all *is* he who hireth a fool, and who hireth passengers by the way." Is it matter of fact, that the simpleton who hires fools and vaga-

bonds to do his business, is really and veritably an *arrow*, and one which wounds all? And so of all the other comparisons here. And so of countless myriads, I had almost said, throughout the Old Testament and the New. Nothing is more familiar to the critical reader of the Scriptures, than the fact, that the particles of comparison, *as . . . so*, are omitted in instances not to be numbered, where their presence is virtually supplied by the verb *is*, either expressed or implied.

The shades of meaning attached to the verb *is*, in such cases, are somewhat various, although essentially they are of the like tenor. I must illustrate some of them by examples.

(1) There are many cases, where the word *is* designates the idea of *signifies*, *means*.

Thus in Matt. 27 : 46, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani, *that is* (adds the evangelist), My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Here, *that is*, plainly signifies *that means*. "If ye had known *what is* [what means] I desire mercy and not sacrifice," Matt. 12 : 7. "What *is* this which he saith to us?" John 16 : 17. Plainly, *what means* that which he saith? "Eating bread with common hands, *that is* [which means] with unwashed ones," Mark 7 : 2. "What *is* [means] this which is written?"—Luke 20 : 17. "Acedama, which *is* [means] field of blood," Acts 1 : 19. "King of Salem, which *is* [means] King of peace," Heb. 7 : 2. "Boanerges, which *is* [means] sons of thunder," Mark 3 : 17. Examples of the same kind are so numerous, and withal so plain, that it would be superfluous to go on with further illustration.

(2) Another class of cases, still more numerous, are those in which one agent or object is simply said to be another agent or object, the particles of similitude, or a verb expressing the idea *is like*, *may be compared with*, *resembles*, etc., being omitted, and their place supplied by the word *is*, expressed or implied.

Where to begin or end the illustration of this part of our subject, I scarcely know. If we go to the Old Testament, we cannot open a page, in any of the poetic parts which does not exhibit this idiom. I open, at a venture, at the 18th Psalm. There meets me at the very outset the idiom in full. "The Lord is my rock—is my fortress—is my strength—is my buckler—is the horn of my salvation—is my high tower. Who is a rock save our God?" In the sequel we find : "The Lord is my shepherd. The Lord is my shield, God is my rock and my salvation—my defence—my glory, God is our sun," and the like. If to these we should add all the passages in which the parts and members of

the human frame are ascribed to God, and the feelings and passions and affections of men, and above all those in which the movements and the armour and the contests of men are ascribed to him, as also the vengeance taken upon enemies, and the like, it would of itself make a little volume.

This is not peculiar merely to the Old Testament. It is in the New as well as the Old. "Our God is a consuming fire," says the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (12: 29). "I am the true vine," says the Saviour, "and my Father is the husbandman," John 15: 1. Christ is called "the Lamb of God; Christ our pass-over is sacrificed for us." He says of himself: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life. I am the resurrection and the life. I am the door of the sheep. I am the good shepherd. I am the bread of life . . . which came down from heaven. I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." John the Baptist says of himself: "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Paul says of himself and his fellow Christians: "We are the circumcision; We many are one body; We are a sweet savour to God; We are the children of the promise; We are members one of another; We are members of the body of Christ; We are one body in Christ; We are the children of God; We are of the truth; We are of God; We are Abraham's seed; We are the house of God."

Christ says of Peter: "Thou art a rock, and on this rock will I build my church." He says of his disciples: "Ye are the salt of the earth—the light of the world—a city set on a hill." Christ says of the Jews: "Ye are of your father, the devil." The Bible says of magistrates: "Ye are gods." Peter says to his hearers, (Acts iii), "Ye are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant." Paul says of the Corinthians: "Ye are the temple of God; Ye are my workmanship in the Lord; Ye are the seal of my apostleship;" of the Thessalonians: "Ye are my glory and my joy; Ye are all children of the light."

Did any man, now, of common sense, ever attempt to give these and the like declarations, which are almost without number in both Testaments, a literal meaning? For example, did any one ever venture to maintain, that God is a literal rock, a literal shield, a literal tower; that Christ is literally a lamb, the resurrection, the door of the sheep, bread which came down from heaven; that his apostles are salt, and light, and a city on a hill; that Christians are a temple, that they are a seal, that they were begotten by the light? No: among all the ravings of commentators on the Bible,

none have ever reached such an eminence of folly and extravagance and stupidity, as such an exegesis would indicate. I think we shall see, in the sequel, that to interpret literally the consecrating words of the eucharist, deserves to be ranked under the same category as the literal interpretation of the phrases just repeated would be.

(3) There is another shade of meaning to the verb *is*, which is still more important and direct to our purpose, than either of those already brought to view. It is this, viz. *symbolizes, betokens, represents*. In cases where any sensible object is described as being the *sign* or *token* or *symbol* of some truth, or event, or fact, and where such object is not introduced on its own account, but merely as affording an apparent resemblance or similarity to some particular truth, event, or fact, which the speaker or writer wishes to illustrate, the verb *is* is employed in the sense just specified.

Examples of this nature are to be found in abundance, throughout the Scriptures. Thus Joseph, when he interprets Pharaoh's dream, says: "The seven kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years; and the seven thin and ill-flavoured kine are seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind are seven years of famine." When Jotham proposed the fable of the trees going forth in quest of a king, and seeking in vain for one that would reign peaceably over them, no one will contend that this did not represent the men of Shechem seeking to make Abimelech their king. When Nathan propounded to David the parable of the poor man and his lamb, robbed by the rich one in order to save his own property, was there any difficulty in David's understanding the prophet, when he said, at the close of his parable: "Thou art the man?" When Isaiah sung his song respecting the vineyard that brought forth wild grapes, was there any difficulty in understanding him, when he said: "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant?" When this prophet named his newly born child *Maher-shalal-hash-baz* (haste to the spoil—rush to the prey), was there any difficulty in his proposing this as a symbol of the sudden spoiling and wasting of Damascus and Samaria? When he speaks of "leviathan, that coiled serpent, and the dragon that is in the sea," as about to be destroyed, is there any difficulty in saying that this symbolizes or betokens the king of Egypt? When Jeremiah is commanded to go and hide his girdle near the Euphrates, and in the sequel finds it marred, does any one feel that there is difficulty in saying, that this betokens the marring of

the pride of Judah and Jerusalem? When the same prophet sees the vessel of clay marred in the potter's hand, does not that clay represent the house of rebellious Israel in the hands of the Lord? When Ezekiel portrays upon a tile the siege of the city of Jerusalem, was not that picture a symbol or token for the house of Israel? When the same prophet saw the vision of the dry bones in the valley and the resurrection of them, was there any enigma in his words, when he said: "These bones are the whole house of Israel?" Did they not understand him when he said: "Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel?" When Daniel interpreted the dream of Nebuchadnezzar respecting the gigantic image compounded of various metals, did that king misapprehend him when he said: "Thou art the head of gold?" Was he not intelligible, when he intimated that the second empire would be silver, the third brass, and the fourth iron and clay? When those awful words, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, were stamped in characters of celestial radiance on the walls of Belshazzar's banqueting hall, were they not an intelligible symbol of his destruction? When Daniel saw the vision of the four beasts which came up out of the sea, was there any difficulty in his understanding the words of the angel-interpreter, when he said to him: "These great beasts, which are four, are four kingdoms—the fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom—the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise? And again, in the vision of the ram and he-goat: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia; the rough goat is the king of Grecia; the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king." When Zechariah saw spectral horses of different colors under the myrtle tree, was there any difficulty in understanding the report which they are said to make to the guardian-angel: "We have walked to and fro through the land, and behold! all is at rest?" And was it not equally intelligible, when, after the prophet had seen seven lamps, and two olive-trees supplying them with oil, the angel-interpreter told him: "These [olive-branches] are the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth."

But let us go to the New Testament. Instances here are not less frequent. Look at the parable of the sower. 'The seed sown by the way side, is he that heareth the word and speedily hath it taken from him by the wicked one; the seed sown in stony places, is he that heareth the word and speedily loseth it by reason of of-

fence; the seed among thorns, is he that heareth the word, and in whom it is speedily choked by riches; the good seed sown in good ground, is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it, and bringeth forth much fruit.' So in the parable of the tares: 'The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; the tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the angels are the reapers.' Matt. xii. When the Saviour addressed 'the parable of the man who owned a vineyard, and let it, and went into a far country, and put husbandmen in to till it, and they refused to render him any rent-dues, and beat his messengers, and killed his son,' did the Jews have any difficulty in saying: 'This means us? Mark xii. When Paul says, that the rock from which the Israelites drank the flowing water in the wilderness, was Christ, did the Corinthians understand him literally? 1 Cor. x. When he says, that the two sons of Abraham, the one of a free-woman the other of a bond-maid, were the two covenants; is he to be literally interpreted? When he says, that Abraham's maid-servant, Hagar, is mount Sinai in Arabia, did the Galatians, in their own minds, regard the woman and the mountain as identical? And John, when he saw the seven stars in the Saviour's right hand, and beheld him walking in the midst of seven golden candlesticks, did he literally interpret the words of the Saviour when he said to him: "The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest, are the seven churches?" Did he mistake the import of the angel-interpreter's words, who conducted him into the wilderness, and showed him a huge scarlet-coloured beast, with seven heads and ten horns, and a woman sitting upon the beast, gorgeously arrayed, and then said: "The seven heads are the seven mountains;—and they are seven kings; and the ten horns are ten kings; and the woman whom thou sawest, is the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth?" Rev. xvii.

I began with Genesis, and have ended with the Apocalypse, in making selections for the purpose of illustration. But I have not cited a tithe of the instances that may be found in the Scriptures, which bear the particular stamp in question, viz. where the verb *is* means *symbolizes, betokens, represents, presents a similitude of, and the like*. Did ever any man that was sane, doubt this meaning in any of the passages which I have adduced? I think not; the matter appears impossible. The very supposition involves an absurdity, and would betoken a wandering of the intellect. So,

every one not engaged in a dispute which is to support some favorite tenet, would spontaneously decide.

On what grounds now does this spontaneous decision of every mind rest? On a very plain and simple ground, I would answer. The supposition, in all these and the like cases, of a literal meaning involves either absurdity, or contradiction, or impossibility; it forces upon us what is crude, or gross, inept, frigid, irrelevant. Now if we suppose that the scriptural writers were sane and not mad-men, we cannot possibly suppose them to have written such passages as I have cited, with an intention that they should be literally interpreted. Of course we give—for we must give—to all such passages a *tropical* sense. There is no other principle but this, by which a tropical sense can ever be determined.

The simple question now before us therefore is: Whether the consecrating words of the eucharist stand on the same basis, and must be interpreted by a reference to the same principles of exegesis?

If now it can be shown, that any other than a *tropical* interpretation would involve absurdities, impossibilities, or incongruities, this makes a final settlement of the question. There is no appeal from such a court. It is the highest tribunal short of that which belongs to Omniscience.

One thing at least has now been done. It has been shown, that both the Old and New Testaments are full of expressions, whose *form* resembles that which is now in question. *This is, such a thing is such an one*, is said times without number, where no reasonable person ever thought it possible to give a literal interpretation. *Analogy*, then, proves nothing in favour of the exegesis defended by transubstantiation or by consubstantiation. It goes altogether against it. The most irrefragable reasons ought, therefore, to be produced for the literal interpretation, as it regards the case in question, if such interpretation is to be given. That such reasons exist, however, never has been satisfactorily shown; may I not add, never can be shown?

Thus have I examined the meaning of all the important words employed in the consecration of the eucharist. Neither the word *body* nor *blood* can apply to the Saviour in a *literal* sense, in the state in which he now is and since his glorification. The cases in which the verb *is* means *represents, symbolizes, designates*, and the like, are almost without number in the Scriptures, and are altogether incontrovertible. No necessity lies upon us, then, of giving to the word *is*, in the eucharistic formula, a literal sense.

Analogy everywhere in the Scriptures, in favour of a tropical sense of the word, is met with by every reader. But still, it is in all cases a sound principle of interpretation, not to depart from the literal sense of any word, unless there is good and sufficient reason. Is there then such reason in the present case? This introduces us to the consideration of the grounds, on which the *tropical* signification of the verb *is* rests, as employed in the consecrating words of the eucharist.

† 10. SPECIAL REASONS WHY THE LITERAL INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S WORDS AT THE INSTITUTION OF THE SACRAMENT IS IMPOSSIBLE.

Thus far we have been principally engaged in removing the obstacles, which are in the way of rightly deciding the exegetical question respecting the true and real meaning of the consecrating words of the eucharist. First of all, we have seen that the opinion of the Christian fathers is not obligatory upon us. Next, we have seen that even if it were obligatory, no certain standard of opinion in relation to the matter before us was erected, or even professed to be set up, until about the middle of the ninth century; so that we can find no adequate and satisfactory guidance among the early fathers. Our next object was, to inquire whether the Scriptures do not every where abound in *tropical* language; and if they do, whether analogy would not favour the tropical interpretation of our text. We have seen, in the course of this inquiry, that the Scripture abounds more in such language, than almost any other book with which we are conversant; and thus, all difficulties on the score of analogy are removed. Our next object was, to examine the question whether there is anything in the nature of the language or diction of our text, which demands that it should be exempted from a tropical interpretation. It has, as I trust, been shewn by an overwhelming mass of examples, that the instances of a tropical sense, where the form of the diction is like that of our text, are almost beyond enumeration in the Scriptures, and occur in almost every part of them. On none of these grounds, then, can the advocates of a *literal* sense establish their opinion. The argument seems to be plainly against them on all these points, so far as they go. At all events, it does not in any measure speak in their favour.

We come now to the more direct and positive part of our subject. THERE ARE UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENTS AGAINST A LITERAL

EXEGESIS. My present object is briefly and succinctly to develop the truth of this position.

I. My first remark is, that *several considerations serve to show, that the literal sense of the consecrating sacramental words is very IMPROBABLE.*

(1) The idea of *eating flesh and blood*, above all, of eating *human* flesh and blood commingled, or of eating blood at all, was and is abhorrent both to the old and new Dispensation.

Immediately after the flood, God said to Noah: "Flesh with the life thereof, which is the *blood* thereof, shall ye not eat," Gen. 9: 4. Such was the patriarchal precept; and such the usage of the pious, down to the time of the Mosaic legislation. Throughout all the Scriptures the idea reigns, that the *blood* of animal beings is the *life* of them, i. e. it is the element with which the animal life is peculiarly and inseparably connected. This is true in point of fact; and to the feelings of a Hebrew, this was true in the highest sense which he could entertain for any truth of such a nature.

When we come down to the Levitical law, there the eating of *blood* is universally and at all times prohibited. "It shall be a perpetual statute for your generations . . . not to eat blood," says Moses; Lev. 3: 17. Again: "Ye shall eat no manner of blood . . . Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people," Lev. 7: 26, 27. "I will set my face against that soul which eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people, for the life of the flesh is the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul," Lev. 17: 10, 11.

Here then are two reasons for not eating blood; the first, that it is the animal life; the second, that it is to be set apart for making atonement. The blood was sacred, because it appertained to the altar of God, and was to be poured out and sprinkled there; and it was not lawful, therefore, for any man to devour that which was sacred to God.

Now the blood of Jesus made the great and real atonement for the sins of the world. Is it probable, then, that this was to be *eaten* and *drunk*, and thus profaned more than the blood of even animal victims was allowed to be?

Through all the Old Testament the same spirit reigns. Every where an abhorrence of eating blood is inculcated; even the blood of common animals. How much more is the shedding or

eating of human blood forbidden! The man who purposely sheds another's blood, is to repay the debt which he owes to justice, by his own blood. "Life for life, blood for blood." The consummation of all iniquity among the Jews was, the crime of offering up children to Moloch. It is not possible to take higher ground against the destruction of human life, than the Jewish legislator did. The idea of feeding on human flesh and blood, was one of the last, the most dreadful, the most shocking, that could possibly enter a Jewish mind. (Comp. Deut. 12: 16, 23. 15: 23. 1 Sam. 14: 32 seq. Ezek. 30: 25 seq.)

Was this carried over to New Testament times? It was. Even after the death of Christ, and the abolition of all precepts merely ritual and Levitical, we find a united council of apostles and elders at Jerusalem, advising their Christian brethren to abstain not only from things offered to idols, and the pollution which commonly was associated with this, but from *things strangled* and from *blood*," Acts 15: 20. From things *strangled*—because the blood was still in them. All this, moreover, when Christianity knows no distinction of meats clean and unclean; all this, when Christianity teaches, that 'not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out of his mouth defileth him.' (Comp. Acts 15: 28. 22: 5.)

(2) Is it to be supposed, that the apostles ever regarded their Master as having taught them really and actually to eat his own flesh and drink his own blood? And taught them to do this, not once only, when he was with them, but down to the time when he should come to judge the world? Had they understood him in this way, how could they have refrained from the highest degree of astonishment and horror? Not only as Jews would they have shuddered to their inmost soul, but as the friends and confidants of the Saviour, their astonishment would have been irrepressible, their horror beyond expression.

I see them gathering, with mournful faces, around the passover-table. Jesus has told them that he is to be betrayed, condemned, crucified, and afterwards that he should leave them, and by his *personal* presence be with them no more. I hear him endeavouring to assuage their bitter grief on account of these tidings, and saying to them: "Let not your hearts be troubled; trust in God, and trust in me." When Peter declared that he was ready to die with his Master, rather than be separated from him, they all joined with him in the expression of the same feeling. Was this a time to make the proposal that they should actually eat his

broken body and drink his blood? Cannibals there were in those days, no doubt, who ate up prisoners of war, and sometimes fed on human sacrifices. But among the Jews, who ever heard of such a thing? It is the part of a savage and blood-thirsty enemy only, and he must belong to the most ignorant and uncultivated of the human race, to eat human flesh and drink human blood. But the proposal to do this in respect to a venerated, adored, and supremely beloved friend—who ever heard of the like?

It was not possible, in the nature of things, that some traces of the apostles' astonishment should not be apparent, in their demeanor and in their words, in case they understood the consecrating words of Jesus *literally*, at the eucharist? One cannot even imagine, that they would not have been overwhelmed with astonishment and horror. And yet, there is not a trace of all this, in the histories of the sacrament. Everything went on in the most quiet and orderly manner. When Jesus had spoken of his sufferings and death, on former occasions, the disciples had been mute with wonder and unbelief. And even when he spoke so plainly that his words could no longer be to them a matter of doubt, the disciples exclaim: 'That be far from thee, Lord!' But now—when he proposes that they should even eat and drink his very body and blood, not a word of wonder, of astonishment, or even of doubt!

Is not all this absolutely incredible, on the ground that Jesus meant to be, and was, literally understood? So, I cannot help thinking, every man on earth, who is not a partizan in dispute, would spontaneously decide.

Considerations such as these seem to render it in a high degree improbable, that the apostles understood Jesus as giving them a literal precept, at the sacramental table. Would Paul, would John, would Peter, have omitted to proffer some exposition of such an unheard of and (to a Jew) unimaginable thing, as regularly feasting on human flesh and blood? And even on the flesh and blood of their own Lord and Master? This would surely be a new, a most extraordinary way of manifesting love and respect for him. From the foundation of the world down to that hour, when was the like ever spoken of, or even imagined?

So much for the *probabilities* of this matter. Now then, let us,

II. Consider the *POSSIBILITIES* of feeding on the real body and blood of Jesus.

We will go back to the original institution of the Lord's Supper. "This is my body, which is broken for you; eat ye all of it. This

is my blood, which is shed for you; drink ye all of it." What now is this? Here is his *body*, first of all, i. e. the *whole* of his frame with all its parts including the *blood*. This is presented to them as *broken*, and they, i. e. each one of them, is to eat his broken body. But how is this possible, in the literal sense? The body of Jesus was not then broken. Jesus was then sitting before them, clothed, sound, unmaimed. He was at the head of the table; it was the *outer* as well as the inner man, which presided on that occasion. To say that the disciples ate his *broken* body, before it was broken, is to affirm that a thing can be and not be at one and the same time. It is to affirm that a body which is whole and sound, is at the same time maimed and broken. It is to say, that a living Jesus, in health and strength, is at the same moment Jesus dead and cut in pieces. And this is neither more nor less than a downright contradiction—a palpable absurdity.

I might speak, too, of the absurdity of supposing that each of the apostles devoured a whole human body, or that all of them did or could devour such a body, at a single meal, when they had already taken their paschal meal. To make this possible, either the body must no longer be body, or the physical capacities of the disciples must no longer be human. In either of these cases, the *literal* meaning of the command of Jesus falls to the ground.

So is it also with Jesus' BLOOD. The cup, he says, is "his blood, *which is shed* for the disciples." Yet his blood was then in its full natural and healthy course, running at that instant in his veins, and as yet unharmed. How then could they drink the blood that was *shed*? Besides; as they had already eaten his *body*, they had of course eaten his blood; for the body surely includes this. Why repeat this awful rite? How could the blood be drunk again, which had already been swallowed? How could *shed* blood be drunk, when the blood was *not* shed? The thing is impossible. To affirm it, is therefore an absurdity. And if, in order to avoid this, any one should begin, as is usual, to talk about the *mysterious* and the *inexplicable*, and the duty of *implicit faith* in what Christ has said, even although it contradicts the senses and reason;—this is only because he feels the force of the pressure, and knows not how else to escape from it. Where does he get his authority for the mysterious, and unintelligible, and miraculous, in this simple rite? Not in the New Testament itself. Paul has not given us anything of this, in his account of the sacrament. (1 Cor. xi.) Such an advocate of the literal sense, then, evidently says this, because he does not know what else to say.

I know one may here urge an *implicit faith*; and he may reproach all, who doubt the correctness of his views in relation to this matter, with unbelief. But I say once more: *Faith is believing what God has revealed; not what he has not revealed.* Now what God has revealed, is the *meaning* of the scriptural declarations, the purport, the sentiment; not the mere *form* of the words, which is nothing more than the husk around the proper fruit. It is no more true faith in me, to believe that the words, *This is my body*, mean, that a piece of bread is literally Jesus' broken body, than it is true faith to believe that the declaration, *God is a rock*, means that the ever living God, who is a *Spirit*, is literally a rock. The one is as great an absurdity as the other; and God has neither revealed absurdities, nor required us to believe them.

I am aware, as I have before intimated, that the advocate for a literal sense will here ask, with a countenance full of reproof: 'What, are we not to believe God's *unerring* word, rather than the testimony of our *erring* reason and senses?' But you, I would reply to him, make no advances by this question. You do not believe, that God is really a rock, or a shield, or a buckler, or a high tower, or that he has eagles' wings and feathers. Why not? The Bible asserts all this. The testimony of your reason and senses, you say, has nothing to do with setting aside the declarations of the Bible. Get down then upon your knees, and confess before heaven and earth that you are guilty of infidelity, because you do not believe that the everlasting God is literally each and every one of the substances just named. But no; you toss your head with disdain, and ask me whether I can for a moment suppose, that the Bible asserts an absurdity and a contradiction, and whether you are really called upon to believe such a thing as that. Very well; out of thine own mouth, then, thou must be judged. I aver, now, in presence of all that is called reason among men, that the belief, that a broken piece of bread which visibly and palpably retains all its qualities as such is still a true human body of flesh and blood, is just as palpable an absurdity as those which you at once refuse to believe. If you appeal to the *miraculous*, (as doubtless you will), I say, as I have said before, that a true miracle always appeals to the senses and to reason for confirmation. You evidently turn away from both of these, in the present case, because both of them are against you. A miracle, moreover, can never be an *impossibility*. But the case before us shows, that an impossibility must be assumed in order to make the matter out. This becomes still more plain, when we consider,

III. That one concrete, specific thing or object cannot, at one and the same time, be another and different concrete and specific thing or object.

A man, for example, may be a father, a magistrate, a military commander, a senator, and the like; or he may be amiable, gentle, intelligent, learned, benevolent, or the reverse; and yet be one and the same man. But all these are mere *qualities* or *attributes* of the substance or person man. And so there may be a boundless variety of attributes belonging to any particular substance, while the substance remains the same. Yet a man cannot be a *tree* or a *stone*, at the same time that he is a man. A body cannot of itself be *spirit*, so long as it is body. And the simple intelligible reason in all these cases is, that we are unable, in any possible manner, to comprehend how a thing can *be*, and yet *not be*, at one and the same time. If a man is a *human* being, he is not a *tree*; and if he becomes a tree, he is no longer a human being.

I cannot prove all this, now, as I readily concede, by any series of argument. The reason is, that the truth which it contains is plainer and higher than that which is established by argument. Demonstration is quite below it, and is employed only to establish secondary truths. But such truths as I have just repeated, belong to the very elements of a rational soul. The elementary principles of rationality decide them all; and the proof of this is the fact, that no man can doubt them, if he make ever so strenuous efforts to do so.

One thing or substance, then, cannot be another thing or substance, at the same time; and this, because it is impossible that a thing should *be*, and *not be*, at one and the same time.

The body and blood of Christ cannot, in the nature of things, be at the same time bread and wine; and bread and wine as such cannot, in the nature of things, be the body and blood of Christ. And if you endeavour to avoid the force of this, as you probably will, by saying that *transubstantiation* only maintains that the bread and wine go over into and become the body and blood of Christ; this will not satisfy a sober inquirer. All the attributes of bread and wine still remain after consecration; and it is impossible, therefore, that the substances themselves should not still remain. If you take your refuge in *consubstantiation*, and say, that you do not suppose any change of the elements of the bread and wine, but you merely maintain that Christ's body and blood are in, with, and under them; then you are called upon for evidence of this. All the senses decide against it. All the phenomena of

bread and wine decide against it. A human body, as such, cannot be cooped up in these elements. If you say that it is actually there; then you merely say, that it is no longer a human body. Of course you give up, at last, the literal sense of the sacramental words. If now you next begin to appeal to the *miraculous*, this appeal has already been examined.

I repeat, therefore, that one thing or substance cannot at the same time be another thing or substance; a human body and human blood cannot, at the same time that they are body and blood, be bread and wine; and so *vice versé*. A human body and blood, as such, cannot be present in, with, and under any substance, and yet not be perceptible to our senses. It is a downright impossibility. To believe this is not *faith*, but superstition; it is not to give credit to the declarations of the sacred writers, but to the inventions and conceits of men. Luther himself, during the first seven years after the Reformation had commenced, did not maintain the doctrine of consubstantiation. It was only his disputes with Carlstadt and Zuingli which brought him at last to this position. When he had become angry with some of the extravagancies and biting sarcasms of Carlstadt, he exclaimed, in one of his controversial writings: "I hereby testify and acknowledge before God and all the world, that I do not hold with the sacramentarian enthusiasts, [meaning his opponents,] nor ever have held with them, nor ever shall hold with them; so help me God!" (Das diese Worte noch feststehen, A. D. 1527. See Stud. und Krit. 1843. p. 317.) In saying, that he never had held with them, he must have pacified his conscience by some hair-splitting discriminations. Luther evidently found it easier to put down his opponents by appeal to oath, than by appeal to argument.

IV. There is yet another consideration, which goes to show the impossibility of the real bodily presence of Christ in the sacramental elements. It is this, viz., that his *real human body and blood* have now no actual existence, and have not had any for more than 1800 years.

The proof is short, but irresistible. Paul says, that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; that corruption cannot inherit incorruption;" that a human body is sown a natural body, and raised a spiritual one." 1 Cor. 15: 50, 44). Jesus declares to his disciples, that at the resurrection "they shall be made like the angels;" and therefore they shall then be no more capable of fleshly or carnal desires, Mark 12: 25. The nature of the heavenly world speaks for this, in language too plain to be misun-

derstood. All there is permanent, unchangeable, imperishable. A real material human body of flesh and blood, therefore, cannot by any possibility be in existence there.

Now Jesus is there. He is seated at the right hand of God. He reigns over the Universe, and is everywhere present in it. Yet not in a body of flesh and blood, but in a *glorified* body. Nor is his body of flesh and blood in the tomb, where it was once laid. "He is not there, but has risen from the dead." More than eighteen hundred years ago Jesus's body became a spiritual one. His natural body has existed nowhere since that period. How then can it be eaten and drunk? How can we eat and drink a *nonentity*? It is an impossibility. And if you say, as some do, that it is the *glorified* body of Jesus which the communicant eats and drinks, I ask then, how can natural and physical organs masticate and swallow down a glorified *spiritual* body? The Lutheran cries out, I am aware, that he does not maintain a *Capernaïtic* eating or manducation. I hear the assertion; but still I ask: How can your physical organs, as such, perform an office different from that which belonged to the same organs of men in the town of Capernaum? To talk of physical organs devouring *spiritual* substances—what is this but to do violence to reason and common sense? You may think that such a covering will hide the deformities of the case; but the bed is evidently too strait for a man to turn himself thereon, and the covering narrower than that a man can wrap himself therein. It is a mere evasion to which you are forced, by the desperate cause which you have undertaken to patronize.

V. If the real presence in the elements of the eucharist is to be maintained, then Christ's human body and blood must be *ubiquitous*, i. e. be everywhere and at the same time.

The matter needs only a brief illustration. The sacrament of the Supper may be in actual celebration at the same moment, on different sides of our globe. We may, without any violence, and for the sake of illustration, suppose it to be celebrated at the same time, all over the earth, wherever human beings are found. Now according to the doctrine in question, Christ's human body and blood must be present in all these places; and what is more, each individual communicant masticates and swallows the whole. The material body and blood of Jesus, then, must not only be ubiquitous, but be indefinitely multiplied at one and the same time. But this is plainly an impossibility and an absurdity.

If you deny, that there is any such actual bodily presence, then

you give up your favourite *literal* interpretation. If you affirm it, then you fall into the predicament just mentioned. Either horn of the dilemma is fatal to the interpretation in question.

§11. WHAT SPIRITUAL ADVANTAGE CAN BE REASONABLY EXPECTED FROM THE BODILY PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE ELEMENTS OF THE EUCHARIST?

The improbability and impossibility of the real physical presence of Jesus's body and blood in the bread and wine of the eucharist, have been set forth in the preceding section. We may now pass on to contemplate our subject in another and somewhat different light. Supposing the doctrine which has now been opposed to be true; taking it for granted that the bread and wine of the eucharist do become transmuted into the actual body and blood of Christ; or supposing that the body and blood of Christ are in, with, and under, the eucharistic elements; admitting for the moment all or any part of this, we should then have a very important question to ask, viz. *What is the spiritual advantage or profit which may be rationally expected from such a presence?*

I do not even intimate that we are competent, in respect to everything which religion may require us to believe, in all cases to show the actual benefit that may be derived from what is taught or required; or rather, to show *in what way* benefit may be plainly derived. Still, there is a general analogy throughout the Scriptures, in relation to these matters. The very nature, moreover, of a religion preëminently *spiritual*, helps to cast light on such a subject.

When Nicodemus was told, that a man must be *born again* in order to see the kingdom of God, he asked with apparent surprise, and in such a way as to show that he thought his question would be a confounding one: "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born?" The reply of Jesus was very simple and instructive. It assures him that the birth in question was to be brought about by the Spirit of God, and was not a natural or physical occurrence. "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is spirit."

In other words, a change in a man's religious character is not brought about by mere natural and physical agents. It depends on an influence entirely different from theirs. That must be a *spiritual cause* which will produce *spiritual effects*.

Our Saviour here speaks of the ultimate and highest agent in the regeneration and sanctification of men, viz. of the Spirit of God. Nothing short of his influence will produce a saving change in the hearts of men. But the question, Whether means or instruments are employed by the Holy Spirit when he operates upon the hearts of men, is quite another matter. It is however a matter so plain, that but a few moments' attention need be bestowed upon it.

The Gospel, and the preachers and teachers of it, are the *means* employed by the Great Head of the church, in making converts to Christianity, and in sanctifying the souls of men. Now both of these are means, i. e. real and proper instruments of religious profit, because, and merely because, they exhibit religious TRUTH, that is, place it before the minds of men and impress it upon them.

It is *spiritual truth*, which ultimately is instrumental in converting and sanctifying men; for nothing but such truth is adapted to produce such impressions as may be really salutary and saving.

Must I appeal to the Scriptures, in order to confirm such a view of the subject? Where then shall I begin or end? Both the volumes of Scripture are filled with testimonies to our purpose. "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimonies of the Lord are sure, making wise the simple." (Ps. 19: 7.) "Get wisdom, get understanding; . . . forsake her not, and she shall preserve thee; love her and she shall keep thee. Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom, and with all thine acquisitions get understanding." (Prov. 4: 5—7.) By wisdom and understanding here, divine truth and instruction are clearly meant. The word of God, the law of the Lord, is everywhere, among the prophets of the Old Testament, regarded as the all-important instrument of reproof, of admonition, of comfort, and of quickening. To cite passages in proof of this, would be to cite a large portion of the prophetic writings.

Come we then to the New Testament, where we find by way of eminence a *spiritual* religion, and the task of illustration becomes very easy. Hear the Saviour, in his last prayer for his disciples: "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth." (John 17: 17.) "Now ye are clean through the word that I have spoken unto you." (John 15: 3.) To the same purpose Peter: "Ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth, through the Spirit . . . Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth forever."

(1 Pet. 1 : 22, 23.) Such is the testimony of James also : " Of his own will begat he us, with the word of truth." (James 1: 18.) And what says Paul? " In Christ Jesus have I begotten you through the Gospel." (1 Cor. 4 : 15. " The gospel is the power of God unto salvation." (Rom. 1: 16.) " The preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness ; but unto us who are saved, it is the power of God." (1 Cor. 1: 18.) " I declare unto you the gospel . . . by which ye are saved." (1 Cor. 15 : 2.)

I say nothing here of that preaching, which, overlooking and keeping out of sight the numerous declarations of such a character as these, ventures to maintain, that no influences but those which come *immediately* from the Holy Spirit, have anything to do with converting or sanctifying men. Who then gave the word of truth in the Scripture? " All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." Did the Holy Spirit, then, impart the truths of the Bible to men for their good, and yet leave these imparted truths in such a defective state that not one jot of efficacy is to be attributed to them? Is this the manner in which he is wont to do his work? Verily to decry this work of the Spirit himself, to put it down and to represent it as insignificant or altogether inefficacious, is virtually to treat him with disrespect and dishonour.

But this is digression. Let us return to our immediate object. The Bible regards divine truth as the necessary instrumentality in the conversion and sanctification of men. It is to the soul, in respect to its spiritual training and nourishment, what appropriate food is to our bodies. It is indispensable. All religion begins with it, and is supported by it. It is a *truth*, that there is a God, and that he is the moral governor of the world; and without a knowledge and belief of this truth, the apostle has decided (Heb. 11: 6) that there can be no rational religion. Some truth must always be the object of belief or faith; and faith is the indispensable condition of salvation. All our religious feelings must have an ultimate reference to, and be excited by, the knowledge and belief of certain truths. In a word, it is all comprehended in the one most significant declaration of our Saviour to the Jews: " Ye shall know the *truth*, and the *truth* shall make you free." (John 8: 32.) " The glorious liberty of the children of God," can be acquired and enjoyed only by means of gospel-truth.

If now we go, for a moment, to all the providential dealings of God with men, and specially consider those which are apparently instrumental in their conviction, conversion, and edification; we shall find that all this good was done by impressing on their minds

some important religious truth. If we make inquiry respecting the similitudes, the symbols, the parables, of the prophets or of Jesus and of his apostles, we find the simple object of them all to be the impression or inculcation of some religious truth. This is the proper aliment of the spiritual man; and all expectation of being spiritually renovated, or nourished, without divine truth, is like the expectation of receiving bodily nutriment by feeding upon the air. There is no part of the Bible, Old Testament or New, which holds up this matter in a light that differs from the one in which I have now placed it.

What says the Psalmist to those, who expected profit and acceptance merely on the ground of *external* worship? "I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices and burnt offerings, which are continually before me. I will take no bullock out of thy stall, nor he-goats out of thy fold . . . Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? . . . Unto the wicked God saith: What hast thou to do that thou shouldest declare my statutes, or take my covenant in thy mouth? . . . Whoso offereth praise, glorifieth me; and to him who ordereth his conversation aright, will I show the salvation of God." (Ps. 50: 8, 9, 13, 23.) So the evangelical prophet: "When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination to me; and so are the new moons and sabbath, the summoning of assemblies; I cannot away with iniquity and solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble to me; I am weary to bear them. . . . When ye make many prayers, I will not hear." (Is. 1: 12—15.) And is this a spirit which magnifies externals, and rites, and forms, and regards them as constituting an all-important and indispensable part of religion? Is this the language of such persons as consider the external and visible and the physical as an essential part of true religion, or who regard these things as in themselves either making men pious, or keeping them so? A man must close up the avenues to his understanding, his reason, and his conscience, before he can answer these questions in the affirmative.

And how does the great Teacher of Christianity deal with the Scribes and Pharisees, who were scrupulous and exact beyond all measure in everything that pertained to externals, while they neglected the *truths* which all the rites and forms of the Mosaic ritual were designed to teach? We know well what awful reproof he administered to them. "Ye Scribes and Pharisees, hyp-

ocrites, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" What said the great Teacher to the woman of Samaria, who was all-intent upon getting a word from him in favor of the Samaritan national temple at Gerizim? "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in *spirit* and in *truth*; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. GOD IS A SPIRIT; AND THEY THAT WORSHIP HIM, MUST WORSHIP HIM IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH." (John 4: 23, 24.)

How can we now—in the face of all this and many hundred times as much more in the Bible respecting the utter inefficiency of mere externals—how can we aver, that the mere eating and drinking of the proper physical body and blood of Jesus is spiritually saving or salutary in its nature? "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." (Rom. 14: 17. "Neither if we eat, are we the better, neither if we eat not, are we the worse." (1 Cor. 8: 8.) Even as "circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing," so is it with the mere physical eating of any food whatever. Above all, who can show us, that to feast literally on human flesh and blood is the high road to salvation?

No; even the most strenuous advocates of the real bodily presence of Jesus in the elements of the eucharist, are constrained to acknowledge that the Lord's Supper does not profit unbelievers. So then, by their own statement, *faith* is the indispensable condition of spiritual profit. But faith is the *belief* of something, and not the eating of flesh and blood. Faith is the giving of credit to divine truth; and it fixes of course upon truth as its proper aliment. A faith which *spiritually* profits at the Lord's table, must then be a faith which fixes upon and receives the truths there taught. But what is there taught, must be that which is there symbolized or betokened, not what is eaten or drunk. Just so far as faith lays hold on what is betokened, so far this may profit him who exercises the faith. Who can aver, and support his declaration, that the mere physical action of eating, in itself, secures pardon or spiritual profit? It did not even under the ancient dispensation, (as we have already seen,) full of types and shadows and rites as it was; how can it profit then, under a dispensation where God, who is a Spirit, demands of all his worshippers that they worship in *spirit* and in *truth*?

Plain and incontrovertible, on the score of reason or the ground of Scripture, as these truths appear to be, yet they seem, after all, to be among the last truths, which the mass of men are disposed

really and heartily to believe. In every age, among nominal Christians and among the heathen, the great majority of men, who have manifested any interest in matters of religion, have, in one way and another, contrived (if I may so express myself) to make an *external* disposition of it. Among the heathen, it has consisted of tortures inflicted upon one's self or upon others, sacrifices of human victims or of animals, a great variety of penances and oblations, genuflexions and prostrations of the body, multiplied rites, ceremonies, and outward observances; all showing a belief, or at least a hope, that the Godhead might be propitiated in some such way as offended men are rendered placable. Men can see only the *external* demeanor, and are obliged to recognize this as the evidence of the internal state or condition of the mind. Hence the heathen, who imagine that their gods are like to themselves, draw the conclusion, that external service and the offering of sacrifices are all that is necessary in order to find acceptance.

Christians call this ignorance and superstition. And so indeed it is. But while the great body of nominal Christians readily stigmatize the heathen rites, and observances, in this way, yet by far the larger portion of them are attached to rites, observances, and opinions, that have the same basis as those of the heathen. The idea, that the mere external performance or celebration of any rite or outward usage is real and true and acceptable worship of God, or that the due ceremonial observance of any of these things will secure the divine favour and blessing, is nothing more, at bottom, than the principle so common among the heathen. All religion, even that which is true and spiritual, demands, and from its very nature must demand, some external manifestations or developments of itself, in its various relations to God and man. But in the case of true religion, these developments are not superstitiously and inseparably connected with this particular usage or that, or with the mere mode of any usage.

No undue importance is attached to mere costume. While true piety is ready to admit, that decency and propriety demand some sort of costume, the particular fashion of it, or even the quality of the ingredients which compose merely the costume, is never a matter of anxious solicitude. True piety does not abandon taste, nor give up the right of judging that one mode of costume is more graceful, and decorous, and becoming, than another; and yet, it will never confound the person with the dress,

nor show less solicitude for the man and for his welfare, than it does for the fashion and quality of his garments.

The advocates, now, of rites and externals, who have set their hearts strongly upon them, have been and are always prone to attach to them an extravagant view of their importance. Genuflexions, bowing in this direction or that, prayers regulated by the clock or by the number, i. e. by the *quantity*, wax candles, chrism or anointing with consecrated oil, a robe of sackcloth and a girdle of leather, shorn locks and cowls of revolting material and form, bare feet, or shoes with little spikes in them, processions with banners and measured chanting, pilgrimages to one place or another, living as devotees in cloisters and convents, keeping midnight vigils and exhausting fasts—all these, and a multitude more of like things, have been invented and trusted in by nominal Christians. *Invented* did I say? Not exactly so; nearly every one of these things has been borrowed from the heathen, and has merely been baptized with a Christian name; as Conyers Middleton has unanswerably shown, in his little book on this subject. The very same spirit, which leads men to substitute such things for true religion, and to trust in them as the means of salvation, guides them when they come to a decision, that baptism with water confers the *germ* of regeneration, and the partaking of the actual body and blood of Christ, at the sacramental table, procures the pardon of sin and the sanctification of the heart. O how much easier it is, to perform any and every external rite, yea even to undergo any penance or bodily suffering, than to bring to God the sacrifice of a broken heart and of a contrite spirit! This is the very ground and basis of all the false and delusive reasoning in respect to externals. ‘Baptism,’ it is said very confidently, ‘is a holy and awful rite;’ and so much is true. But what next? ‘Such a rite must of necessity accomplish some important good.’ But how of necessity? Do not all rites and forms derive their importance, as to the effect produced, from the temper and spirit of those who perform them? This is surely true. But once more: ‘The sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is above all a holy and awful rite; in which the very body and blood of Christ are partaken of by the communicants. It is impossible that such a sacred mystery as this should be ordained, unless some important good is derived from it.’

I admit now the sacred and awful nature of the rite. Whatever calls us to the special contemplation of the Saviour, in his sufferings and death, is sacred, is in itself of a holy nature, is adapted

to good. But does not this again depend on the tone and temper of the communicant? Even the advocates for the miraculous nature of the transaction confess, that an unbeliever derives from the ordinance nothing but condemnation and harm. How then is the eating of the flesh and blood of Christ, at the table, supposing this to be matter of actual fact, in and of itself salutary and saving? How can material food sanctify the soul, in and of itself? The human body and blood of Jesus, in itself considered, is not moral and spiritual. As eaten and drunk, it is like any other similar food; else it is no longer a human body and blood. How can *matter* operate on and change *spirit*? Spirit may modify, change, even create, matter, because spirit is the only real agent in the universe; but how can matter change and modify and purify spirit? How can any food, masticated, swallowed, digested, do anything more than nourish the body? Food may refresh and invigorate the animal spirits, the $\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta$, the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, of men; but what has this to do with sanctifying and saving them?

'But the sacred body and blood of Christ—how dare you speak in this manner respecting them? How is it possible, that they should not change and sanctify all who are in any way partakers of them?'

But stay a moment; you are too fast for your own position. You admit, that the *unbelieving* eat and drink damnation to themselves; and this, because they do not discern the Lord's body aright. But what then is *discerning* his body? Is that an act of *mind* in the partaker, or does it consist in what the natural senses discern in mastication and deglutition? Not in the latter, because the unbeliever performs that operation. If then *discerning* belongs to the mind, to the act of the mind and heart, what has this to do with the mere physical partaking of food? Nothing more, at the highest point, than that this partaking, under appropriate circumstances, may, by recalling important truths in the way of reminiscence, lead the partaker to a devotional state of mind. On your own ground, you cannot consistently make out anything more.

Sensible of this, and pressed by the arguments urged against fleshly views of the sacrament, intelligent men, who still cherish such views, have, for the most part, betaken themselves to a place behind the veil of mystery. 'The *how* and *why* have nothing to do,' they tell us, 'with such a sacred and awful mystery. Unbelief in it is profane; calling it in question is presumptuous; doubting, even when urged to do so by reason and our senses, is crim-

inal.' This and the like has been and is still said, until the bare repetition of it has almost, of itself, forced it upon the minds of the greater mass of nominal Christians.

I shall not repeat what I have already said, in the way of answer to such suggestions. They are the usual and the last refuge of those, who feel that they are driven from the field of reasoning and argument. They have this advantage, that they are in their alleged form so indefinite and airy, that you cannot easily find out their true nature, so as to know *where* or *how* you can bring forward what is sensible and palpable in opposition to them. They satisfy mystics better than argument or reason would; because they obviously suit that trait in their character which is the predominating and influential one. Hence the final retreat, the *sanc-tum sanctorum* of those who have fled from the battle-fields of reason, and exegesis, and argument, is always found to be in mystery. *Procul, O procul, este profani!*

Meantime, as a Protestant, I must think that it becomes us, on such a point, to be able to give a *reason* for the faith that is in us. No outcry of this nature can induce a man of sober judgment to abandon his position. It is the never-failing resort of those who have nothing better to say, to betake themselves to crying out—'*Mystery!*' awful mystery! It would be profanation to make even an attempt at investigation or explanation!"

After all is said and done, it becomes us to follow on in the steps of the noble Bereans, and search the Scriptures daily, whether these things are so. The Great Head of the church will not condemn us for inquiring *what we ought to believe*, or in other words, *what the Bible has really taught*; and to do this with success, we must find how much of opinions that are current, is to be put to the account of the doctrines and commandments of men.

Before this part of our discussion is finally dismissed, I must make a few remarks on a portion of the passage in 1 Cor. 11: 24—26, which I have not hitherto particularly noticed. It will help to confirm the views which have already been given.

Let me ask now, what would be the consequences of a *literal* interpretation, consistently carried through that portion of the passage just referred to, which runs thus: "*This cup is the new testament in my blood?* A cup, then, is the *new testament*; not the wine in it, but the cup. A piece of metal is the new testament, sanctioned by the blood of Jesus; for such I take to be the meaning of the phrase *in my blood*. Then, moreover, we have the expression, *so often as ye drink THIS CUP*. A cup, then, is to be drunk,

and not the contents of it. I would ask the reader, moreover, to turn his attention from these expressions, for a moment, to kindred ones in the Gospel of John: "If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink. He that believeth on me . . . out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." (John 7: 37, 38.) What now is the *literal* sense of this? John himself says, that "Jesus spake this of the *Spirit*, which they that believe on him should receive." But what has this to do with the *literal* sense? Jesus says of himself: "I am the bread which came down from heaven." (John 6: 41.) Jesus' body then, according to this, must have descended from heaven; or rather, according to the strict letter of it, Jesus had no body proper; his apparent body consisted merely of *bread*, which was formed in heaven. How his natural birth could comport with this, and how the apostle could assert that he took part in *flesh* and *blood* in order to participate in our nature, let those explain who contend for the *literal* sense of passages like those which I have just quoted. When Jesus says to the Jews: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, *dwelleth* in me and I in him" (John 6: 56), the one part is doubtless as literal as the other. What then is a literal and physical dwelling in Christ? And this too when he, at the same time, dwells in us?

But enough. There is nothing in all John's Gospel more true or certain, than those words of Jesus which are, and were designed to be, explanatory of such declarations. "It is the *Spirit* that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing. The *words* that I speak unto you, they are *spirit* and they are *life*." (John 6: 63.)

§ 12. SCRIPTURAL VIEW OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

It remains for me briefly to exhibit what I regard as scriptural and proper views of the eucharist. The reader would have some reason to complain, if, after having occupied so long a time and expended so much effort in endeavouring to tear down buildings destitute of any solid structure, I should now dismiss him without any attempt to point out to him a nobler edifice built on a foundation which cannot be shaken.

To a simple-hearted inquirer, it would seem that this lies revealed upon the very face of 1 Cor. 11: 24—26. In regard to partaking of the bread, the words of Jesus are: *This do in remembrance of me*. The very same words Paul repeats, in respect to the cup: *This do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me*. The elements, then, of bread and wine are set forth distributed, and

partaken of, for the sake of calling to our mind a remembrance of the Lord Jesus Christ. If that be not the main design of the ordinance, why did not Paul say: This do, so oft as ye eat and drink, that ye may be actual partakers of the real body and blood of Christ, and may thus be made partakers of pardon, and of all needed spiritual graces? Nothing was easier than to say this, if this were meant. How could Paul, in an enumeration so circumstantial of the adjuncts and attributes and uses of the sacrament, omit a circumstance so highly important, so fundamental even, as this?

TO CALL UP AFRESH THE MEMORY OF CHRIST, IS THEN THE SPECIAL OBJECT OF THE EUCHARIST. But in what respects? Is only a general view of his person, life, and attributes, suggested to our minds? Or is it some special and particular act of beneficence to our guilty race, on the part of Jesus, which is to be peculiarly called to remembrance?

The latter, beyond all reasonable doubt; yet not in such a sense as to be exclusive. Nothing can be more appropriate, at the sacramental table, than calling to mind the incarnation of Jesus, his life and actions, his public ministry and constant beneficence; and yet here, as often elsewhere in the New Testament, his *sufferings* and *death* are beyond all reasonable question the things specially to be called to mind or remembered.

Paul himself has given the lead to such a conclusion. After repeating: *This do in remembrance of me*, both after the account of the distribution of the bread and of the cup, he sums up the whole, at the close, in a way that is significant and altogether intelligible. He requires Christians to eat the sacramental bread and drink the sacramental wine in remembrance of Christ, "*for or because that so often as they eat this bread and drink this cup, THEY DO SHOW FORTH THE LORD'S DEATH UNTIL HE COME.*"

This then is the special point of remembrance, the specific thing to be peculiarly called to mind. The Lord's *death* is to be the subject of special commemoration. Nor was this to be done merely once, or twice, but it is to be repeated, so often as circumstances may render it expedient or desirable, until the Lord shall come, i. e. so long as the Christian church is militant and not triumphant. This speaks plainly against those sects or parties among Christians, who have laid aside the ordinance of the eucharist, as being only a temporary institution, designed merely for the primitive ages of the Christian religion.

In perfect accordance with this view of the subject presented

by Paul, is the declaration of Christ as recorded by Matthew: "This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins." (26: 28). The blood which is shed for *many* has doubtless a reference to the fact, that Gentiles, as well as Jews, are to be made partakers of the benefits procured by Jesus' blood. And these *benefits* are summed up in the *remission of sins*.

In a dissertation, the design of which is to illustrate the special object of the eucharist, it would be inappropriate to introduce, and follow out in full, the great subject of the *atonement* made by the sufferings and death of Christ. Yet I must say so much as will serve to make my views in relation to this subject explicit, and fully understood.

If there be any one doctrine in Christianity (as I believe there is), which distinguishes it by way of eminence from all other systems of religion so called, it is, in my apprehension, the very doctrine that is now before us. It lies on the face of the Old and of the New Testament, as we should naturally expect, when its importance is considered. Long before the coming of Christ did the evangelical prophet announce, that 'he would be wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities; that the chastisement of our peace, [by which our peace is procured], was to be laid upon him, and that by his stripes we must be healed. All we, (he exclaims), like sheep, have gone astray . . . and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. . . . For the transgression of my people was he smitten. . . . It pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief; when thou shalt make his soul [i. e. his life] an offering for sin, he shall see his seed . . . he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied; by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many, for he shall bear their iniquities. . . . He was numbered with the transgressors, and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors." (Is. 53: 5 seq.)

Thus much for one of the most vivid of all the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament. I take no notice of the various, contradictory, and irreconcilable interpretations, by which this passage has been made to refer to the Jewish people at large; to the pious part of them; to the order of prophets as such; to the particular prophet who utters the sentiments in question; or to some Jewish king. All these bear the stamp of a hot-bed and forced growth. They do violence to the laws of exegesis, or to the analogy of Scripture doctrine, as well as contradict those in-

interpreters of the ancient Scriptures who have expressed their views in the New Testament.

The declarations of Christ himself, respecting the object of his death, are too direct and obvious to admit of being explained away: "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and give his life a *ransom* for many." (Matt. 20: 28.) And so the apostles: "Who gave himself a ransom for all. (1 Tim. 2: 6.) Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity. (Tit. 2: 14.) Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things . . . but by the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot. (1 Pet. 2: 18, 19.) Christ being come . . . by his own blood he entered once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. . . . The blood of Christ, who by an eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, will purge our consciences from dead works, to serve the living God. (Heb. 9: 11—14.) And they sung a new song, saying: Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for thou wast *slain*, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation. (Rev. 5: 9.) The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin. (1 John 1: 7.) Who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood. (Rev. 1: 5.) Who his own self bare our sins in his own body, on the tree, that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed. (1 Pet. 2: 24.) Christ was once offered, to bear the sins of many. (Heb. 9: 28.) Being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved by his life. (Rom. 5: 10.) In whom we have redemption, through his blood. (Eph. 1: 7.) In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. (Col. 1: 14.) Who is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world. (1 John 2: 2.) Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. (John 1: 29.) Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us."

These are only a few of the declarations of Scripture in regard to the point before us, viz., the atonement made by the sufferings and death of Christ. Now what I aver is, that these expressions are not capable, by any fair means in exegesis, of being explained away, so as to be made not to teach the doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, or the atonement made by his death. How could any *Jew*, for example, when addressed by John the Baptist, and called to "behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the

sins of the world," understand anything different from an expiatory victim? A lamb had been the yearly paschal sacrifice, even from the very evening when the destroying angel passed by the Hebrews, and smote the first-born of the Egyptians. Here, however, was a LAMB OF GOD; not a victim of the ordinary kind, which was to be offered for an individual or a family, but one which should expiate the sins of a *world*. Such is *God's Lamb*, in distinction from all others. Now, how can any one make out to my mind, that a Lamb is the appropriate emblem of a teacher or governor; and so, that John meant by his declaration merely to point the Jews to Jesus as the great teacher, exemplar, and director, of all moral and spiritual concerns? No Jew would ever have given such an interpretation to the words of John; it would never have entered his mind, that they were even susceptible of such an interpretation. Of course, *we* cannot with any propriety so interpret John's words. And what is true of these words, applies to all the modes of expression, in the several passages that have been quoted from the Old Testament and from the New. They were addressed either to Jews, or to readers familiar in some good degree, through the medium of the Old Testament, with Jewish ideas and feelings.

If there be any doctrine which lies upon the face of the New Testament, when this volume is read with a full, enlightened, and proper reference to the views and feelings of the persons addressed, in relation to the subject of propitiatory sacrifices, I must say, that the doctrine of atonement for sin by the sufferings and death of Christ, is that doctrine. Apart from all philosophizing and all favorite systems of belief in theology, I do not think that any intelligent readers, well skilled in the Old Testament idiom, would ever dream of any other meaning being attributed to such phrases as I have quoted, than the one which I have given. So says Gesenius; whose character as to biblical knowledge is well known to most readers, and who still explains Is. liii. as having relation to the order of the *prophets* among the Hebrews. But he does this on the very ground, that he does not consider himself as bound at all by the New Testament, or by the ancient Jewish interpretation. He says expressly, that most Hebrews who read the passage, and who were so familiar with the idea of offerings and vicarious satisfaction, must necessarily interpret the passage as having respect to these; and that no doubt remains, that the representations of the apostles respecting the propitiatory death

of Christ rest, in a manner altogether preëminent, on the like ground. (Comm. in Esaiam. II. p. 191.)

Here then we find the great object of the symbols at the table of the Lord. They are 'TO SHOW FORTH HIS DEATH, until he come.' They are designed in a peculiar manner to recall to the mind of the communicant, the sufferings and death of him who instituted these memorials. Other views of him must accompany such recollections. His love, his pity, his constancy, his inextinguishable compassion for perishing men, his hatred of sin, his earnest desire for the purification and holiness of all his followers—all these, and more of the like things, stand inseparably connected with the remembrance of his death on the cross. And it is by a lively remembrance of these things, and a lively and active faith in them, that the believer must be profited, if profited at all, at the table of the Lord.

I have, in a previous section, endeavoured to show what connection divine truth has with the spiritual profit of men. It is the *truth*, which makes men free from the bondage of sin. It is the *truth*, by which men are sanctified. And so far as the Lord's Supper brings up the remembrance of truth and impresses it upon the communicants, so far they may be spiritually profited, if they are in a proper state of mind; but no further. That the physical partaking of the elements of the eucharist, even if the real body and blood of Christ are in them, has of itself a spiritual and saving influence, is contrary to all analogy of Scripture; contrary to reason and the nature of things; contrary to experience. Nay, the very advocates of such views are obliged to concede, that any one destitute of faith and penitence, is only injured by coming to the table of the Lord. Virtually this is giving up the question. It is referring the good to be done to the state of the communicant's mind, and the exercises of it, and not to the physical action of eating and drinking the elements of the Supper.

Let us stop now, for a moment, and ask: Why did not Paul, who has expressly given the reason why we ought to eat of the bread and drink of the cup—why did he not say, that by eating and drinking the proper physical body and blood of Christ, we obtain forgiveness and the promise of eternal life? Nothing can be more certain, than that he needed to say this, in case his Corinthian brethren were to be instructed in the real object of the sacrament, and that such was the real object. Without saying something expressly of this nature, it was not to be expected that they would so understand him, when interpreting the words which he

had addressed to them. And yet we have not one word of this nature. On the contrary; Paul has plainly and positively declared what is the direct proper object of the sacrament: "Do this in remembrance of me; As often as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death until he come."

Let us now contemplate, for a moment, the harmony that exists between the two sacraments, as indicative of leading truths in the gospel, and as symbolizing them in a very expressive manner.

Under the Jewish dispensation, and indeed throughout even the heathen world, water was employed in their sacred rites for the purposes of purification, and as an emblem of it. The significance of this element in regard to the matter in question, no one will deny. It is very obvious to all. Under the New Dispensation, rites and ceremonies were almost entirely to be done away. Two, and only two, sacraments or solemn external rites were to be retained, *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*. Baptism into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, while it taught that the God of the Christians was recognized in this rite, was at the same time emblematic of the purity of heart which true worshippers must possess. But to regenerate and sanctify the heart is the appropriate work of the Holy Spirit. Hence the rite of baptism should be considered as peculiarly emblematical of his sanctifying influences on the hearts of believers. To maintain now that the mere outward act, immersion in water, or affusion or sprinkling with water, which is the act of men, in reality regenerates or sanctifies the heart, would be to attribute the work of regeneration and sanctification neither to the Holy Spirit the proper author of it; nor yet to the subject of baptism, i. e. the person baptized, who is, or is to become, holy; but to the person who baptizes, or at least to that which he performs. This is not only *unscriptural*, but *antiscritural*. In the nature of things, it is impossible. The rite or symbol itself is not to be confounded with the thing symbolized. Else there is no symbol in the case, but the rite itself becomes the very thing which it merely indicates or signifies. The assumption, moreover, that the Holy Spirit is promised and is given, in every case where the rite is (as to its *externals*) duly administered, no one has yet made out, and no one can make out, from the Bible. Else it would follow, that all who are baptized would be regenerated, and of course would be saved; which we know not to be true.

So in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But here the sym-

bol has another significancy. It is altogether appropriate to the *work of Christ*, or rather to that peculiarity in the Christian dispensation, which makes it to be what it is—a religion different from all others. The atoning blood of Jesus; his body broken for us—offered as the propitiatory sacrifice for sin, in order to procure pardon; these are the things or truths symbolized by the sacrament of the eucharist. This is peculiar and appropriate to the Saviour only. And so often as the sacramental bread is eaten and the cup drunk, so often is this indicated by visible symbols; and so it will continue to be, until our Lord shall come.

Now here the sign or symbol cannot pass over into the thing signified by it. This would be to confound, and represent as identical, the *sign* with the *thing signified*. We know this cannot be true; for we know that men may come in an unbelieving frame of mind to the Lord's table, and there eat and drink condemnation to themselves. The eating and drinking is not in itself the bestowment of that which it merely signifies, or of which it is a sign or symbol. No outward act merely ever changes, or can change, the heart. The Spirit of God and the moral influences of his truth are the appropriate agents, in such a change. Just so far as the symbols in question recall and impress divine truth, so far they may have a sanctifying influence. To look for such influence beyond this, is not rational expectation founded on the Scriptures and on the nature of the Christian religion, but superstition and groundless mystical conjecture.

If I am right in these positions, it will be seen that the two sacraments are peculiarly designed to hold up to view the great and distinctive truths of Christianity. Under the ancient dispensation, God, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was not known; certainly not acknowledged as such, by the great mass of the Jewish nation. Whatever intimations of this nature may be in the Old Testament, they were not generally noticed or recognized among the Jews. Under the new dispensation, God, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is acknowledged by its introductory ritual; which, at the same time, holds up the work of the Spirit in a peculiar manner. Under the old dispensation, the *expiatory* death of Christ was taught for the most part only by mere types and shadows, which seem, as to the great mass of the Jewish nation, to have been but imperfectly understood. Under the new dispensation, the eucharist presents this great truth in the light of noon-day. The leading features then of Christianity, as such, are portrayed in the two sacraments which Christ has appointed. Viewed in

this light, the importance of their significancy must be plain to every considerate observer.

Some other deductions may be made from the views that have been presented. All controversies about the kind or material of the bread employed, are evidently insignificant, and to no good purpose. And so is it about the wine. The bread originally employed was doubtless *unleavened* bread. The "fruit of the vine" was probably unfermented wine, such as was commonly used at the Jewish passover-table. But as in baptism we are not solicitous whether the water comes from a well, a spring, a brook, a river, or even the sea or the clouds, the significancy of the rite still remaining the same; so in the eucharist, the bread may be of any kind; the wine may be of any kind; the significancy does not depend on this. So far as significancy does depend on the symbol, it depends on two circumstances; the first, that there be nutrition in the elements, because the signification is, as these elements nourish the body and keep it alive, so does Christ nourish and preserve the spiritual believer, or rather his spiritual part; the second, that there be a *breaking* of the bread, and a *pouring out* of the wine, because this is adapted to indicate the breaking or wounding of Christ's body, and the shedding of his blood. The Romish custom of making the bread into wafers, which are not broken in presence of the communicants, diminishes or takes away the proper significancy of this part of the eucharist. Any substances which are *aliment*, and which are *broken* and *poured out* for use, would answer the purpose in a case of necessity, as to the external part of the sacrament. This we must believe from the very nature of Christianity. But it is doubtless better, to keep as near the original celebration, as to the matter or kind of elements, as may be convenient and ordinarily possible. Innovations are apt to distract the mind of the worshipper.

And now, after such a view of the subject, who can say with any reason, that our doctrine respecting the eucharist abridges its significance, its solemnity, and its importance? I am aware, that the advocates both for transubstantiation and consubstantiation have charged this upon the symbolic view of the sacramental bread and wine. But I must confess, for one, that I never yet have been able to feel the force of this objection. Are not the visible tokens and symbols of anything, provided they are well adapted, the most significant of all methods of inculcating simple truths? Is there no perceptible difference, between sitting down to the Lord's table, and breaking the bread and pouring out the

cup, as indicative of his broken body and his blood poured out, and merely hearing a historical description of his sufferings and death? Every time we approach the table of the Lord, and continue the rite which, we are certain, began at his death, we perceive with the eye, as well as hear with the ear, the certain indications of the great truths connected with our salvation. Does any person in this country feel no difference between an active celebration of the fourth of July, the birth day of our independence, in which he shares, and the mere reading of an account, that independence was declared on that day? Of all methods of teaching, symbol, when striking and significant and appropriate and demonstrative, is the most impressive and forcible. It is preaching the gospel to the eyes, and the ears, and the heart, at the same time.

Now what more do the advocates of the real and physical presence of Jesus' body and blood gain or secure? Nothing, at the best. Suppose his physical body and blood are there; they do not see them, they do not taste them; not one of the senses has any cognizance of them. This they themselves will confess. They must then merely imagine that Christ is present. And why cannot he, who regards the bread and wine as symbols, imagine the same thing? Why cannot he, led on by his symbols, look at a bleeding and dying Saviour? He can; he should; he must; or else he eats and drinks unworthily. And what can the advocates of the real presence do more?

Even if their *senses* could discern the body and blood of Christ, of what *spiritual* profit could the eating of human flesh and blood, as such, possibly be? It is out of all question about showing from Scripture, or from reason, that it would be any. The idea is incongruous; it is even revolting. Mystery may hang awe about it; and the proverb, *omne ignotum mirabile*, may be verified in this case. We may be even reproached, as we are indeed, for rejecting mystery here. But let us not be moved by this. The true mystery lies in the *things signified*, not in the symbols which indicate those things. These are plain, intelligible, palpable. Men, indeed, have rendered them mystical, inexplicable, and even think they have arrived at the summit of faith, when they can say: *Credo quia impossibile est*. But I know of no such faith demanded by the Scriptures. Faith—I repeat it, I would God it might sink deep into every Christian heart—*faith is believing what is revealed*, not believing what is unrevealed and impossible. There may be—there are—mysteries, many and great, which be-

long to things and truths connected intimately with the gospel. The fact that there are such mysteries is a thing altogether credible and intelligible. We understand that this is a fact, and we have good reasons for believing it. But no true gospel-mystery involves a contradiction, or an absurdity. In this very respect, it is distinguished from all *fictitious* mysteries.

But I must desist. I have executed my design; which was to show *what the eucharist is not*, and finally *what it is*.

Connected with this interesting subject, spring up a multitude of themes or questions. Who should come to the table of the Lord? What engagements and qualifications, on their part, does this imply? In what state of mind is this table to be approached? What are the best preparations for such a solemn act? In what way may we celebrate the Lord's Supper, so as best to profit by it? What exercises are to follow it? All these are *practical* and profitable matters of question. But my limits forbid me to touch them.

It would be interesting also to inquire, *how often* this rite is to be celebrated? What preparation for it churches, as well as individuals, should make? At what time in the day it is to be celebrated? What are the bonds of mutual communion and fellowship which are strengthened by it? What the implied engagements which communicants make to each other, as to spiritual watch and brotherly admonition? And finally, what are the certain evidences, that we have duly profited by approaching the table of the Lord, and partaking of the eucharistic elements?

Not one of these inquiries, however, can I now touch. I have executed my present purpose; and must leave to other occasions, or to other persons, the delightful and profitable task of discussing, illustrating, and enforcing, the truths connected with all these questions.

ARTICLE II.

LIFE OF ARISTOTLE.

Concluded from No. I. p. 84. By Edwards A. Park.

DISTURBANCE OF THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN ARISTOTLE
AND ALEXANDER.

It is a decree of heaven, that no man shall pass a life of uninterrupted prosperity, and that suffering shall often follow the highest of our joys. In the former part of our philosopher's residence at the Lyceum, he had attained the zenith of his fame; in the latter part of that residence he began to descend from the height of his popularity, and to experience the vicissitudes which are inseparable from the imperfect state of our race. His royal pupil, who had honored him as a father, became alienated from him; not indeed to so great a degree as some have pretended, but yet to a greater degree than suits the taste of one who, like the Stagirite, sees an unwonted beauty in the permanence of old friendships. He had lived for several years at a distance from his illustrious scholar, and the readers of his *Nicomachean Ethics* need not be told how strenuously he there insists on frequent intercourse, on living together and acting together, as the means of preserving mutual confidence. Had he continued to hold daily interviews with Alexander, he would probably have stifled the disaffection of the king, even if he had not altogether precluded its existence, by his wise exhibitions of faithfulness and love.

But instead of residing himself in the companionship of the monarch, he was represented there by his nephew Callisthenes. This young man was the son of Demotinus of Olynthus; was but little older than Alexander, and had been, as we have seen, a fellow-pupil, but never, as Seneca reports, a teacher of the king. He was an intimate friend of Theophrastus, and enjoyed in an uncommon degree the reverence of the good. He exhibited great seriousness and strictness of life; abhorred flattery, and loved to utter the truth in a plain, blunt way. He had never learned how to clothe a reprimand in the most inoffensive dress; he had a contempt for going circuitously at an object when he could reach the same in a straight line. He was therefore not precisely the man for a king's counsellor. A reprover must go round a throne rather than at it. In an especial manner was he unfit to become

a favorite of Alexander, who like himself was young, and needed therefore the advice of older men; who was flushed with unexampled victories, surrounded with a crowd of suitors, and unable, with all his inborn philosophy, to rise above the adulations that were lavished upon him.

At the first, Alexander treated his adviser and historian with deference. He was bound to him by the remembrance of their former union in the school and of their common teacher. But the flatteries which the king received were stealthily operating on his heart, too susceptible as it was to such an influence; operating to relax the severity of his self-discipline, and to alienate him from the counsels of stern men. The sycophants who clustered about him, and whom the historian had sharply rebuked, were eager to prejudice his mind against their obnoxious censor, and the king at length became impatient of those honest reproofs, which, the more he needed, so much the more he eschewed. But Callisthenes knew not how to temper his animadversions to the growing sensitiveness of Alexander. As he perceived the degenerating tendencies of his once hopeful friend, he redoubled the energy and bluntness of his reprimands. Aristotle was too shrewd an observer of men, not to have foreseen the jarings of his nephew's honesty with the susceptible spirit of one who loved not to be thwarted. He had lived too long at court, not to have learned how needful it was to intimate rather than to speak out, and to select soft words for hard things. He had therefore cautioned Callisthenes, not only to blend wisdom with his frankness, to divest his reproofs of all that was harsh and bitter, but also, in the words of Valerius Maximus, VII. 2: *ut cum rege aut rarissime aut quam jucundissime loqueretur*. When he heard from Ströbus a description of the style in which the historian had discoursed with the king, he said, "Callisthenes is indeed great and powerful in speech, but he has not common sense." The result of his nephew's caustic addresses he predicted¹ in the following quotation from the *Iliad*:

Ah me! such words, my son, foretell a speedy death!

Callisthenes himself was not ignorant of Alexander's growing aversion to him. But it may be said of him as of Kent, "he must speak truth: an they will take it, so; if not, he's plain." On one occasion he was called on, while at a banquet, to display his ora-

¹ Diogenes Laërt. *Opp. Om.* Arist. T. I. p. 6.

torical talents in a panegyric upon the Macedonians. This he did in the presence of Alexander, and elicited great approbation. He was then told by the king, that the excellence of his speech was owing not to his superior power, but to the goodness of his cause, and that, if he would exhibit the true measure of his talent, he should make an address against, rather than for the Macedonians. Callisthenes obeyed the summons, and surpassed his former effort. He inveighed against the countrymen of Alexander *con amore*. He ascribed their elevation, not to their own merits, but to the misfortunes of their adversaries. He stated that Alexander's father triumphed over the Greeks, not by manly power but by intrigue, by taking a sly advantage of their dissensions among themselves. He finished his harangue by quoting the following line from Homer,

When civil broils prevail, the vilest soar to fame !

By this sarcasm he enraged the Macedonians, and provoked the king to say, that the historian "gave in this case a specimen not of his eloquence, but of his malevolence." Callisthenes, perceiving that the vengeance of Alexander was aroused, left the banquet, but as he went out, he repeated two or three times a verse of the Iliad, in which he darkly intimates the catastrophe that awaited him.

We are aware that many ancient authors represent Callisthenes as a vain and conceited man, even as a flatterer of Alexander; and that some pretended fragments of his writing seem to favor such a representation. But these ostensible fragments of his works are, it is thought, the forgeries of his enemies, who desired to exhibit some valid reason for persecuting their reprover.

The charges which his maligners bring against him are irreconcilable with the fact, that he enjoyed in so high a degree the esteem of Theophrastus and Aristotle, and possessed so commanding an influence over the Macedonian army, as to become an object of fear even to Alexander the Great. These charges are irreconcilable with his demeanor, as it is portrayed by Plutarch and Arrian. He saw that death would be the consequence of his boldness in resisting the crowd of flatterers, who were daily accelerating the downward progress of the king. But he feared not to die, could he only save from ruin a mind which was formed for great virtues, or in want of them, for great vices. He struggled bravely against the degenerating process of his friend; for unless this process were checked in its incipient stages, it

would soon become irresistible. Therefore must he be censured not too severely, for overlooking the rules of prudence in his zeal to protect the virtue of one, who had bidden fair to accomplish as much in letters as in arms. He was too proud to restrain his indignation at the ceremonials of the Macedonian court, which required all who saluted the king to prostrate themselves in obeisance, as they would before a divinity. When asked by Hermolaüs, how a man might make himself the most renowned of his race, he replied: "By slaying him who is already most renowned." This was indeed an imprudent answer, and led to results which he ought to have foreseen and avoided. So when Philotas asked him, who were most highly honored by the Athenians, he replied, "Harmodius and Aristogiton, because they were tyrannicides;" and when Philotas queried whether a tyrannicide would be still protected in Greece, the reply was, "Athens is a place where the murderer of a despot will always find shelter." These and similar remarks were so reported to the king, as to excite a suspicion of treasonable designs on the part of his reprover. Agis, Lysimachus, Hagnon, Hephaestion, and above all Anaxarchus,¹ whom Callisthenes had irritated by cauterizing rebukes, were too desirous of elevating themselves upon the ruins of their rival, to neglect any opportunity of representing him as a foe, and as waiting to become an assassin of the monarch.

A fit opportunity at length arrived. The same Hermolaüs, who had received so suspicious an answer from Callisthenes, had been insulted by Alexander on the hunting-ground. He was a noble youth of Macedon, a page of the monarch, and was thus unfitted to brook the indignity which was laid upon him. He entered into a conspiracy with some of his fellow-pages, all of whom belonged to the Macedonian nobility, against the life of the king. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators apprehended. Some of them had been intimate with Callisthenes; Hermolaüs had been often seen in his society, Philotas had received from him a significant intimation about tyrannicide; and it was reported, though probably without proof, that he had told the leader in the conspiracy, "not to fear the couch of gold, for such a couch often holds a sick or wounded man." The occasion was too good to be lost. Callisthenes was taken into custody. The pages were put to the torture in the hope of eliciting some testimony against him. But no such testimony could be extorted from them. No

¹ See Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, for instances of the manner in which Anaxarchus was rebuked by Callisthenes.

valid evidence could be found of his participation in the crime. Yet Aristarchus and his fellow-sycophants would not rest, until this formidable obstacle to their selfish and sensual schemes was removed. They succeeded in embittering the mind of the king. In his first paroxysms of rage, he determined to send for Aristotle, and subject Callisthenes to trial in the philosopher's presence. But this purpose was abandoned in a cooler hour. Chares of Mytilene asserts, that Callisthenes was kept seven months in prison, for the purpose of conveying him at last to be tried before the Stagirite. After having been cruelly maimed, even his ears, nose, and lips having been cut off, he was kept in fetters, was carried from place to place as a prisoner with the army, and exhibited as an object of terror to all malcontents. He died in consequence either of the cruelties inflicted on him, for the purpose of extorting a confession of his guilt, or else, as Chares asserts, of a disease (phthiriasis) which he contracted in gaol, through the negligence of his keepers.¹ His death was regarded by the Macedonians as a disgrace to their monarch, and is said to have been afterwards lamented even by Alexander himself.

In a letter to Antipater, the mutual friend of the monarch and of Aristotle, Alexander writes, that the pages concerned in the conspiracy were, soon after their detection, stoned to death by the Macedonians; but that he himself would attend to the punishment of Callisthenes, *of those who had sent him on the expedition*, and of those who had given shelter to the conspirators. It has been supposed, with good reason, that allusion is here made to Aristotle, as a victim of future retribution; for it was he who recommended Callisthenes as the companion of Alexander. It is probable that the same sensualists who contrived to exasperate the king against the nephew, were also desirous of inflaming his resentment against the uncle. Their safety demanded the downfall of Aristotle. They even proposed, (if we may confide in Chrysostom's² statement), that he be put to death. It is natural to believe, that they found Alexander not so impervious as he should have been to their influence; that he was induced to associate the teacher with the obnoxious pupil, and to anticipate the displeasure of the former at the imprisonment of the latter. We know not how much of epistolary correspondence had been continued between Alexander and Aristotle, but it were not at all

¹ For several different but improbable narrations of the mode of his death, see Buhle's *Arist. Vit.* p. 98.

² *Orat.* LXIV.

singular if the most delicate insinuations of the sage, with regard to the king's apostasy from virtue, were received by his sovereign with sullenness and resentment; that the consciousness of having lost the relish for philosophical discipline and of deserving to be esteemed a god, had created an aversion in the hero to the rigid precepts of his old teacher. We may also well suppose, that Aristotle viewed with some indignation the disgrace which his relative had borne, as well as the increase of the king's vanity and wilfulness.

Still we cannot believe that there arose any settled enmity between these two individuals, or that they ever made any serious expression of mutual antipathy. The ebullition of Alexander's rage soon subsided. He did not send for Aristotle, nor punish him, as he had threatened to do. Many writers have stated, on the authority of Diogenes Laërtius,¹ that he made presents to Xenocrates, and flattered Anaxarchus (Anaximenes), for the purpose of awakening the jealousy of the Stagirite. But there is every reason to suppose, that such donations to Xenocrates would have gratified Aristotle, for the two philosophers were long-tryed friends;² and there is but little ground to surmise, that Alexander would have deemed it possible to afflict his old teacher, who was at Athens, by flattering Anaxarchus (Anaximenes), who was at that time with the king in Asia. The authority of Plutarch is adverse to the idea that Alexander, in his partial alienation from Aristotle, inflicted any evil upon him; and there is no worthy voucher for the statement of Buhle, that the philosopher lived in daily expectation of suffering, from his disaffected pupil, the same calamities that had befallen his nephew.—There is also good reason to think, that the philosopher never allowed his dissatisfaction with the king to assume the type of personal hatred. Indeed he had too much of a temporizing genius to cherish any great degree of unprofitable indignation. He was not born to be a martyr. He was made for dominion rather; and like all others of like destiny, he calculated the results before he ventured on a contest. The vulnerable heel of our Achilles was the prevalence of a shrewd insight into consequences, which precluded the noble expression of such feelings as every virtuous man must in-

¹ Opp. Omn. Arist. Ed. Buhle, T. I. p. 11.

² Antipater, the confidential favorite of Aristotle, made a similar present to Xenocrates, and honored him with distinguished marks of reverence, when he was sent as ambassador to Macedonia, in the Lamian war.

wardly entertain. His instructions to his nephew, with regard to the treatment of Alexander, were sagacious rather than high-souled. We cannot suppose, then, that when his nephew had disregarded these instructions, and incurred the penalty which Aristotle had predicted, his death would have awakened any sudden violence of feeling, in a man who was politic enough to suppress all dangerous emotions. It is possible that he may have heard of the threats which Alexander had uttered against him; his friend Antipater, to whom they were communicated, may or may not have apprized him of them; but no one who understands his character can suspect, that he would be induced by such menaces to retaliate evil upon their irritated author. He would probably regard them, as indeed they were, the kindlings of a youth,

That carries anger as the flint bears fire,
Who much enforced shows a hasty spark,
And straight is cold again.

REPORTED AGENCY OF ARISTOTLE IN THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

There are various representations of the part taken by the Stagirite in the alleged murder of his pupil. It is pretended by some, that Alexander was poisoned by Iollaus, the cup-bearer of the monarch, and the son of Aristotle's friend Antipater; by others, that he was poisoned by Cassander, an elder brother of Iollaus; by a third party, that Cassander, Philip, and Iollaus, three sons of Antipater, were the chief accomplices in the transaction. The father is reported to have instigated the murder, and Aristotle is accused by some of having been privy to it, and also of having recommended the materials for it. Vitruvius¹ thus describes the poison which was employed: "There is in Arcadia a region named Nonacris, in the mountains of which is a rock that distils the coldest water. This is called Stygian water, and it can be contained in no vessel either of iron, or silver, or gold. It evaporates at once, and is gone. It can be preserved in nothing except a mule's hoof."² This is said to have been conveyed from Antipater, by one, two, or three of his sons, into the province where Alexander was at that time, and to have been administered to the

¹ *De Architectura*, VIII. 3.

² A similar superstition with regard to this water exists at the present day. See Leake's *Travels in the Morea*, Vol. III. p. 165—9. Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor, is the first philosopher who has described the Stygian poison, and there is no evidence that Aristotle had ever heard of it.

king, whose death was the consequence. There are other writers who give a different description of the water used as a poison. The bones of Iollaus were disinterred and disgraced by the queen Olympias, some time after his death, for his participation in the regicide; and she likewise ordered a hundred Macedonians, who had been the friends of his father Antipater, to be slain in testimony of her aversion to the supposed principal in the crime. The author of the *Life of the ten Orators*, who is erroneously cited as Plutarch by Buhle,¹ says that Hyperides made a speech to the Athenians, not more than a year after Alexander's death, and proposed that Iollaus receive some public honor for this act, which had freed Athens from oppression. Later writers affirm, that the horn in which the poison had been preserved was deposited, and often seen, in the temple at Delphi. An epigram was also written in relation to it at an early day, and is still preserved in Brunck's *Analects*.² Five hundred years after the alleged tyrannicide, the emperor Caracalla, who had heard the suspicions expressed against the Stagirite, and who was ambitious of being thought to resemble Alexander, testified his admiration for the hero, by expelling all the followers of Aristotle from the city of Alexandria, and by causing their writings to be burned. This outrage of Caracalla was the means of fixing the stigma upon Aristotle, and of giving permanence to what had been before a mere floating rumor. "It cannot be proved," says Buhle, "that in this punishment of the Peripatetics, the emperor did any injustice to the founder of their sect." A cursory examination, however, will manifest the unrighteousness of fastening a charge upon Aristotle, which had been nothing better than a vague surmise until the fifth century after the death of all contemporary witnesses.

In the first place, our philosopher seems to have had no sufficient inducement to commit the alleged crime. We have already seen, that he was neither disappointed nor highly irritated by the murder of Callisthenes; yet this event has been assigned as the cause of his mortal offence. His enemies have said that he feared the execution of the threat contained in Alexander's letter to Antipater; but why, under the influence of such a fear, did he allow six years to intervene between the alarming epistle and the needed measures for self-defence? In this long interval, he had time to learn that the commination was but a word of the moment, and that the variable king had not only neglected to punish the uncle, but had even repented of his hostility to the nephew.

¹ Vit. Arist. p. 100.² T. III. 182.

On the one hand the king's revenge, if it had endured against the Stagirite, would have been wreaked upon him before the lapse of six years; and on the other hand, the dread of punishment, if it had been the ruling passion of Aristotle, would have instigated him to an earlier stratagem for relief. He had means enough for the removal of Alexander, which he would have employed at the announcement of the king's threats, if he had intended to employ them at all. Secondly, it is not to be believed, that so subtle a chemist as the Stagirite would have employed so violent and self-detecting a potion as the Stygian water, for a crime which demanded secrecy more than quickness of action. He would have been wise enough to select a poison, energetic indeed in its workings, but leaving behind it fewer discernible traces of itself. If the Stygian water were so deadly as is reported, it must also have been widely known, and thereby unfitted for the use of a secret murderer.

Thirdly, the whole description of the fatal ingredients is in the style of fable, rather than of fact, and the divers reporters of the crime vary so much in their narrations, as to be justly suspected of mistaking the tales of garrulous mischief-makers for well authenticated records. Fourthly, it seems incredible that if the Stagirite had been an accomplice in the regicide, he should not have been openly accused of his crime in his own day, or the days immediately following his own. His enemies resorted then to much more trivial accusations, and did not publicly avail themselves of this, until centuries after the pretended crime. Fifthly, it seems also improbable, that if he had been accessory to the death of Alexander, he should not thereby have propitiated the favor of the Anti-Macedonian party in Athens. Shortly after the regicide, he was compelled to leave the city, by the very persons whom this regicidal act had promised to deliver from bondage. He certainly was a man of more political tact than to hazard his safety with his own countrymen, and at the same time secure no favor from his country's enemies, by an exploit which favored the latter as much as it injured the former. He was too shrewd to have disgraced himself, while living, with two opposing parties, by a crime which must have been foreseen to disgrace him, when dead, with all parties.

But lastly, the evidence of the best historians militates decidedly with this imputation upon the character of our philosopher. It is true that Justin speaks of Alexander's death by poison, but he makes no mention of the Stagirite's agency in it. Curtius,

also, does not allude to Aristotle's coöperation, although he regards as probable the report of Antipater's activity in the crime. Pausanias, Diodorus of Sicily, and Vitruvius, relate the circumstances of the regicide, not as a fact but as a rumor, and do not implicate Aristotle in the deed, which they even do not assert was actually committed. The elder Pliny ascribes the death of Alexander partly to the influence of the Stagirite, and considers his participation in the homicide to be the reproach, which can never be effaced from his name. But such a testimony, given more than four hundred years after the imputed crime was committed, and by one who shows no signs of having minutely investigated the charge, is insufficient to secure our credence. We confide rather in the testimony of Arrian, who had examined the details of the transaction with the greatest fidelity. He had scrutinized the daily reports of the physicians, who attended Alexander during his last sickness, and had read the various narratives which had been written of the event. He rejects, as unworthy of all credit, the tale that Alexander was poisoned; still more, that Aristotle and Antipater were the homicides. He affirms that the hero died a natural death, after having surfeited himself at a feast. Plutarch avers the same, and assures us that he describes the conqueror's last days almost word for word as they were described in the diary of his attendant physicians. He relates that at the time of the monarch's decease, and for six years afterward, there was no suspicion of his having been poisoned, and that the circumstances of his death make any such surmise untenable. In consequence of the contentions among his generals, his corpse was neglected several days, it lay unembalmed in a hot and sultry climate, and yet showed no symptoms of any poisonous agency. In agreement with Plutarch and Arrian is the testimony of Seneca, Athenaeus, (who follows the work of Ephippus concerning Hephaestion's and Alexander's burial), Orosius, Cedrenus, and others. The rumor of the regicide probably arose from a desire of Olympias to blacken the memory of the regent Antipater, and the implication of Aristotle in the crime was perhaps suggested by his known intimacy with that celebrated regent, his known skill in chemical admixtures, and by the erroneous conjecture that a deadly feud had arisen between him and his monarch. The garrulity of his foes would easily form a connected tale from a few obscure intimations. It is remarkable that they could adduce no more tangible authority for their calumnies, than is found in the following passage of Plutarch,—“They men-

tion one Agnothemis, as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus." Pretended by whom? on what evidence? and how was Antigonus apprized of the fact? and above all who is Agnothemis?

DEPARTURE OF ARISTOTLE FROM ATHENS.

Alexander died in Babylon on the eleventh or thirteenth of June, 323 B. C. At his death was enkindled anew the spirit of liberty, which himself and Philip had attempted to smother among their tributary provinces. The descendants of the heroes of Marathon and Salamis arose, intent on regaining the freedom they had lost. Demosthenes and Hyperides stood forth as the leaders of the democratic party. Since the bloody days of Chæroneæ, these orators had lost no opportunity to inflame the resentment of the Athenians against their tyrants, and now when the Macedonian colossus had become, in the words of Demades, like a blinded Cyclops, the oppressed people were easily excited to resistance. They entered on the Lamian war with the spirit of a people conscious of being wronged and determined to obtain redress.

It were interesting to learn whether Demosthenes, at this time, exerted any influence against Aristotle directly. It is not improbable that he did so, for the philosopher had been intimate with the tyrants whom the orator abhorred.¹ But we can affirm nothing more. We only know that Aristotle was an early victim to the vengeance of the Anti-Macedonian party. While his royal protector lived, he was shielded against the assaults of his enemies both secret and avowed; but now that he was left defenceless, the envy and the revenge which had lain so long compressed burst forth with redoubled energy. It was difficult to obtain any valid accusations against him, and it is always unpleasant to persecute an antagonist without some ostensible reason. It was at length resolved to assail the philosopher on religious grounds, there being no prejudice so strong as that which results from theological differences. It was decided to employ, as the Stagirite's accuser, the hierophant Eurymedon; and for the purpose of adding more importance to the accusation, a respectable citizen of Athens, Demophilus by name, was associated with the complainant.

¹ It is an historical fact that one of the nephews of Demosthenes, named Demochares, was a calumniator of Aristotle and of Antipater. He wrote much against them.

Aristotle was cited to appear before the Areopagus. The charges preferred against him were, that he had manifested impiety (*ἀσεβεία*) in various ways; that he had, for example, written a paean to his friend Hermias, erected statues to him at Delphi, and written impious inscriptions upon them; that he had even presented offerings to him, as if he were a god. Another specification probably was, that in his writings or lectures he had impugned the popular faith, and in particular had taught, that prayers and sacrifices to heaven were of no avail.¹ "I never intended," says Aristotle in an Apology which he afterwards published, "to make an oblation to Hermias, as to a super-human being. I erected a monument to him as a man not as a god. I honored him with sepulchral rites, from a desire to perpetuate the remembrance of him."

But, as has been already remarked, Aristotle had not the character which disposes a man to martyrdom. He always developed at least one characteristic of the prudent man, who "foreseeth the evil and hideth himself." He was not willing, like Socrates, in reliance on the goodness of his cause, to await the uprising of the Athenians. He fled from their city to Chalcis, the capital of Euboea, and never obeyed the summons to appear before the Grecian court. "Perceiving," says Origen, "that he was to be prosecuted for irreligion, on account of certain dogmas of his philosophy, which the Athenians thought to be impious, the Stagirite instituted a school in Chalcis, having said in self-defence to his friends, Let us go from Athens, so that we may not give her citizens an occasion for perpetrating a second crime, like that which they committed against Socrates, and that they may not offer a second profanation to philosophy."²

In Chalcis the metaphysician was safe. This city remained under Macedonian influence, and is said to have been occupied by a Macedonian garrison. We have already noticed the conjecture, that some relatives of his mother still resided here, as it was the city of her ancestors. It was perhaps the nearest refuge to which he could flee with assurance of permanent safety. According to Apollodorus, he made his escape in Olympiad 114, 3, or the beginning of the year 322 B. C. Dionysius of Halicarnassus assigns the same period for the flight. But in the *Life of Epicurus* by Diogenes Laërtius, we find a report, that when this philosopher came from Samos to Athens in his eighteenth year, Xenocrates was in the Academy, and Aristotle was teaching at

¹ Vid. Origen. c. Celsum, L. I. et II.

² Orig. c. Cel. L. I.

Chalcis; that some time afterward, when Alexander had deceased, and Athens was in commotion, Epicurus left the city and returned to his father. According to this report, the Stagirite had fled from Athens before the death of his protector. It is thought by some, that he was thus early allured to Chalcis by its peculiar stillness and quiet. Strabo (X. § 11) says, that the city had a great reputation in peace as well as in war, so that it furnished agreeable and undisturbed employment to philosophers; and one proof of its attractiveness, he adds, is the fact that Aristotle established a school there. It is also surmised by some, that the philosopher must have foreseen the triumph of the Anti-Macedonian party at Athens, and his own perils in such an event; that he would have disliked to delay his escape, because the increasing violence of the Athenians might soon preclude the possibility of fleeing from their assaults; that above all, he must have chosen to dwell aloof from the disturbances of politics, and amid those who peacefully acknowledged the empire of his pupil. The foregoing opinion is thought to receive some sanction from a certain correspondence between the Stagirite and his friend Antipater. It appears that this king had expressed his surprise at Aristotle's change of location, which surprise he would not have felt if Alexander were already deceased. The Stagirite would fain mitigate this wonder, and wrote in reply that he forsook the Athenians in order to prevent their sinning a second time against philosophy. "Athens," he says, "is indeed a beautiful city, but she can be described in the words of Homer, as a place where,

Pear after pear grows old, fig after fig.

By these words Aristotle intended to aver, according to a comment of Eustathius upon them, that Athens was a spot where slanders grew rife; where one calumny succeeded another without intermission and without end; and that he chose to escape this *συνοπαρία* before it ripened into a deadlier evil. But all this conjectural evidence, and the indirect testimony found in Diogenes Laërtius are insufficient to refute the positive assertions of Apollodorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that Aristotle left Athens not until after the demise of Alexander.¹

In Chalcis Aristotle wrote, as is reported, a defence of himself against the accusations of the Athenians. Diogenes learned from Phavorinus the existence of such an apology, and Athenaeus read an exculpatory paper, of which he doubted the genuineness, but

¹ Vid. Opp. Om. Arist. Ed. Buhle, T. pp. 10 et 70.

which was ascribed to the Stagirite. This exculpatory document, however, produced no effect. An imputation of religious infidelity was sure of ruining its victim among a people whom Paul afterwards characterized, *κατὰ πάντα οἷς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*.

Unable to injure the person of their adversary, the Athenians became the more eager to sully his good name. They had formerly awarded him certain honors, which they now took away. According to the Latin biographer,¹ they had erected for him a statue on the Acropolis; Philip and Olympias had placed a statue for him somewhere, perhaps in Athens, and had raised near it images of themselves. Alexander, also, had caused a statue to be erected at Athens for the philosopher; and the same honor perhaps, some honor certainly, had been conferred on him at Delphi, by some of his friends. The probability is that all these works of art, which were intended to immortalize him, were now displaced or disfigured. Ælian preserves the fragment of an epistle from Aristotle to Antipater, in which this truly philosophical sufferer says, "As to the honor which was decreed to me at Delphi by the people, and which is now taken from me, I have only to say, that I would not allow myself to be unduly troubled, and yet am not altogether without feeling in regard to it." Ælian adds, that Aristotle manifests in this letter no vain ambition, and at the same time no unnatural and unbecoming apathy. For although man may easily bear the absence of honors which he has never possessed, he must yet endure some mortification when he is deprived of such as he has long enjoyed. The writings of our metaphysician, especially his Nichomachean Ethics, show that he was not bereft of human sensibilities with regard to popular applause, and yet that he did not live for such a volatile enjoyment. "Honor," he says, "is a reward of virtue, and is bestowed upon those who have done well." "A man of great mind is solicitous for honor, but by no means regards it as the highest good; authority and wealth are desirable for the sake of the applause that follows in their train; and they who receive but little renown have other advantages counterbalancing their want of this."²

Other expressions of Aristotle, like the foregoing, indicate that he was not indisposed to indulge a temperate love of glory; but the ambition which has often been ascribed to him was not a long-ling after the applauses of the day, so much as the homage of succeeding times. The ambition which he stimulated in Alexander

¹ Opp. Omn. Arist. T. I. p. 55 et 56.

² Ethic. Nicom. IV. 3. 16—18.

was of the loftier sort, and was intended to operate as a counterpoise to the prince's sensual inclinations. It has been often said, that in his attempt to instil a love of fame into the prince's breast, he nourished the same principle in his own. "*Caeterum*," says Lord Bacon,¹ "*de viro tam eximio certe, et ob acumen ingenii mirabili, Aristotele, crediderim facile, hanc ambitionem eum a discipulo suo accepisse, quem fortasse aemulatus est, ut, si ille omnes nationes, hic omnes opiniones subigeret, et monarchiam quandam in contemplationibus sibi conderet.*" While, then, we admit the justness of the charge, that our philosopher loved the praise of men, we see no evidence that he was more ambitious than persons of kindred genius usually are, and we must award him the credit of having endured reverses and reproaches with a patience worthy of the father of metaphysics.

DEATH OF ARISTOTLE.

After the Stagirite had withdrawn from Athens, and his pupil Theophrastus had taken charge of the Lyceum, he lived but a few months. He died in but little more than a year after the demise of Alexander, perhaps in August or September, 322. Aulus Gellius states, that Demosthenes poisoned himself shortly after the death of the Stagirite, and as we know from Plutarch that the orator died on the fourteenth of October, 322, we cannot greatly err in assigning the philosopher's death to one of the months immediately preceding. He was in his sixty-third year at the time of his decease. Suidas and Eumelus assert, that he died at the age of seventy,² but this is an obvious mistake. He certainly died too soon for the world, but soon enough to save himself from many a painful spectacle, especially from that of the Macedonian empire rent asunder, involved in bloody wars, and the family of his royal pupil exterminated.

Censorinus in his work, *De die natali*, ascribes the death of the Stagirite to an hereditary and chronic affection of the stomach, and says that "he endured this natural infirmity and his frequent sicknesses with great fortitude, and it is more wonderful that he could have prolonged his life sixty-three years, than that he did not live beyond that age." His constitution, naturally weak, was injured by his excess of study during his last years. Diogenes Laërtius reports that he endeavored to alleviate the disorder of his digestive organs by fomentations of warm oil, a remedy which

¹ De Dig. et Aug. Scient. L. III. 4.

² Opp. Om. Arist. T. I. pp. 7 et 78.

was often applied by the ancients for similar infirmities. The use of this oil-bath was the probable origin of a calumny propagated by Lycon the Pythagorean, that Aristotle was wont to bathe his whole body in a tub of warm oil for the sake of luxurious gratification, and that he afterwards sold the oil from motives of avarice. But the unparalleled labors which had exhausted his frail system, and predisposed it to that lethargy of the digestive apparatus, which is so common among sedentary men, are a sufficient commentary upon the charge of sensualism, and the whole structure of his mind refutes the charge of avarice, so often and gratuitously presented against this victim of popular envy.¹

It is related of our philosopher, that when in his last sickness he was visited by his physician, and advised to adopt certain rules of regimen without being apprized of the reasons for adopting those rules, he replied, "Treat me not as you would a herdsman or a day-laborer, but if you wish that I follow your prescriptions, show me that you have prescribed nothing without sufficient grounds." This anecdote is related by Caelius Rhodiginus, but without reference to the authority from which it was derived. It is characteristic of Aristotle.

There is another anecdote related by Aulus Gellius,² which is also in keeping with the peculiarities of our sage. When he had passed his sixty-second year, and his health had so far declined as to preclude all hope of his continuing long at the head of the Lyceum, he was entreated by his pupils to appoint his successor. There was but little doubt that either Theophrastus the Lesbian, or Menedemus,³ the Rhodian would be selected for this office, as these were the two most eminent of his scholars. But he chose to decline the immediate announcement of his will with regard to the rival candidates, and thus evade the occasion of fomenting a jealousy toward himself. He wished at the same time to be represented in the Lyceum by a fit successor. He therefore contrived to intimate his preference. When the pupils who had importuned him to make the selection were afterwards in his society, he complained of the wine which he usually drank, and re-

¹ For specimens of the scurrility of those writers, who attempt to fasten on Aristotle the charge of sensuality and avarice, see his biography by the Anonymous Author, and by Suidas, in *Opp. Om. Arist.* pp. 67, 78, 79.

² *Noct. Att.* XIII. 5.

³ Buhle in agreement with the majority of critics says, that Eudemus instead of Menedemus is the true name of this Rhodian.

requested them to procure for him a better article, "for instance, the Lesbian or the Rhodian." These were the most celebrated of wines in his day, as the Lesbian and the Rhodian philosophers were the most accomplished among his pupils. When the two choice liquors were presented him, he tasted the Rhodian first, and praised it highly. He then drank of the Lesbian and seemed to hesitate which to prefer. At length he decided; "Both are excellent wines, but the Lesbian is the pleasanter of the two." This is the only designation of a successor which he ever made, but this was sufficient. He was understood to intimate his preference of the Lesbian pupil, as the master of the Lyceum, and this bland as well as sound instructor was therefore unanimously acknowledged as the chief of the Peripatetics.

A good illustration of the garrulity of some ancient biographers and christian fathers,¹ is found in a rumor which they circulated that the Stagirite drowned himself in the Euripus, in consequence of his chagrin in not finding the causes of the ebb and flow in that celebrated strait. One of these writers recites the last words which the suicide uttered before making the fatal plunge: "*Quoniam Aristoteles Euripum non cepit, Aristotelem Euripus habeat.*"

The same love of the marvellous is indicated in another report which obtained some currency among the ancient historians; and was the more confidently related, as the distance of time increased between their day, and that of the sage whom they defamed. Suidas, Hesychius Milesius, and the anonymous biographer² assert, though with some apparent misgiving, that Aristotle died of poison at Chalcis.³ He is said to have seen the inefficacy of his attempt to rebut the charges of his antagonists, and to have dreaded the result of the trial to which he was summoned before the Areopagus, and therefore to have adopted the same expedient which Demosthenes employed a few days afterward. Hesychius Milesius asserts, that the sentence of the Areopagus had been already pronounced against him, and that, like Socrates, he was condemned to drink the hemlock. But the statements, which are

¹ Among the Fathers, who have circulated this report Justin Martyr is somewhat conspicuous. Gregory Nazianzen simply states, that the Stagirite lost his life by excessive application of mind to the phenomena of the Euripus, and perhaps this was the original narrative from which the subsequent tale was fabricated.

² Opp. Omn. Arist. T. I. pp. 78, 71, 61.

³ Diogenes Laërtius preserves an epigram which was written on Aristotle's death, and which ascribes the death to the hemlock. See Opp. Om. Ar. p. 9.

given with obvious distrust by these writers, will not stand in competition with the statements which are made with fuller confidence by, in other respects, more credible historians. Apollodorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus make no allusion to Aristotle's suicide. There seems, besides, to have been no sufficient motive for his courting death. We have seen that he was safe at Chalcis under Macedonian protection. Even if fears still lingered in his breast, he might easily have repaired to Antipater, his bosom friend, who became master of all Macedonia at the death of Alexander. The assertion of Buhle, that he had applied to this friend for aid, but was too late in his application, is not sustained by any ancient authority. Why then should the Stagirite have resorted to a needless crime, which, in his own view, was characterized by a peculiar enormity? "To die" he says,¹ "for the sake of escaping poverty, or disappointed love, or any other sorrow is not the part of a man, but rather of a coward. It is pusillanimity thus to flee from trouble." In another passage² he proves that no one has a right to take his own life; that existence is a boon of the highest worth, given by Heaven for the benefit of the good; that nothing but the remorse and disgust of vile men can prompt to suicide, and that the crime is rightly regarded as disgraceful to its perpetrator. They who have committed many foul deeds, and who are hated for their wickedness, are the persons who rid themselves of life.³ Now it is inconsistent with the character of our sage, to disgrace his final hour by a sin which he had stigmatized as peculiarly shameful, when he might have protected himself against his enemies by honorable means, when in fact he was already protected; and no wise man, as Aristotle certainly was, would have forgone his love of science and still more of life for the threats of powerless foes.

It were besides a very singular fact, if the venerable sage had drunk the poison, that none of the ancient biographers, except the three above-mentioned, should have accused him of it. The death of such a man at such a time would have been no secret, and his enemies would not have forbore to blazen abroad the suicide, which would have proved his want of heroism, consistency and virtue. The report can now be regarded only as an emanation of that envious spirit, which began to sully the good name of the youth, and would not satisfy itself without an effort to darken

¹ *Ethic. Nic.* III. cp. 7.² *Ethic. Nic.* V. 9, 11 § 1—4.³ *Ethic. Nic.* IX. cp. 4. § 8.

the closing moment of his old age, and withal dared not breathe out the last calumny until the lapse of centuries had lessened the ability to refute it.¹

The ancient historians are generally silent in relation to the mode and place of Aristotle's burial. The Latin biographer is the only one who alludes to it. His statement is, that the corpse was conveyed from Chalcis to Stagira, and interred in his native city; that an altar and a monument were there erected to his honor, that the site of the monument was distinguished as the place of the citizens' public councils, and that the name Aristoteleum was given to this their favorite resort.²

LAST WILL OF THE STAGIRITE.

Diogenes Laërtius, in his *Life of Aristotle*, p. 11, relates that he had seen the will of the philosopher. Athenæus also mentions such a document. The Latin biographer speaks of it as preserved in the writings of Ptolemy and Andronicus the Rhodian. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the will which is recorded by Diogenes Laërtius;³ but there is reason to suppose that this is a supplement or codicil to a more copious testament which is now lost, rather than the original testament itself. In this codicil no mention is made of Aristotle's library or manuscripts; but we know that these constituted the most valuable portion of his property, and that he bequeathed them to his pupil and successor Theophrastus. They would not, in all likelihood, have been overlooked in this testamentary document, had they not been disposed of in a previous one. It was, besides, the custom of the ancient philosophers, particularly of Aristotle's successors, to give especial prominence, in their last wills, to their literary property, which they commonly bequeathed to their favorite disciples.⁴ There is also, in the copy preserved by Diogenes Laërtius, internal evidence that it is a supplement to a will previously

¹ That Aristotle died a natural death is generally admitted by modern biographers, but Buhle, after lamenting the loss of a letter which Antipater wrote in relation to the event, says, *Nunc enim dubitationi semper erit obnoxium, utrum ipse sibi mortem consciverit, an morbo quodam sit extinctus*. *Arist. Vit.* p. 102.

² *Opp. Omn. Arist. T. I. p. 56.*

³ *Arist. Vit. p. 11—15.*

⁴ Straton left his library, but not his own manuscripts, to his successor. Lycon and other Peripatetics left their own productions, as well as their other books, to their disciples. So, too, Epicurus bequeathed his books and his garden to his successor, Hermarchus.

made, and that it was written on some sudden emergency, in the absence of Theophrastus and the other most intimate friends of the author. It is supposed to have been prepared at Chalcis, in the midst of the philosopher's persecutions, and while he was suffering from bodily disease. He may have apprehended a sudden and fatal termination of the malady; he is supposed by some to have anticipated death from his enemies. The following is a translation of the will:

"It will be well. In case that anything should happen,¹ Aristotle has made the following will. Antipater is to be the chief administrator of all that I leave behind me. Until Nicanor² shall come into possession of the estate, let Aristomenes, Timarchus, Hipparchus, Dioteles, Theophrastus, (if he be willing, and if it be practicable), have the care of my children and of Herpyllis, and of the things which I leave. When my daughter shall have arrived at maturity, let her be given in marriage to Nicanor. But in case that anything should happen to my daughter, (would that such a calamity may not take place, nor will it take place,) before she is married, or after her marriage, yet before she has borne children, in that event let Nicanor have the authority over my son and over all my affairs, and let him make such a disposition of them as shall be worthy of himself and of us. Let Nicanor take such care of my daughter³ and of my son Nicomachus,⁴ as their circumstances demand. Let him be to them as a father and a brother. But in case that anything should previously happen to Nicanor, (would that it may not so happen,) either before he has married my daughter, or after his marriage, yet before he has begotten children by her, in that event if he shall have left any commands (or made any arrangements) let them be regarded as obligatory. —But if Theophrastus desire to take my daughter for a wife, let him have the same authority as was previously committed to Ni-

¹ This is one of the phrases, which are supposed to indicate that Aristotle was in danger of speedy death, when he wrote the present codicil, the words *ἰάν δέ τι συμβαίῃ* conveying a general allusion to an afflictive catastrophe, and the first clause, *ἔσται μὲν εὖ*, being designed to express a degree of confidence that the danger would be averted.

² Nicanor, previously mentioned as the son of Aristotle's guardian, Proxenus, and the youth whom our philosopher educated and adopted as his own child.

³ His daughter Pythias, already referred to, the only child of his first wife.

⁴ The son of Herpyllis, whose education, as we have already seen, was well provided for. He is supposed to have been in his infancy at the time of his father's death.

canor. If, however, he do not desire it, then let the executors, taking counsel with Antipater, make such a disposition as shall seem to them advisable, with regard to the daughter and the son.¹

"And let the executors and Nicanor, mindful of me and of Herpyllis, (for she hath been faithful to me,) take charge of the other things and see that, if she desire to be married, such a husband be provided for her as shall not be unworthy of us. And let them give to her from the estate, in addition to what may have previously been granted to her,² a talent of silver³ and three maid-servants, if she desire them, and the young female attendant which she now has, and the boy Pyraeus. And if she desire to dwell in Chalcis, let her have those apartments of the house which are near the garden; if however she prefer to live in Stagira, let her have the paternal mansion. Whichsoever of these abodes may be selected by her,⁴ let the executors provide her with such furniture as shall be convenient for her, and such as shall seem to them appropriate. Let Nicanor also take charge of the boy Myrmex, that he be treated in the manner which becomes us, be restored to his friends and receive back the goods which we have obtained from him. Let Ambracis also be free, and let the executors give to her, when married, five hundred drachmae,⁵ and the young female attendant which she now has. Let them also give to Thales, in addition to the young handmaid which she has, and which was purchased, a thousand drachmae,⁶ and also another young handmaid. To Simon, also, besides the money which he has already received toward procuring a servant,⁷ let there be given money, or else let another servant be bought for him. Let Tycho be free when his daughter is married, Philo also, Olympius and his son. Let none of the boys be sold who have waited on me, but let them continue in the service of my

¹ No one who is acquainted with the views of the ancients with regard to matrimony, will consider such stipulations as at all singular or inconsistent with the spirit of the heathen religions.

² This phrase, *πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον δεδομένοις*, is one of the expressions which are supposed to indicate, that Aristotle had previously made a will, to which this is supplementary.

³ More than twelve hundred dollars.

⁴ Aristotle specifies Chalcis and Stagira as the dwelling-places of Herpyllis, because they were both free from the power of Athens, and were under the government of Macedon.

⁵ More than a hundred dollars.

⁶ More than two hundred dollars.

⁷ Another indication of a previous will, in which the slaves, as well as others, were provided for.

heirs; and when they have become of age, let them be manumitted according to their deserts. Let the executors, likewise, take care that the statues which were to be wrought by Gryllion, be finished and erected, one to the honor of Nicanor, one to the honor of Proxenus, (which I had resolved to raise,) and one in memory of the mother of Nicanor. Also let the statue, which has been made for Arimnestus,¹ be erected to his memory, so that there may be a monument of him, for he died childless. Also let the statue of my mother be consecrated to Ceres, at Nemea, or wherever it may be agreeable to raise it. In whatever place they make my grave, thither let the bones of Pythias be borne, and there let them be deposited, as she gave orders that they should be. And if Nicanor be saved,² let him erect at Stagira four stone images of animals, each four cubits in length, to the honor of Jupiter and Minerva, who are to be praised as the preservers of his life. This will fulfil the vow which I have made on his account."

ARISTOTLE'S LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS.

Diogenes Laërtius gives us the names³ of a large number of works, which our philosopher left behind him; but the titles by which these works are designated are so different from the titles now employed, that we cannot determine how many of the writings specified in the catalogue are preserved to our day. Another list is given by the Anonymous Biographer,⁴ but it is so much like that of Diogenes Laërtius that we can derive little benefit from it. A third catalogue is found only in the Arabic language, and is less extensive than the two preceding. Diogenes Laërtius informs us, that the number of lines in Aristotle's manuscripts is four hundred and forty-five thousand, two hundred and seventy. Now "if we calculate that one volume (*alphabet*) contains about ten thousand lines, there must have been about forty-four volumes (*alphabetes*) of Aristotle's works. But we possess what would amount to about ten (such) volumes of them, so that only about a fourth part of his writings has come down to us."⁵

¹ The only brother of Aristotle.

² It is supposed that Nicanor, at the time of Aristotle's making this will, was absent on some dangerous expedition, and hence it was provided that Theophrastus should take his place, *ἐάν δέ τι συμβαίῃ Νικανόρου*.

³ See Opp. Om. Arist. T. I. pp. 19—24.

⁴ Opp. Om. Arist. T. I. pp. 61—66.

⁵ Hegel's Werke, B. 14. S. 273. The name of Hegel should have been inserted.

With regard to the fate of his manuscripts a very singular report has been circulated, and until within a few years commonly believed. The Geography of Strabo is the earliest voucher for the tale; and as his narrative has awakened so much interest in the literary world, it deserves to be read in this connection. It is as follows.

"Neleus a native of Scepsis in the Troad, a son of the Socratic philosopher Coriscus, who had been a pupil both of Aristotle and of Theophrastus, inherited the library of Theophrastus.¹ This library was in part composed of that of Aristotle; for the latter bequeathed his books to Theophrastus, to whom he also left his school. He was the first, so far as I know, who collected books, and taught the kings of Egypt to gather together a library. Theophrastus bequeathed his library to Neleus, who took it over to Scepsis, and at length gave it to his heirs. These being uneducated men, kept the volumes under lock and key, and let them lie unattended to. When, however, the heirs saw the eagerness with which the Attalic kings, to whose jurisdiction Scepsis belonged, sought for books in order to fill up the library at Pergamos, the heirs hid these manuscripts under ground in a kind of cellar. A long time afterward, when the books had been much injured by damp and worms, they were sold for a large sum, by the representatives of Neleus's family, to Apellicon of Teius. Apellicon was an amateur of books rather than a philosopher;² therefore when he attempted to restore the defaced passages of the text, and to transcribe new copies of the manuscripts, he did not sup-

serted on page 40 in the first Number of the Review, instead of the name—Erdmann.

¹ Neleus is thought [conjectured] by Stahr, (*Aristotelia*, Theil II. S. 117) to have been a near relative of Theophrastus and a man of literary tastes. Melantes and Pancreon, (who are supposed to have been brothers of the philosopher,) inherited the greater part of Theophrastus's estate; and Neleus, who was a joint heir with them, inherited simply the literary property.

² Apellicon is said by Athenæus to have possessed an immense estate; and, before he plunged into politics, to have expended a vast amount of labor as well as of money in the collecting of books. He had the true antiquarian spirit, and was ever intent on purchasing the most rare and ancient manuscripts, the autographs. Nor was he always scrupulous with regard to the means which he employed for the gratification of his passion; but once went so far as to violate the sanctity of the Metroön, for the purpose of plundering the state archives, which were contained in that temple. He was detected in his crime, and obliged, through fear of death, to leave Athens for a season. He was an Athenian citizen, but a native of Teius. He was an intimate friend of Athenion, the Peripatetic. See Stahr's *Aristotelia*, Th. II. S. 117—119.

ply the deficiencies in a proper manner, but issued an edition full of mistakes. The more ancient of the Peripatetic philosophers, therefore, who immediately succeeded Theophrastus, as they had no books, except a very few and those chiefly of the exoteric class, were unable to philosophize systematically, and could write only in a rhetorical style.¹ The later Peripatetics, however, who flourished after these manuscripts were given to the public, philosophized better than they and more in the spirit of their master. Still they were obliged to give many conjectural explanations of his views, in consequence of the numerous imperfections of his manuscripts. Rome, also, contributed much to the increase of this evil. For immediately after the death of Apellicon, Sylla, having taken possession of Athens, carried away the library of that antiquarian. After it was brought hither (to Rome), it fell into the hands of Tyrannio,² the grammarian, a friend of the Aristotelian philosophy, who obtained permission of the librarian to make use of the manuscripts. Some booksellers also introduced new errors into them, for they employed unskillful transcribers, and did not rectify the copies by comparison with the originals. This is an evil which occurs both at Rome and Alexandria, in the case of other books, which are copied for the purpose of being sold.”³

The narrative of Plutarch is similar to that of Strabo, and was probably borrowed from a work, no longer extant, of the last named writer. Plutarch says: “Sylla took with him (from Athens) the library of Apellicon, the Teian, in which were most of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. There were not many persons, at that time, who had an accurate knowledge of these writings. It is said that when the books were brought to Rome, Tyrannio, the grammarian, prepared many of them for publication,

¹ Φιλοσοφεῖν πραγματικῶς, ἀλλὰ θύσει ληκνυδίην.

² Tyrannio was a son of Corymbus, a contemporary and teacher of Strabo, a scholar of the grammarian Hestiacus of Amisus, and afterwards a pupil of Dionysius of Rhodes. He was taken prisoner by Lucullus, and carried to Rome from Amisus, in the year 67 B. C. Here he acquired great fame by his extensive learning. He also amassed wealth; for Suidas says that he collected a library, which contained more than 30,000 volumes. He enjoyed the friendship of the most illustrious of the Roman scholars, especially of Atticus and Cicero. In the year 55 B. C. he resided in Cicero's house, and was teacher of the young Quintus Cicero. That he was held in high estimation by the Roman orator, is evident from Cic. Epist. ad Atticum. II. 6; IV. 4; X. 11, 6 et 2; ad Quint. Fratr. II. 4; III. 4. He died at an advanced age at Rome. See Stahr, Arist. Theil II. S. 122—129.

³ Strabo, XIII. p. 124 seq.

and that Andronicus the Rhodian,¹ obtaining copies from him, published them, and drew up the indexes which are now in use. The older Peripatetics, indeed, when considered by themselves, appear to have been well educated and learned men, but were not extensively nor thoroughly acquainted with the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus. The reason was, that the inheritance of Neleus the Scepsian, to whom Aristotle left his library, fell into the hands of men who were uneducated and indifferent to the cause of literature."²

There is another passage in Suidas, Vol. III. Art. *Σύλλας*, which resembles the account of Plutarch, and rests on the same evidence. It appears, then, that there is only one independent authority for this narrative, and that is the authority of Strabo. His statement, however, has been sufficient to secure a very general belief in the temporary loss and the serious mutilation of Aristotle's writings. The opinion has been current among the writers of the history of philosophy, first, that Aristotle himself did not publish any of his more important scientific treatises; secondly, that his successor Theophrastus retained exclusive possession of these works during his life, and neglected even at his death to give any of them to the public; thirdly, that Straton, the successor of Theophrastus, and indeed all the more ancient Peripatetic philosophers were destitute of every valuable scientific treatise, which either Aristotle or his most intimate friend and pupil had written; fourthly, that the writings of the Stagirite remained hidden and unknown about two hundred years; and fifthly, that when at last they were brought forth from the cellar, they were found defective and soiled; attempts were made to supply what was wanting and introduce regularity into the confused materials; parts of different works were united into one heterogeneous treatise, and one regular treatise was separated into several distinct works; mere sketches and rough draughts were published, as if they had been finished discussions; defaced passages in the manuscripts were restored and *lacunae* filled out on mere conjectural authority, and *that* the authority of ignorant men; the works of other authors were ascribed to Aristotle, and given to the public as his; even the commentaries, which his disciples had written on his philosophy, were mistaken for his own scientific dis-

¹ It is now generally admitted, that the edition which Andronicus issued of Aristotle's works, may have formed the basis of the editions which we possess at the present day.

² Plut. vit. Syllae. cap. XXVI.

cussions; and in fine, there was so much want of critical care and skill in the earliest editions of the Aristotelian works, that it is now difficult, if not impossible to decide, whether a great part of the productions ascribed to the Stagirite, belong of right to him, or to his imitators and exposuists, to Endennus for example, or to Phantias, or to Theophrastus.¹ Patritius, a scholar of the sixteenth century, went even so far as to suppose that scarcely any of the pretended Aristotelian works can be relied on as genuine; and others have contended that they are translations from the Arabic, the original Greek manuscripts having been irrecoverably lost.

But these are extreme views. The enterprise of recent German critics such as Brandis and Kopp, has exposed the unreasonableness of such a scepticism, and has proved, after extensive researches and with altogether unexpected clearness, that most of the works, which have come down to us as Aristotle's, are both genuine and authentic. These critics have shown, in the first place, that in all probability some of the Stagirite's philosophical writings were published during his life; that he had no motive for adopting so unusual a course as that of concealing his scientific discoveries; that his peculiar qualities of mind and heart would predispose him to be forward in making his researches known to the world; that the work which Cephisodorus issued against him is indicative, in various ways, of his having even at that early period given more than his Book of Proverbs to the world; that the letter of Alexander, in which he expresses his regret for the publication of the acroamatic treatises, proves that the philosopher had not acquired his extensive fame without the aid of his published works, esoteric as well as exoteric. The German critics have shown, in the second place, that Theophrastus's successors in the Lyceum, Straton, Praxiteles, Lycon, Ariston, Lyciscus, Praxiphanes, Hieronymus, Prytanis, Phormio, Critolaüs were not deprived of access to the writings of Aristotle; that Theophrastus would not have bequeathed the Stagirite's manuscripts to Neleus, rather than to Straton, if these manuscripts had not been transcribed, and thus made accessible to the Peripatetic school; that copies of them or perhaps some of the originals themselves were early deposited in the library of Alexandria. Athenaeus begins the first book of his *Deipnosophistae* with commendations on Laurentius, who "possessed a library

¹ See Buhle's Aufsätze in der Allgem. Encyc. Wissensch. und Kunste. v. Ersch und Gruber Th. V. S. 278—279, also Stahr's Arist. Th. II. S. 13—17, 33—35

exceeding in extent that of any other one who had gained a reputation as a book-collector, Polycrates the Samian, Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens, Euclid, Nicocrates of Cyprus, the kings of Pergamus too, and Euripides the poet, and Aristotle the philosopher, (and Theophrastus), and Neleus who possessed the books of these. All the books of Neleus were bought by my countryman, king Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, and were carried away by him, together with the books which he brought from Athens and from Rhodes, to the fair city of Alexandria."¹ Now it seems incredible, that when Ptolemy purchased the library which had formerly belonged to Aristotle, he did not also purchase some manuscripts of that philosopher, especially as the manuscripts were so important a part of ancient literature, and were in the possession of the owner of the library. If he did not purchase these writings of the Stagirite, the reason would seem to be, that copies of them were already in the library or could easily be procured. The interest which Ptolemy is said to have felt in the Aristotelian theories is inconsistent with the idea, that in his favorite project of collecting a library, he could have overlooked the manuscripts of the father of these theories. He is, moreover, reported by David the Armenian, to have possessed a great number (*πολλῶν χιλίων*) of these writings, and even to have published a book concerning them and their author. There are many incidental proofs left by the writers who preceded Apellicon and Tyrannio, that the Alexandrine library contained at that time, some at least of Aristotle's philosophical works. The proofs are still more numerous and more direct that his writings, in whatsoever way obtained, were actually read not merely by Peripatetics, but also by Academicians, Stoics, Epicureans, by philosophers of the Megaric sect, and also by authors who are not usually denominated philosophers, such as Aristophanes of Byzantium, Antigonus of Carystus, etc. It was a common opinion of writers who preceded Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that Demosthenes obtained his rhetorical skill from the study of Aristotle's treatise on Rhetoric; this opinion would not have been so prevalent, if the treatise of Aristotle had not been known to have been published by its author. Distinct traces not merely of his Rhetoric, but also of his Logic, Natural History, Metaphysics, Politics, Ethics and other works, are found in the writings of men who flourished before the reported exhumation at Scepsis, and who yet were familiar with these treatises. The most ancient commentaries on Aris-

¹ Deipnos. I. cp. 2. p. 3.

totle which are now extant, refer to commentaries still more ancient which are now lost, and from these we learn that certain questions were discussed in the time of Andronicus the Rhodian, which indicate that previously to his day, the more important works of Aristotle must have been not merely known but studied also, not indeed so assiduously studied as they should have been, nor as they were in after times, still much more so than critics have pretended.

There are also certain remarks made by Cicero, in reference to the Aristotelian system, which prove that he was familiar both with those treatises of the Stagirite which have been transmitted to us, and also with some which are no longer in existence. He speaks of Aristotle as "pouring forth a golden flood of language,"¹ but certainly no such criticism is applicable to the jejune and arid treatises which now remain of that philosopher. He gives us certain specimens of the Aristotelian diction, which are far more oratorical than we could have looked for, or can now find, in the works of the father of logic. This is one of the circumstances favoring the supposition, that Aristotle's writings, which did not belong to the regular series, were written in a popular style, were adapted not so much to the race, as to the contemporaries of their author, were not of such standard value and of such universal interest as to secure the continued attention of scientific men, and were therefore by degrees either forgotten or lost; while on the contrary, the most valuable of those treatises which did constitute his combined system, his consecutive philosophical series,² were composed in the concise, didactic method, best fitted for permanent remembrance, and easy transmission to posterity, were therefore looked upon as not only important for coming generations, but as even essential to the progress of science, and a necessary part of the history of mind, were prized as authoritative text-books, and of course were preserved with care. Not by any

¹ Veniet, flumen orationis aureum fundens, Aristoteles. Acad. Pr. II 38. See also De Fin. I. 5, where Torquatus notices the "ornaments of style" which are found in the writings of Plato, of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

² Among the numerous definitions that have been given of the terms *exoteric* and *esoteric*, as applied to Aristotle's writings, one is this, the *exoteric* are insulated distinct treatises, the *esoteric* are parts of a comprehensive system; the former are independent essays, the latter are discussions forming a portion of a consecutive series; the former may be understood by themselves alone, the latter only in connection with the whole of which they are a part; hence the former may easily be supposed to be more popular, less fundamental than the latter, and consequently more liable to be lost from the libraries of the learned.

means that they are immaculate, but they are in such a state of preservation, as to give us an adequate idea of the Aristotelian philosophy. "There are many of the Stagirite's works," says Hegel,¹ "some of his principal treatises, which may be considered as whole and uninjured; there are others which may be looked upon as here and there mutilated, or not well arranged, but yet, such defects do not injure the main part of these manuscripts so much as would at first appear. We possess enough of his writings to be able to form a definite idea of his philosophical system, of its great comprehensive plan and even of much of its detail."

Meanwhile, the results of German criticism in favor of the genuineness of Aristotle's works, are not entirely in conflict with the narrations of Strabo, and of those who have repeated his statements. It may be readily admitted, in coincidence with his authority, that Neleus inherited from Theophrastus some of Aristotle's unpublished manuscripts, that these manuscripts were the rude sketches, the first outlines of works which were never intended to be published, or which had been already published in another and more perfect form, that they were at length sold as autographs to a literary *dilettante*, who placed as high a value upon the disconnected scribblings, the note-books, the common-places, the scattered hints, the half-finished plans and incipient draughts which had been left by the philosopher, as upon the finished treatises which had already been published, and the contents of which he might or might not have known. These imperfect skeletons of thought were filled out by Apellicon, *ὡς ἐν*, as Strabo affirms; and the editions published from these private scrawls were *ἀμαρταδῶν πλήρη*. Nor is it in any degree improbable, that when the editions of Apellicon were re-examined by Tyrannio and Andronicus the Rhodian, they were compared unskillfully with the more authentic works of Aristotle, that paragraphs were inconsiderately transferred from the fragmentary edition of Apellicon to the editions that had been previously in vogue, and *vice versa*; that hence a degree of confusion was introduced into our present copies; that there are so many redundancies in one part of a treatise and deficiencies in another part; that some of the Stagirite's works appear to be fragmentary, and others full and finished. Thus may the narrative of Strabo have been founded on a fact, and, like so many statements of ancient historians, it may be a mere exaggeration of the truth.

¹ Werke, Band 14. S. 273.

The question with regard to the genuineness of Aristotle's pretended works, and the state in which they are preserved, is discussed in the following works. Franciscus Patritius, *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, T. I. Lib. IV. Renat. Rapin, *Comparison de Platon et d'Aristote*. ed. 2. 1686. Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire histor. et crit.*, art. *Tyrannion et Andronique*. J. A. Fabricius, *Bib. Græca*. Tom. III. Lib. III. cp. 5. J. Brucker, *Otium Vindelic.* pp. 80 seq., et *Historia crit. phil.* Tom. I. p. 799. C. G. Heyne, *Opuscula Academ.* V. I. pp. 126 seq. J. G. Buhle, *Pref. ad edit. Opp. Arist.* Tom. I. pp. xvii, xviii, et *Allgem. Encyc.* v. Ersch u. Gruber, *Art. Aristoteles*. F. N. Titze, *De Aristotelis Operum serie et distinctione liber singularis* pp. 5 seq. J. G. Schneider *Epimetr.* II. et III. vor seiner Ausgabe der Aristotelischen *Historia de Animalibus*. Tom. I. Chr. A. Brandis, *Ueber die Schicksale der Aristotelischen Schriften und einige Kriterien ihrer Aechtheit*, im *Rhein. Mus.* I. 3. Kopp, *Nachtrag zu der vorgenannten Untersuchung*, in *Rhein. Mus.* III. 1. Stahr, *Aristotelia*, Theil. II. S. 5—172. *Histories of Philosophy* by Hegel, Ritter, et al.

ARTICLE III.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF MONASTICISM;—FROM THE ORIGINAL SOURCES.

By Rev. Ralph Emerson, D. D., Prof. of Ecclesiastical History in the Theol. Sem. Andover.

AFTER some general statements and remarks respecting monasticism, the history of its rise in the christian church will be presented in the form of translations from the most authentic sources. The pièces presented will consist chiefly of biographical notices of some of the earliest and most noted monks.

It may well be supposed no easy thing for us of this age and in this country, to form a just estimate or even a very definite conception of monasticism, from the ordinary helps we enjoy. The chief object of my remarks, and indeed of the whole account to be given, will be to aid in the formation of such an estimate, especially in regard to its earliest period in the church.—A full history of the institution down to the present time, would require many volumes.

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF MONASTICISM.

Of all the strange exhibitions which human nature has presented to the world, that of monasticism is the most multiform and the most grotesque;—a Simeon Stylites, standing on his lonely pillar, day and night, sixty feet high in the open air;—a saint Antony, immured in his seclusion without being seen by man for twenty years, engaged in imaginary conflicts with devils! Accordingly, monkery has been the object of ridicule and scorn to the whole Protestant world.—This is one aspect. But it has another; and one which is far from being so contemptible.

Of all the baleful institutions that have shaken the world, monasticism, in its insidious and all-pervading influences, has been one of the most appalling as well as mysterious. The power of an Alexander the Great, in moulding the destinies of man, has been nothing compared with that of the old recluse of the desert, the first founder of monastic institutions. If “lying wonders,” whereby the whole of Christendom was deceived for thirteen centuries, and most of it is still led captive at the will and pleasure of the popedom, are no trifle, then is monasticism no object of unmingled contempt. And if the man of sin himself is as much to be dreaded as he is to be abhorred, so likewise is the chief source of that invisibly permeating influence which gradually prepared the nations to bow their necks and even their consciences to his sway. For, without a belief in the continuance of miracles, wrought chiefly by the monks, and without that spirit which a belief in continued miracles inspires and which was fostered in all ways by the monks, what could sacerdotal usurpation have achieved? And without the subsequent aid, afforded more directly and in various ways by the ever-changing and multiplying orders of the monks, how could the pretensions of popery have been so increased and sustained?

Nor, again, when *personally* considered, can those first eremites justly be regarded as objects of unmingled contempt and ridicule. Conscience, however misguided or darkened, can never be despised by a reflecting mind. Nor can any man be despised for following sincerely the dictates of his conscience. Much as we may pity his ignorance or the waywardness of his judgment, we cannot but respect his moral integrity. And when his mistakes become the most grievous and likewise even ludicrous, if at the same time they lead to self-sacrifice, we cannot but admire the

moral fortitude, whatever we may think of the sagacity or wisdom of the man. The sublime and the ridiculous are blended in the same person; and we revere the devotee, while we pity or despise the theorist.

Such were the early recluses. Perfection in holy living, was their aim;—a grand and noble aim. They mistook, indeed, most lamentably in regard to the means. But it was a mistake of the head rather than of the heart. Or if selfishness was the foundation-motive, and therefore a self-righteousness the only product, it was at least a selfishness that reached beyond the grave. It was no silken couch on which they sought to recline. Toils, vigils, fastings, maceration, all kinds of bodily mortifications, together with unceasing prayers, were the means by which these ancient perfectionists were to strive for the immortal crown. And, whatever may be said of later monkish life, no men ever followed the word with the deed, the theory with the practice, more rigorously than did these lean, unshorn, unwashed eremites. As they stole forth in their solitary rambles in the desert, or flit with winged speed, on some errand of love to a distant brother, as Antony in going to the cave of the dying Paulus, well might they have been mistaken for the very demons they came there to vanquish.

Nor was it human praise that they sought. The world of men they wished never to see nor even to hear of again, except in regard to the triumphs of the gospel over Satan's kingdom. Multitudes of them lived and died no man knew where.

Nor were their spiritual aims so perfectly confined to individual growth in grace, as has often been supposed. Though they fled from the world, they still cared for it, and remembered it in their prayers. Nor was this all, as their vocation was regarded by themselves. It is a popular but false impression, that they fled from the world in order to escape from its temptations. Not they, —at least not all of them. Such men as they, flee? As well might you speak of Bonaparte's fleeing when he went, with his desperadoes of the revolution, to vanquish the Mamelukes in that same Egypt. No: they went to the desert to fight and vanquish the devils in this their last retreat in the dry places where, as was supposed, they were seeking rest when driven from the abodes of men by the spreading Christianity. And hence they ever called themselves, by way of eminence, the Lord's soldiers. And hence, too, it was, that they spoke of the devils as crying out against even their injustice in invading them in their own dominion.

No: these men were not nature's imbeciles. Their intrepid daring, for instance, in exposing themselves alone and unarmed to the assaults of the wild beasts of the desert, as will be seen in the case of Antony, was such as of itself to command the profoundest respect from the roving bands of Saracens. They had at least courage and self-denial and iron perseverance, if nothing else. Would that these attributes, then so peculiarly needful to the missionary who should bear the cross into the abodes of barbarous nations, had been guided by a better wisdom. Would that the Antonies and Pauluses, instead of mistaking the track of the cast-out devils, had gone with the pure gospel to that moral desert, the abodes of the Goths and Vandals and the more savage Huns, who were so soon to overrun, like demons, the fair face of christianized Europe; or to the haunts of those Saracens who were ere long to drive Christianity from Asia and Africa. Who can imagine the altered and blessed results, had the science of holy living been better understood, and consequently the yet rushing tide of christian heroism, in the third and fourth centuries, been turned back into the apostolic but now arid channels of missionary enterprise.

But so, in the counsels of heaven, was it not to be. And well, perhaps, at least for us at this day, that it was not. For, from the very nature of man and of the divine government on earth, where man is left to try all his inventions, the age of monasticism must, in all probability, one day have come. And had it not come when it did, we might now have been dreaming in the depth of its midnight. We may be grateful, then, as well as solemn, while contemplating the mistakes and consequent gloom of the past, and and may thus become the more forbearing in the sweeping judgments we are apt to form of those who, with no bad intentions, and in an age of but little light and less experience, were left to lead the way in untried paths which have since conducted to results so appalling and unforeseen.

And I may here further add, that this charitable view of the original authors of monasticism, so far as the facts will warrant it, instead of throwing us off our guard against the recurrence of a like evil, is absolutely necessary in order to prepare us the most vigilantly and effectually to anticipate and withstand its approach. Few things can be so perilous to the church as a general belief that no very bad measure was ever introduced by good men, or with a great and good purpose. Then will they look at the character of the men and at the object proposed, instead of

scrutinizing the means by which it is to be effected ; and the work is done before its character is suspected. Nearly all the bad institutions in the church—Jesuitism among the rest—have been introduced by apparently good men, and for a professedly good purpose. And notwithstanding all the baleful results of monkery, and all our present light, there are individuals of apparent piety, in our Protestant denomination, who are at this moment commending a return to monastic institutions.

And there is yet one more aspect in which it is needful to view the first eremites, if we would form a just estimate of their character. Iron men as they were, and “soldiers” as they called themselves, they were yet far from assuming a belligerent attitude towards their fellow mortals. Exactly the contrary was the fact. Forbearance, gentleness, and meekness, even towards enemies, was their constant aim. To use their own language, they warred upon their knees. If smitten on the one cheek, they turned the other. Thus strictly and literally did they interpret the ethical precepts of the gospel. Unlike their turbulent successors, they were, in a word, genuine non-resistants. They would not so much as harm the brute creation ; and gloried, in return, that even the wild beasts of the field were at peace with them.

Such are some of the more important aspects of primitive monasticism in the church, or rather of the first eremites, as their portrait is delineated by their friends and contemporaries. The difference between that and the picture often and justly drawn of the more modern institution, may better be judged of when the reader shall have inspected for himself the ancient portrait.

REASONS FOR PRESENTING THE ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES.

Since their scandalous offspring have been so long and so widely known, and since, too, their own character has been exhibited almost exclusively in its absurd and fantastic attitudes, it is but an act of common justice to those strange men of old, to suffer some one or two of their friendly contemporaries to come forth from the cerements of the dead languages, and tell their story to the modern English world, just as they understood it at the time. None, indeed, but enlightened and honest, truth-knowing as well as truth-telling men, should be unloosed. Or if a Cassian,—the father of Semipelagianism if not also the fabricator of some of the strange stories he tells of the eremites,—be suffered to speak at all, he must be cross-questioned most sternly. But against such

men as Athanasius and Jerome, each the most able and learned ecclesiastic of his age, and of sound principles and piety, what objection can be brought that will not lie against all ancient but uninspired antiquity?

True enough, we must reject much which they tell us, especially in regard to monkish miracles, as utterly incredible. But they tell nothing which they did not themselves believe. And to know what such men could believe and solemnly relate, and what was then so universally believed, is to know something to good purpose in regard to the character of the age, and the state of the church, and the influence which these monks were exercising on the church, spell-binding her absolutely, in the chains of superstition, to be delivered over in bondage to formalism and priestcraft. Emanating from such men, these biographies give us a view of the spirit of the age, in some of its most important features, which we cannot elsewhere gain. In this view, as has well been remarked, I believe by Isaac Taylor, it matters little how much of truth or of falsehood there may be in the recorded marvels. The important circumstance is, that such falsehoods could then be so extensively circulated and believed.

For the purpose just stated, a mere summary of the facts, would be to but little purpose. We must hear the venerable theologian Athanasius tell the stories himself, if we would know how he and his age regarded them. It would have been a much easier task to give a statement of the facts in one's own way, if that would have answered the purpose, than to have toiled for the exact import of every Greek sentence, and then to have sought for some decent English in which to clothe it.

Many may also like to have in their possession so extensive an account of ecclesiastical miracles, from the most accredited sources, that they may be able the more intelligibly to form their opinions respecting such miracles when compared with those recorded in Scripture. One striking difference which, as I may remark in passing, will be perceived in the two cases, is this, that the monkish miracles were seldom if ever witnessed by those who record them. Another difference very generally manifest, is in the nature, the occasion, or the object of the miracle. And in order to judge of such differences intelligibly, one must have before him the full account as given by the original writers.

One thing in the ancient eremites themselves, in regard to their miraculous powers, is rather remarkable, and different from what we might have supposed. Instead of boasting of this power,

they speak of it as comparatively a small thing, and seem never desirous to increase their own fame by these wonders. They also are careful to attribute all the power and glory to Christ. All this, however, is in good keeping with what has before been remarked in regard to their deep and sincere renunciation of the world and all its glory. It is also one among a thousand proofs of their ever watchful solicitude to follow Scripture examples and Scripture precepts. Casting out devils was their more common achievement in this way, when among men; but they took good care not to rejoice that the devils were made subject unto them.

But how came such men to think that they wrought miracles, if they did not work them? And if they knew they did not work them, how came they to put forth such assertions? Were they lunatics? or were they liars? Or, if they were neither, and made no such pretences, how came such a multitude of marvellous deeds to be told of them? and so told, that an Athanasius and a Jerome, and all the world should believe them? Or, finally, on the other hand, were a portion of these miracles really wrought? and the rest, partly pious frauds, and partly mistakes and unintentional exaggerations, committed in an ignorant and credulous age?—These are grave questions for the philosopher, the theologian, and the student of history. And it is partly for the purpose of increasing the means for deciding such questions, that I have been induced to bring forward these original documents.

I have no room here for the discussion of these questions. And if I had, it would still be better to postpone the discussion till the reader should be in possession of the detailed accounts. I will here only remark, that even many protestant historians suppose the power of miracles to have continued in the church, in some degree, for a number of centuries—Mosheim, for two or three centuries; and Milner, for five or six. The Catholics suppose the power still to exist with them, and are, every year or two, blazing abroad their new wonders. And for us simply to reply to their pretences, or to the assertions of the early fathers, that “the age of miracles is past,” is only a begging of the question. Substantial proof that it *is* or that it *is not* passed, is the thing to be sought.

THE UNHAPPY CONTENTS OF THESE DOCUMENTS, NO GOOD REASON
FOR WITHHOLDING THEM, BUT THE CONTRARY.

Most protestants have been willing enough that the later abominations of monasticism should be fully disclosed; and the more

willing, because the disgrace falls more exclusively on the papal church. But some have been filled with sorrow, and others who profess to be protestants have been filled with indignation, at the charges which have been recently and widely circulated against the earlier character of the church as tinged with monastic superstition. They seem disposed, not only to deny such charges as Taylor has adduced, and as Daillé had adduced long before him, but also to blame the mention of such things, even if true.

It is not my present object simply to justify the publication of the documents on which these charges are founded, and thus give all an opportunity of testing their validity; but I wish also to indicate the grounds on which the full presentation of such facts becomes a duty. The man who adduces them, instead of being shame-stricken or conscience-stricken for circulating scandalous truths about good men and about the church in early days, is to be commended. It is not slander, nor does it imply the spirit of slander, as a knowledge of the facts is needful to the safety of this same church, especially at such a period as the present. They are grave and weighty matters in her history, which were prolific in their baleful results to succeeding ages, and are now fruitful in their lessons of admonition to our own and coming generations.

But these documents contain much that is not true: 'And what,' some objector may exclaim, 'what has veritable history to do with such monstrous falsehoods as we here find?' Just as much, it may be replied, as a court of justice has to do with injustice: and for much the same reasons. It is that men may cease from lying, as they should cease from crime; or, at all events, that the innocent may be shielded from their bad consequences. Indeed, in a world where men go astray as soon as they are born, speaking lies, so far is history from having nothing to do with the lies that have been uttered, that there can be no good history which does not expose some of the worst of them. It is a prime office of the faithful historian to perform this self-denying task. And the fact that deadly falsehoods were circulated in the church by some men and believed by multitudes, is itself a most important historic truth; and to suppress such a truth, instead of being a merit, is a fault which should rather crimson the cheek and set on fire the conscience of a modest and honest historian. It is itself but a tacit repetition of the crime of pious frauds which so deeply stained, not only heathen morality, but the early, though not the primitive character of the church.

‘But will not the exposure of these frauds mar the fair fame of that holy mother church we all so much revere?’ Perhaps it will. And if so, then another *perhaps* is deserving of at least as much regard:—perhaps her too fair fame not only deserves to be marred, if the *whole* truth will mar it, but it is even absolutely necessary it should be exposed, in order to preserve her incautious daughters, who are glorying in an ancestral merit which their mother earned for them, from falling into the very errors she was left to commit; and thus falling, to plunge their own posterity back into the abyss of entailed woes from which they have so recently been rescued, and amid which three fourths of the sisterhood are still groaning. The signs of the times are but too ominous, in regard to this matter of monasticism, as well as other papal sins and evils.

‘But can it be a duty to lay bare the sins and follies of those ancient worthies, that holy generation of Nicene fathers who had just come out of great tribulation, where they had counted their lives not dear unto themselves, and of whom the world was not worthy? Can it be right and a christian duty?’ Honored forever, with grateful hearts, be every virtue they so nobly displayed. But God did not so reason in regard to the sins of much greater and more ancient worthies than they. Nor did he suffer his prophet Nathan so to reason, even in regard to the man after his own heart. “Thou,” said God to the good but erring king, whose fair fame was more precious to a whole nation, and to the whole church to the end of time, than can be that of a saint Antony or an Athanasius or a Jerome,—“thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun.” And accordingly God did inflict the most public and mortifying disgrace upon him; and then ordered both the crime and the punishment to be placed on the sacred records to be known and read of all men, as a solemn warning, to the end of time. And with the same unsparing but far-reaching wisdom, is the whole of sacred history penned. Not a Noah, nor a Moses, nor a Job, is spared; not a James, a Peter, or a beloved John. And shall we think to be wiser than God? or more merciful to his servants than he? God’s mercy does not exhaust itself on the repenting individual. He has compassion also on coming generations, and warns them by the recorded crimes and punishments of their predecessors. And it was under his wise and kind providence towards us and others, that these revered fathers in the church rose up, one after another, and in their blind though over-ruled zeal, spontaneously recorded as well

as promoted the most deadly errors of their times. And why, when those records have now done nearly all the hurt they can in the church, and God's set time appears to have come for their doing the designed good to us on whom the ends of the world are come, why should we suicidally blot the preserved records or keep them hid from the church's eye, as the Romanists would the Scriptures, among the arcana of the dead languages? Why not as soon blot the affair of Uriah from the sacred roll?

This shortsighted and worldly policy, of late years so prevalent among the incautious protestant churches, is in truth the very policy of Romanism. The Romanists plead, that the full and fearless disclosures of the crimes and follies of good men, in the Bible, will be perilous to the virtue of the people, and will disparage religion itself in popular estimation. And so they conceal the good book. And thus protestants fear that the uninspired disclosures of later crimes and follies in the church, may have a like effect. Such men as the excellent Milner, one age ago, (as in his otherwise admirable Church History), knew not for what a crisis they were preparing the church by suppressing or gilding over the more revolting features of her early history. Satan himself could not have prompted such men to do him so great a service in any other way. He is not only the father of lies, but the greatest suppresser of a knowledge of those lies, when they come to be detected as lies. And for this purpose, he comes to good men, in the guise of an angel of light, and as the greatest friend to the church, and makes them his ready and devoted tools in a cause seemingly so charitable towards man and loyal towards God. And then, if we suppose him to possess the power, what better thing for his cause could the enemy of the church do, than just bid her present advocates to look at her early state as well nigh immaculate, and fearlessly to follow in her perilous steps? At all events, we hear much of this kind of counsel, in these days, from whatever source it may come.

MONASTICISM AMONG HEATHEN NATIONS, AND MONASTIC TENDENCIES IN HUMAN NATURE.

It may be well here to remark, in vindication of our common faith, that Christianity is not to be blamed as the sole author of so pernicious an invention as that of monasticism. Indeed, she is not the *inventor* of it at all. In one shape or another, it had existed from time immemorial, both among Jews and Gentiles. At

the period of the christian era, the Essenes, a Jewish sect scattered throughout Syria, Egypt, and the surrounding regions, was essentially ascetic. And more decidedly monkish still were the class called Therapeutae, and which are supposed by some as only a branch of the Essenes, and by others as a separate sect, and by others still as a class of Gentile philosophers. Be this as it may, their principles and practices for the attainment of moral perfection, were such, that Eusebius regarded them as christian monks, and supposed them to have been established in Egypt by saint Mark; and many Catholic writers have accordingly endeavored to trace christian monasticism back to the apostolic age.¹

In heathen nations, various kinds of monastic institutions and practices have been traced from periods of remote antiquity, as well among the Druids of the West as among the Brahmins of the East. See Sharon Turner's account of the Druids in his *History of England*. This spirit was peculiarly fostered by the oriental and Pythagorean philosophy. And so greatly did these institutions come to resemble those of the Catholics, in Japan and elsewhere, that the Jesuits found them, in the seventeenth century, an admirable preparative to the spread of their own corrupt system of christian formalism.—Mohammedism also has its ascetics.

To the influence of this philosophy and this spirit, pervading as it did the nations where Christianity first spread, is to be attributed the origin of monasticism in the church, and not to anything inherent in the christian system, which most strongly contrasts with other systems by its social, practical, and common-sense character. So far, indeed, is Christianity from being the mother of monasticism, that it is her very nature and one of the grand objects of her mission, to sweep it from the earth. She found the world full of this element—too full, in fact, for her at first to overcome, or even to withstand. And so she at length became pervaded and well nigh overcome by it.

And what greatly increased this heavy task on Christianity, and finally bowed her in bondage to it for ages, is this, that monasticism has its lodgment in the human heart. The tendencies towards it, especially in the more religiously disposed, are often many and strong. It is a self-righteous system. And unsubdued man would rather give his first-born for his transgression, or his body to be burned, than bow his pride. Hence he spontaneously seeks out ascetic devices for propitiation, when he finds not those

¹ See Euseb. Ec. Hist. II. 17. Mosheim, *Com. de Reb. Chr.* p. 55 seq. Also his *Ec. Hist.* I. p. 43, of Murdock's first edition.

to his liking already devised. There is also ever enough around us to disgust and revolt the sensitive heart; and in such a heart, poetic musings, if not also a native love for solitude, do but increase the propensity to exclaim,

O for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
Some boundless contiguity of shade,
Where rumor of oppression or deceit,
Of unsuccessful or successful war,
Might never reach me more.

To these may be added the native antipathies which some feel to society, and the shame which others feel for their crimes or from their disappointments or their physical defects, and the indolence or the aversion to care which drive still another class from the common occupations of men. And if to all these there be superadded a pervading belief, (such as heathen philosophy and at length a corrupt Christianity afforded,) not only of the propriety but the eminent merit of such a life, we can no longer wonder at the thousands with which the deserts were ere long peopled. Indeed, with all the force of public sentiment and religious opinion against the secluded life, yet where is the country that has not always had its recluses? Each of these is a monk, in his own way, be his religion what it may. We have them among us at the present day, though few and far between; and should doubtless have more of this class, were it not for the fact to which, for a moment, I must next advert.

The Shakers may be regarded as an order of monks. In what other light are they to be viewed? They are not, indeed, anchorites, as they do not dwell in separate cells or caves; but they are coenobites, living together for mutual convenience, with a common provision for their wants, with a professed renunciation of the world, with the profession of celibacy and a strong barrier between the sexes, with peculiar habits, and what is more for such an age and such a Protestant country as ours, still holding to the gift of inspiration if not of miracles. A new prophet, indeed, has just arisen among them. In their modes of worship, too, they have resembled and perhaps still resemble most strikingly the wild extravagancies of the ancient Therapeutae. These societies, now existing in five or six of our States, are therefore just as truly to be regarded as a kind of monastic establishments as were those formed by saint Antony, and are under as strict supervision of superiors, perhaps, as are the popish convents.

To these establishments the same spirits may resort that in

papal lands would seek the papal cloisters.—And if they like not so well these austere abodes, there is yet another class of institutions now rising up, here and in Great Britain, of a gayer cast, to which they may resort for a part of the same purposes,—I mean the Socialists. In these last organizations, the world may see, perhaps, a really new development of the same general propensity—a monasticism without a religion. It has seen heathen, and Mohammedan, and Jewish monasticism; and patristic, and papal, and even Protestant monasticism; and whether it is now to see any full exhibition of infidel monasticism, will depend on the fact whether infidelity has spirit and cohesion enough for the protracted effort. It surely cannot be expected to exhibit much of the ascetic spirit, in the appropriate sense of that term.

How far Mormonism is likewise another development of the same general tendency, I will not now stand to inquire. If possessing enough of the same character to be ranked under the same genus, it must, like the great orders of knighthood in crusading times, be regarded as of a very militant species.

But I have said enough to show, that Christianity may well be exonerated from the charge of having given birth to such a monster as monasticism;—nay, enough to serve also as an apology for her not having yet fulfilled the hard task of sweeping it from the face of the earth;—and enough to serve likewise as a palliation of the sore fault into which, in her inexperienced youth, she was beguiled in receiving the meek-faced prodigy to her bosom.

It is time to turn our attention to a closer inspection of its lineaments as seen in the christian type it assumed in the Egyptian deserts. It was there that it first appeared in the christian form, in that land of anchorets, where, from time immemorial, the people have been propense to such a life, and where, as it is said, they may live almost forever and with almost nothing of either food or raiment. And it was from thence that this spiritual offspring of the Therapeutae soon spread into Asia and Europe.

It is quite probable, as will be seen from some remarks in the life of Antony, that there were individual Christians, in diverse places, who led an ascetic life previous to his day. But how long such had been the fact and to what extent it had existed, we have not the means of determining. Saint Paulus, (as he is called in order to distinguish him from the apostle and other saints of the same name as written in Greek and Latin,) was certainly earlier; and therefore we shall begin with him.

For the following brief account of this Paulus, we are indebted

to the pen of Jerome, who was himself a distinguished monk, at Bethlehem in Judea, where he spent the last thirty-six years of his life, and died in the year 420, at the age of ninety. He was born of christian parents, at Stridon in Dalmatia, and by his residence in Rome and other places, and by his extensive travels, as well as from books, he enjoyed the best means for information, and became the first scholar of his age. He was passionately devoted to the cause of monasticism, which he promoted with all his influence, and defended against its assailants with his customary rancor. He has been charged with too slight a regard to veracity; but the fault in regard to great stories, may rather be imputed to his credulity. Previous to his residence at Bethlehem, he travelled into Egypt for the purpose of obtaining information in regard to the monks there.

His life of Paulus was written about the year 365. The translation, which is designed to be quite literal, is from the Latin as found in Jerome's works, Vol. IV. Part II. p. 68 seq. Paris ed. 1706. The correctness of the authorities on which he founds his opinion that Paulus was quite the first eremite, is now questioned, as Eusebius, in his *Hist. Ec.* VI 9, 10, speaks of Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, as having obtained renown by spending many years in the desert at the close of the second century.

LIFE OF SAINT PAULUS, BY JEROME.

It has been a question with many, who was the first monk that lived in the desert. For some have traced the practice back to Elijah and John. Of these, however, Elijah appears to have been more than a monk, and John was a prophet before he was born. Others, whose opinion is generally received, consider Antony the founder of the institution, which is partly true. For, he rather incited the zeal of all than preceded the whole of them in the order of time. Indeed, Amathas and Macarius, disciples of Antony, (the first of whom buried the body of his master,) even now affirm, that one Paulus, a Theban, was the author of the thing, though not of the name; which opinion I also approve. Some, as their fancies dictate, tell us, among other things, that he was a man, living in a subterranean cave, and covered with hair down to the foot, and many incredible things which it would be idle to relate. But their fabrications are too impudent to need refutation.

As an account of Antony has been carefully given, both in Greek and Latin, I have determined to write a few things re-

specting the beginning and the end of Paulus—more because the thing has been omitted, than relying on my own ability. But how he lived in middle life, and what temptations of Satan he endured, is known to no man.

Under the persecutors, Decius (A. D. 249 to A. D. 252) and Valerian (A. D. 257 to A. D. 260), when Cornelius of Rome and Cyprian of Carthage, nobly suffered martyrdom, a cruel tempest devastated many churches in Egypt and Thebais. Christians were then eager to suffer death for the name of Christ. But the crafty adversary sought out slow tortures, designing to destroy their souls, not their bodies: and as Cyprian, who himself suffered by him, says, "though wishing to die, we were not permitted to be slain." That his cruelty may be more known, I subjoin two examples.

A martyr, firm in the faith and triumphant under the tortures of the rack and hot plates of iron, he caused to be smeared with honey, and to be laid under a burning sun, with his hands bound behind his back, that he, who had already borne the burning plates, might yield to the stings of insects. Another, in the flower of youth, he caused to be conducted into the most delightful gardens, and there, amid white lilies and blushing roses, while a stream glided by with gently murmuring waters and the wind softly whispered in the leaves of the trees, to be laid supinely upon a bed of plumage, and then to be left confined by soft fetters of garlands so that he could not extricate himself. All then retired, and a beautiful harlot came and began to throw her arms about his neck with fond embrace, and, what it is a sin to speak of, *manibus obtreclare virilia, ut corpore in libidinem concitato, se victrix impudica superjaceret.* What to do or where to turn, the soldier of Christ knew not. Pleasure was vanquishing him whom torments had not subdued. At last, being inspired from heaven, biting off his tongue, he spit it in her face while she was kissing him. And thus the extreme pain that ensued overpowered the sense of concupiscence.

At the time such things were enacted in Lower Thebais, Paulus, now about sixteen years of age, with his sister now married, was left in a rich inheritance by the death of both his parents, himself deeply imbued with both Grecian and Egyptian literature, of a gentle disposition, and full of love to God. And when the tempest of persecution thundered exceedingly, he retired to a more remote and secluded villa. But to what will not the cursed thirst of gold compel the human heart! The husband of his sister conceived the wish to betray him whom he ought to have

concealed. Nor could the tears of his wife, as commonly, nor the relationship, nor an all-seeing God, recall him from the crime. He came upon him; he persisted; he followed cruelty as if it were piety.

When the very discreet youth ascertained this, he fled to the deserts of the mountains; and while awaiting the termination of the persecution, he changed necessity to choice. And advancing by degrees and again stopping, he at length came to a rocky mountain, not far from the base of which, was a large cave, which was closed by a stone. With the natural curiosity of man to discover things hidden, removing the stone and eagerly exploring, he perceived in the interior a large entrance open to the sky, and screened by the broad and luxuriant branches of an ancient palm, and disclosing a crystal fountain whose stream was, through a small aperture, immediately absorbed by the earth from which it sprang. There were also, in this rocky mountain, not a few habitations, in which were seen rusty anvils and hammers for coining money. Egyptian history informs us that this place was a clandestine mint in the time of Antony and Cleopatra.¹

Delighted with this as an abode presented to him by God, he spent all his life there in prayer and solitude. The palm furnished him both food and raiment. That this may not be deemed impossible by any, I call Jesus and his holy angels to witness, that, in the part of the desert which is near Syria and adjoining the Saracens, I have seen and now see monks,² one of whom has been immured for thirty years, living on barley bread and pure water. Another, in an ancient reservoir, (which, in their language, the Syrians call *gubba*,) lived on five figs a day. These will appear incredible to such as do not believe that all things are possible to those who believe.

ANTONY'S VISIT TO PAULUS.

But to return from my digression. When the blessed Paulus had lived a heavenly life on earth of a hundred and thirteen years and Antony, now a nonagenarian, was abiding in another solitude, this thought, as he [Antony] used to say, came into his mind, that no monk more perfect than himself had settled in the desert. But

¹ I have not been able to ascertain satisfactorily the positions of this and several other places in the desert, which are mentioned in these sketches. Doubtless it lay east of the Nile.

² From the affirmation that he *then* saw them, it has been inferred that Jerome wrote this account while in that desert.

it was revealed to him by night, in his sleep, that there was another, further on, much better than himself, and that he ought to go and see him. Immediately, at dawn of day, the venerable old man, supporting his tottering limbs with a staff, commenced his journey, he knew not whither. And now the mid-day sun was beating upon him with scorching heat; still he held on his way, saying, I trust in my God ere long he will show me the fellow-servant he has promised me. Directly, he sees a man and horse commingled, to which the fancy of the poets has given the name of *hippocentaur*. At this sight he fortifies his forehead with the saving sign, and cries, Ho, thou! where does this servant of God dwell? But he, with a strange gnashing of teeth, and breaking, rather than speaking his words, made out, despite his hideous face, a sufficiently bland address. And by extending his right hand, he points out the right way; and so, with winged flight, passing over the open plains, he vanished from the eyes of the astonished saint. But whether it was the devil assuming this appearance in order to terrify him, or whether the desert, so prolific of monsters, produces likewise this beast, we are in doubt.

So Antony, marvelling and communing with himself on what he had seen, goes further on. Soon, in a stony valley, he sees a dwarfish being, with hooked nose, his forehead rough with horns, and his extremities terminating in goat's feet. Undaunted at this sight, likewise, Antony, as a good soldier, seized the shield of faith and the armor of hope. The animal, however, offered him the fruit of the palm tree for his journey, as a pledge of peace. Seeing this, Antony stopped and asked him who he was. He answered; I am a mortal, and one of the inhabitants of the desert, whom the heathen, under multifarious delusion, worship, calling us fauns, satyrs, and incubi. I come on an embassy from my race. We beg you to entreat for us the common Lord who, we know, came for the salvation of the world, and his sound hath gone forth into all the earth. As he said this, the aged traveller bedewed his face with abundant tears, which his great joy poured forth as an index of his heart. For he rejoiced at the glory of Christ and the overthrow of Satan. He wondered that he could understand his language; and beating the ground with his staff, he cried, Wo to thee, Alexandria, that worshippeth monsters instead of God. Wo to thee, harlot city, in which the demons of all the earth have flocked together. What wilt thou now say? The beasts speak of Christ; and thou worshippeth monsters in-

stead of God! While he was yet speaking, the horned animal fled with winged speed.

Some might be sceptical in regard to this, but its credibility is defended by what all the world saw in the reign of Constantine. For a man of this kind was brought alive to Alexandria, and afforded a grand spectacle to the people; and afterwards his dead body, preserved by salt from decay in the heat of summer, was brought to Antioch to be seen by the emperor.¹

But to proceed with my narrative. Antony pursued his way, seeing nothing but the tracks of wild beasts and the wide waste of the desert. What to do, whither to turn, he knew not. And now another day was gone. Nothing remained save the confidence that he could not be deserted by Christ. The propitious shades of the whole night he spent in prayer. And at morning twilight, he sees a wolf, panting with burning thirst, creep in at the foot of a mountain. He followed her with his eyes, and coming near the cave when she had gone out, began to look in. He gained nothing by his curiosity, as the darkness prevented his seeing anything. But, as saith the Scripture, perfect love casteth out fear. And our wary explorer entered, with cautious tread and suppressed breathing, now advancing a little, and then stopping to listen. At length, through the horror of the great darkness, he descried, at a distance, a light; and hastening too eagerly, he struck his foot against a stone. Alarmed at the noise thus produced, Paulus shut the door and secured it with a lock. Then Antony, prostrating himself before the door, prayed for admission, even to the sixth hour and later, saying, Who I am and why I have come, thou knowest. I know I do not deserve to see thee;

¹ Neither Jerome nor the authorities he follows in this narrative, were any more credulous in regard to such monsters, than were many among the ancient heathen writers. The one here mentioned resembles the description given of the fabled satyr, which was an object of heathen worship in Greece, and perhaps was so at this time in Alexandria; and hence the denunciation here uttered by Antony. Plutarch in his life of Sylla, speaks of a satyr as having been brought to Sylla at Athens. And Pliny the Elder, in his Natural History, has abundance of strange stories to tell about monsters of the human and other species; and among the rest that of the centaur, of which Jerome has just expressed his doubts. One has only to read Pliny in order to gain a vivid impression of the profound ignorance which reigned, in his time, of distant regions of the known world, and of the strange beings with which a credulous imagination had peopled such regions.—All this, however, while it may in some degree account for Jerome's credulity, affords not even an apology for the above testimony to specific instances of fact, whether fabricated by Antony himself, or by some of his admirers.

still, I will not depart till I have seen thee. Why dost thou, who receivest wild beasts, repel a man? I have sought and have found; I knock that it may be opened; unless I obtain this, I will die here before thy door. Surely, thou wilt at least bury my body. Such things he persisted in saying, and remained fixed. To him the hero made answer in few words.¹ No one asks as he would threaten; no one calumniates with tears. And do you wonder that I will not receive you, when you come here to die? With such pleasantry, Paulus opens the door, and immediately they rush into mutual embraces, calling each other by their right names, and give thanks to the Lord together. And after a holy kiss, Paulus sat down and thus said to Antony: Behold him whom thou hast sought with such toil. His limbs are decayed with age; and untrimmed, hoary hairs cover him. Thou beholdest a man who will soon be dust. But, as charity beareth all things, tell me, I pray thee, how is it with the human race? Do new dwellings arise in ancient cities? Under what dominion is the world? Remain there any who are led captive by the delusion of devils?

Amid this converse, they perceive a raven, alighted on a bough of the tree above them, which gently hovered down and deposited a whole loaf of bread before their admiring eyes. When the raven was gone, 'Ho! said Paulus, the Lord, truly paternal, truly compassionate, hath sent us a dinner. I have now, for sixty years, always received half a loaf; but, at thy coming, Christ hath doubled the allowance to his soldiers.

When they had given thanks they both sat down by the brink of the glassy fountain. But here arose the question, which should break the bread; this they discussed until nearly evening, Paulus urging the honor due to a guest; Antony, the respect due to age. At last they agreed that they would both take hold of the loaf and break it between them, each taking for his share what remained in his hands. Afterwards they knelt down and drank a little water from the spring, and presenting to God the offering of praise, passed the night in vigils.

When the day returned, Paulus said to Antony,—I have long known, brother, that thou wast in those parts: long ago God had promised thee to me as a fellow servant. But now that my time of rest is come, and as I have always desired to depart and to be

¹ A quotation from Virgil :

Talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat.
Ad quem responsum paucis ita reddidit heros.

with Christ, I have finished my course and there awaits me a crown of righteousness, thou hast been sent by the Lord, to cover my body with earth, yea to restore the dust to dust.

Antony, hearing this, entreated him, with sighs and tears, not to leave him, but to receive him as his companion on such a journey.

He replied, Thou oughtest not to seek thine own but another's wealth. It were better for thee to cast off the burden of the flesh and to follow the Lamb. Nevertheless, it is more expedient for the other brethren that they should still be instructed by thy example. Wherefore, I pray thee, go, unless it be grievous to thee, and bring, for my shroud, the cloak which Athanasius the bishop hath given thee.

The blessed Paulus made this request, not because (when he had so long worn no garments but the palm-leaves) he cared much whether his body decayed in clothes or naked, but for the purpose of alleviating the sorrow which his friend would feel if present at his death. Astonished at what he had heard respecting Athanasius and his cloak, and seeing as it were Christ in Paulus, Antony worshipped God in his heart, and could make no reply : but in silence and tears he kissed his eyes and hands, and returned to the monastery, which was afterward occupied by the Saracens. His steps could not keep pace with his zeal : but though his strength was weakened by fasting and broken with years, still his spirit prevailed over age.

At length, weary and panting, he finished his journey and reached his own abode. Two of his disciples, who had long been accustomed to attend upon him, met him and said, Father, where hast thou been so long ? He replied, Woe to me, a sinner, who am not worthy to bear the name of monk. I have seen Elias, I have seen John in the desert, and verily I have seen Paul in Paradise. And so, closing his lips and beating his breast with his hand, he brought the cloak from his cell. In reply to the entreaty of his disciples for a more full explanation, he said, "A time to keep silence and a time to speak."

Then he went out, and, without taking a morsel of food, set out to return the way he came, thirsting for Paulus, longing to see him, having only him in his eye and mind. For he feared what really happened, that while he was gone Paulus should render to Christ the soul he owed him. Another day had dawned, and he had gone three hours on his return, when he saw Paulus ascending on high, shining with snowy whiteness amid bands of angels and choirs of prophets and apostles. Then he fell upon his face

and threw dust upon his head, with mourning and cries exclaiming, Why dost thou leave me, O Paulus? Why dost thou go without farewell? Known so late, dost thou go so soon?

Blessed Antony afterwards used to say, that he went over the rest of the way so swiftly that he flew like a bird: and not without reason; for, on entering the cave, he found,—with knees bent, the neck turned upward, and the hands extended toward heaven,—the lifeless body! At first he thought he was alive; and knelt beside him. But hearing none of the pantings usual in his prayers, he rushed to a tearful kiss, and found that even the holy corpse was offering prayer by its posture to the God to whom all things live.

Antony wrapped the body in the cloak and brought it out, chanting hymns and psalms after the christian tradition. He was greatly troubled because he had no spade to dig a grave. Full of thoughts, he wavered between various impulses. If, said he, I return to the monastery, it is four days' journey. If I remain here, I can do nothing more. I will die then, as is worthy. Falling beside thy champion, O Christ, will I pour forth my last breath.

While these thoughts were in his mind, two lions came running, with manes streaming upon their necks, from the direction of the inner desert. At first sight of them, he was terrified; but then, turning his thoughts to God, he stood fearless as if looking at doves. They came directly to the corpse of the aged saint and with a fawning motion of the tail, lay down at its feet, roaring hugely, to give him to understand that they mourned as well as they could. Then they began to dig the ground, vying with each other till they had made a cavity in the sand large enough for one man. Then, as if asking pay for their labor, they came to Antony, moving their ears and bending their necks and licking his hands and feet. He saw that they were asking for his blessing. Without delay, pouring forth his soul in praise to Christ, because even dumb animals knew that He was God, he said, Oh Lord, without whose will not a leaf of the tree drops nor one of the sparrows falls to the ground, give to these according to thy knowledge. And waving his hand, he sent them away.

When they were gone, he bent his aged shoulders to the burden of the sacred body, and laid it in the grave, and placed the earth upon it, and made a decent mound.

The next day, the pious heir, not to fail of possessing the goods of the intestate, took the tunic which Paulus had made for himself, with basket-work of palm leaves. He then returned to the monastery and rehearsed the whole story to his disciples: and on

the feasts of passover and pentecost, he always wore the tunic of Paulus.

In concluding this little work, I must ask those who know not their inherited wealth,—who clothe their houses with marble, who embroider their estates with one thread of villas—what was ever wanting to this naked old man? You drink from gems; he satisfied nature from the hollow of his hand. You weave gold in your tunics; he had not even the clothing of your meanest slave. But on the other hand, to this very poor man, paradise is open; while hell shall receive you, though covered with gold. He, though naked, preserved the robe of Christ; you, in your silks, have lost it. Paulus lies covered with mean earth, but shall rise to glory. You, enclosed in labored tombs of stone, shall burn with your treasures. I pray you, spare yourselves; spare at least the riches that you love. Why will you clothe even your corpses with gold-wrought vestments? Why does not your ambition cease, amid mourning and tears? Do not the corpses of the rich know how to rot unless in silk? Whosoever thou art that readest this, I entreat thee to remember Jerome a sinner,—who, if the Lord were to give him the choice, would much rather have the tunic of Paulus with his merits, than the purple of kings with their empires and their doom.

A powerful specimen of moral eloquence, truly, must this last paragraph be pronounced. For so short a one, it has rarely if ever been surpassed. It is as worthy as it is characteristic of Jerome. No wonder that the man who could wield such a pen, and with his whole soul embarked in the cause of monasticism, should excite "the ardor he kindled up, on this subject, among the Roman ladies;" and that he should be able to persuade two of the more wealthy of them, Paula and her daughter Eustachium, to accompany him in his pilgrimages to Palestine, and thence to Egypt, and finally to settle down for life with him at Bethlehem, and there devote their wealth to building monasteries, three for nuns, and one for monks.

But the passage is as characteristic of the age as it is of the genius of Jerome. And this, (though not to the exclusion of its grand moral bearing on the vanity of the world,) is the peculiarly instructive aspect it has for us. "*Remember Jerome a sinner.*" Why, and for what purpose? Not simply, if at all, for the purpose of heeding his admonitions; but to pray for him as a sinner,

while here or in the fancied intermediate state, that he might the better be prepared for heaven itself. Accordingly, it was the custom of the age, at least for monkish writers, to affix to their names the term *Peccator*. And this by the way, came rather oddly to give the sur-name of Mercator to one Marius, a writer of this period; for some ignorant transcriber changed his *Peccator* into *Mercator*, and he has ever since gone by the name of Marius Mercator.

But there is another and more important phase in this doctrinal aspect of the passage. The whole power of this masterly appeal, is directed, not simply to an inward renunciation of a vain world, but to the assumption of monastic austerities—the very object for which Jerome wrote this life of Paulus, and for which he was now extolling his meritorious deeds. For, what was it in the lot of the poor Paulus, that the glowing heart of Jerome so coveted beyond the purple and empire of kings? “His *MERITS*,” replies the great father. This word, *merits*, is the only bad word we find in the passage; but the more we look at it, the worse does it become to our protestant eyes. And yet it is a word which, for a hundred worlds, Jerome would not have blotted. It is the very word for expressing that part of the false theology of the age, on which his darling institute rested. Here, in this doctrine of human merits, which were to be achieved by will-worship and a despising of the body, is found the enchantment that was then turning the christian world upside down. This was the death in the pottage which had now been two centuries in the seething; and by partaking whereof, the maddened church had been cast into her delirious ravings for holy pilgrimages, and for the ascetic life. Nearly losing sight of the merits of Christ except for sanctifying grace and the pardon of sins committed before baptism, men were taught to rely on their own extra achievements for cancelling their sins after baptism, and for carrying their souls directly to heaven at death, instead of their being consigned to an inferior abode.

One can only weep over the evils that were then flowing, and are still flowing, from the prolific sources of this and a few kindred errors into which the church had gradually fallen.—But as we proceed, we shall have more to see of the effects of this gangrene of self-righteous principles in her theology.

The life of saint Antony, by Athanasius, will next be presented.

[To be continued in the August No.]

ARTICLE IV.

THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA AND METHODOLOGY.

Translated from the unpublished Manuscripts of Prof. Tholuck of Halle, by Edwards A. Park.
(Continued from No. I. p. 317.)

§ 15. *The Science of writing History.*

This teaches the mode in which historical narratives should be composed, and enables us also to test the merit of works, which detail the history of the church. An excellent volume, rich in religious and moral instruction, is that of George Müller (brother of the historian and Prof. in Schaffhausen), entitled, *Letters on the Study of History* (*Briefe über das Studium der Geschichte*). Ulrici's work on the Characteristics of the ancient historical Writings (*Char. der antik. Hist.*), Berlin, 1833, is very instructive. This work gives a critical view of all the distinguished historians of Greece and Rome, and scrutinizes the religious character of their productions. Louis Woltmann published at Berlin, in 1810, an acute and malevolent criticism upon Müller, entitled, *John Müller as an Historian* (*als ein Historiker*); and in this review are given some very instructive hints on the mode of writing history.

SCIENCES AUXILIARY TO PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

§ 16. *Anthropology and Psychology.*

The material on which the clergyman is called to operate, is the human mind. The mind is, in this life, dependent on the body; and, in its intimate union with the body, is called the soul. The divine must therefore give attention to Anthropology, which describes the physical phenomena of man, the phenomena of divers ages, temperaments, races, etc. He must also give attention to Psychology, which takes cognizance of those spiritual functions and states that are essentially connected with our physical being and relations. Psychology is often considered in conjunction with Anthropology. Among the treatises on Anthropology, that of Heinroth deserves especial commendation; among the treatises on Psychology, that of Heinroth, and also the *History of the Soul* (*Geschichte der Seele*), by Schubert, are the most worthy of

perusal. The numerous writings of Schubert on Natural History, are composed in an excellent religious spirit, as is also his Psychology, and by this means have his works obtained a general circulation. They are, Views of the night-side of Nature, (*Ansichten der Natur von ihrer Nachtseite*, that is, Explanations of the dark subjects in natural science, as magnetism, for example), The Intent and Signification of Dreams (*Symbolik des Traumes*), The Primitive World and the Fixed Stars (*die Urwelt und die Fixsterne*), Two treatises on Natural History, (*Natur Geschichte*), a larger and a smaller, Text-book of Astronomy (*Lehrbuch der Astronomie*).¹

One department of Anthropology and Psychology, which has excited much interest among theologians in recent times, is Magnetism and Somnambulism. Animal magnetism is that mysterious connection of all living existences, by means of which, the life of one being may sympathize immediately with the life of another, and even exert an influence upon it. It is called magnetism, not because it has any connection with the magnet, but because the connection of the living principle in one person with that in another, is just as mysterious as the connection of the magnet with the north pole. The wonderful workings of this principle were known to the ancient Greeks even; see the short essays of Wolf on this subject. These phenomena were brought, in a connected form, before the philosophers of modern times, by Mesmer, in the year 1780 or thereabout. The name of Mesmerism is therefore applied to magnetism. The magnetic influence is used in the cure of diseases. The healthy magnetizer causes his own living principle to operate upon that of the sick patient. He does this by waving motions of the palms of his hands, or the ends of his fingers, and thus he excites or soothes the nervous system of the invalid. Under the influence of this operation, sometimes also without any such influence, the somnambulism or the *clairvoyance* discovers itself. This is a state of sleep accompanied with peculiar powers. The man lies down as if dead. He exhibits a kind of dreaming, very different from that ordinarily experienced, and attended with unusual capabilities. It is unlike the common state of a dreamer, in the following particulars: there is such a difference between the situation of the magnetized per-

¹ Schubert is also the author of the Life of Oberlin, and numerous religious tracts. He was the instructor of Otho, king of Greece, and in his visit to Palestine, was entertained a long time, and very hospitably, by that king. He still resides at Munich and remains one of the most useful of Christians.

son, when he is asleep and when he is awake, that in his waking hours he can retain no remembrance of what he had experienced during his sleep. Again, while he is in the magnetic state he has a sympathy with external nature; not however with all natural objects, but with the nearest circle of living beings, with his relatives, more particularly with the magnetizer. He has such a communication with others, that he can perceive their mental operations, determine what they know and how they feel. Sometimes the subject of this *clairvoyance* will speak languages which he has not previously understood; he will make use of medical terms which he has not previously known. All this knowledge is communicated by means of the sympathetic union existing between the magnetized and the magnetizing individual. Nor is there merely a *consensus* with the nearest living circles; there is also a *praesensio*, a power of predicting such events as are soon to transpire. That the reports of such magnetical phenomena are founded on fact, may appear the more credible from the circumstance of their being admitted by Strauss. He has devoted much attention to the subject, and despite of his skepticism, not only believes in the powers more commonly ascribed to magnetism, but even in the ability of the magnetized person to operate upon distant objects. See the third volume of Strauss's *Controversial Writings* (*Streitschriften*).

This whole subject of animal magnetism has been the theme of much discussion within the last few years, chiefly as it relates to the question of miracles. Believers in the scriptural testimony for the occurrence of wonders appeal to the phenomena of Mesmerism, with the intent of proving that the ordinary experience of man is not the sole criterion of the truth; with the design of illustrating the sentiment of Shakspeare: "there are more things in heaven and earth than have been dreamed of in your philosophy." The skeptic is therefore driven to the necessity of admitting, that Christ may have performed such wonders as are analogous to the magnetical developments. Strauss is at present of the opinion, that even the restoration of the man born blind, (see John 9:1—12,) is not an incredible event, because it is so congruous with the phenomena of Mesmerism. See his *Controversial Writings*, III. 154. And yet in the first edition of his *Life of Jesus*, he declared the scriptural narrative of this restoration to be entirely unworthy of belief, because it was so contrary to experience. Weisse also, in his *Criticism on the Evangelical History* (*Kritik der evang. Gesch.*), admits the credibility of all the wonders recorded

in the Bible, which have an analogy with the Mesmeric phenomena. Still, if we admit that there is a similarity, in respect of form, between the wonders of magnetism and those of the New Testament, we must also admit that there is a marked difference between them, in respect of their intrinsic nature. The subject of magnetism in its relations to the question of miracles recorded in the Bible, is discussed in Tholuck's *Miscellaneous Writings* (*Vermischte Schriften*), Vol. I. S. 58 seq.

The work of Passavant on *Animal Magnetism* (*Lebens Magnetismus*), 2d ed. 1837, is very instructive, as is likewise that of Wirth on the *Theory of Magnetism* (*Theorie des Mag.*), 1836. The account of "the Prophetess of Prevorst" (*die Seherinn von Prevorst*), produced a great sensation at the time of its first appearance. Prevorst is a small village in Württemberg. The author of the narrative is Kerner. It was published in two parts, in 1820. Those portions of the history which were written from Kerner's own observation, are to be relied on as true, but he has recorded much that he did not himself observe, and this does not gain our credence, but is disbelieved rather.¹

¹ The American and English divine will not be prepared to coincide with Prof. Tholuck on the subject of animal magnetism, as well as some other topics introduced into his *Encyclopaedia*. Still, before we condemn his faith in this principle as a weakness, we should remember that it is sanctioned by the most eminent philosophers of Germany, and that Tholuck evinces no more deficiency of scientific discrimination, in this article of his belief, than was manifested by Hegel, nor in any degree so much as is evinced by Schelling. He adopts in part the Hegelian theory with regard to Mesmerism, and it is interesting for those who do not acquiesce in that theory, to see the mode of its application, or misapplication to theological questions. It is a great mistake to suppose, that the reported phenomena of animal magnetism are unworthy of scientific investigation, and that he who applies them to theology should be ridiculed rather than reasoned with. Even the Baron Cuvier, says of the mesmeric developments, they "scarcely permit us to doubt, that the proximity of two living bodies, in certain positions and with certain movements, is capable of producing a real effect, independent of the imagination of one of the two parties. It also clearly appears, that these effects are owing to some kind of communication established between their two nervous systems." Laplace, who cannot be reproached with any such degree of credulity as amounts to a weakness, says, "The singular effects, which result from the extreme sensibility of the nerves in certain individuals, have given birth to different opinions on the existence of a new agent which has received the name of Animal Magnetism. It is natural to think, that the action of these causes is very feeble, and may easily be disturbed by a great variety of accidental circumstances; so that, from the fact, that in many cases, this agent has failed to manifest itself, we ought not to conclude that it never exists. We are so far from being acquainted with all the agents in nature, and their different modes of action, that it would be unphilosophical, to deny

§ 17. *Rhetoric.*

There is a natural oratory, which exists independently of all art. It is produced by an enthusiasm in the subject, and is thus the proper source of the eloquence of faith and love, spoken of in 2 Cor. 4: 13. All natural gifts, however, are improved by art. The art of rhetoric, as it is applied to the subjects with which a preacher is conversant, is called Homiletics. The distinction between Homiletics and other species of rhetoric is chiefly this: the object of sacred eloquence is, the good of the whole man; and the means it employs for attaining this object are only such as conscience approves; but the design of secular eloquence is, often, to produce some special and immediate effect, as to secure a contribution for the needy, a reconciliation between enemies, etc.; and as it does not aim at securing the holiness of man, so it does not shun an appeal to unsanctified motives.

It is, however, by no means unimportant for the preacher, that he acquaint himself with the lever by which the orators of the old world have moved so powerfully the minds of men. Reinhard says in his Confessions, that he is much indebted for his pulpit success to the orations of Demosthenes.

the existence of the phenomena, merely because, in the present state of our knowledge, they are inexplicable." The medical section of the French Royal Academy of Sciences, composed of the most eminent French physicians, have also thus expressed themselves; "We do not demand of you a blind belief of all that we have reported. We conceive that a great proportion of these facts are of a nature so extraordinary, that you cannot accord them such credence. Perhaps we, ourselves, might have ventured to manifest a similar incredulity, if, changing characters, you had come to announce them to us; and we, like you, had neither seen, nor observed, nor studied, nor followed anything of the kind." See Oliver's *Physiology*, chap. 31.—These authorities are not quoted for the purpose of teaching or implying that animal magnetism is a well founded science, but simply for the purpose of showing that it is as unphilosophical to disbelieve in the magnetic phenomena, without a previous examination of them, as it is to credit the reports of such phenomena without subjecting them to the most rigid and scrutinizing tests. In the present state of the inquiry, the proper position of the mind seems to be that of suspense; for while we are not authorized to adopt the conclusions of the scientific men who have reported the magnetic phenomena, we are also not authorized to condemn their reports as visionary, and to denounce the theologian who believes them as an over-credulous fanatic. Before Prof. Tholuck is censured, as he has often been, for his essays on this theme, we must consider well the tendency of a rapid, inquisitive mind like his, to sympathize with the dominant philosophy of his age, and adopt many, too many of its freshest theories.—Tr.

PART II.

THEOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

A. The Science of Exegesis.

§ 18. *On the Importance of Exegetical Study, and on the distinctive character of the Sacred Scriptures.*

The christian faith and the christian life are founded on the Bible. The first and most important study for the theologian is, therefore, that of the Scriptures. Thus Luther says: *Theologus sit scriptuarius*. The theologian is sometimes prejudiced against the study of exegesis, by the multitude of different interpretations that have been adopted. The words, for example, recorded in Gal. 3: 20, have received about two hundred and fifty diverse explanations. It must be conceded, that there is by no means so great a variety in the modes of interpreting the classical authors, as in those of interpreting the writers of the Bible. For this fact there are various reasons; some of them resulting from the character of the interpreter; some, from the importance of the Bible in its relation to the Christian scheme; and some from the distinctive characteristics of the book itself.

First, as to the interpreters of the sacred records. They have not availed themselves, in their work, of all the helps which they should have employed. They have often neglected the study of language, still more frequently have they failed to possess the true christian spirit. By means of this spirit they could have understood those passages of the Bible, which express sentiments of kindred character with those of every pious man.

Secondly, as to the importance of the Scriptures. The words of Inspiration claim to be the law of Christianity; law for the belief and for the whole life. If, now, a man be not willing to adopt a particular article of faith, or a particular course of duty, he will seek to explain away such an article or such a command, so that it may seem to be not in the Bible. Where the selfish interests are involved, there will ever be a multitude of differing and forced interpretations. This is found to be the fact in the interpreting of wills.

Thirdly, as to the distinctive characteristics of the Bible itself. These occasion a discrepancy in the modes of explaining it. It must be remembered, that our heavenly Father has given us a Revelation for the purpose of educating the spiritual nature of

man, of all races, all ages, all varieties of talent and training. It is therefore a matter of fact, that the Scriptures are so wonderfully composed as to interest all classes; the child feels himself to be spoken to in them, and the philosopher finds materials there for subsequent meditation. The Bible must, accordingly, embrace within itself a great multitude of characteristics, which are adapted to the diverse states of its readers. The same expression that is well fitted for one mind is not so well adapted to a different mind, and thus what is clear to the former is obscure to the latter. The differing statements of Scripture are never contradictory to one another, but are often nothing more than diversified colorings (*nuances*) of the same thought. They may be all reconciled into one general and complete view. The second number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, published in 1832, contains an essay which shows this to be the case in reference to the first verses of the Saviour's Sermon on the mount.¹ Herder has said: Only that book is truly rich in its contents which a man can re-peruse once in every five years. But it is ever the case, that many passages of such a volume will remain obscure to the reader, while he is perusing it for the first time. A book which a man may completely understand, during his first perusal, has certainly not much solid merit. Accordingly, Luther says of the Bible, I have never shaken this tree, without its letting a new golden apple fall down. The sacred Scripture is an odoriferous plant; the more it is rubbed, so much the sweeter fragrance does it emit. Augustine says of the Bible, It is small with the small, and great with the great. On this account must it be demanded of a theologian, that he enter on the study of the inspired volume with a degree of modesty equal, at least, to that which he feels when he examines any great author. If he find offensive expressions, he must search for the ground of offence not in the author but in himself.

The science of exegesis is divided into the following departments; first, the Biblical Hermeneutics; secondly, the Biblical Linguistics; thirdly, the Biblical History and Antiquities; fourthly, the Criticism and the Introduction.

§ 19. *The Biblical Hermeneutics.*

This department instructs us, how we may attain to an understanding of the sacred records. In what method, we ask, do we

¹ Translated by Prof. Robinson for the Biblical Repository, Vol. III. No. 12.

arrive at the meaning of any human discourse? By the term, "discourse," we mean the thoughts and feelings of the individual transferred into speech; and by the phrase, "understand a discourse," we mean the process of inverting this transfer, of reducing the speech back to thoughts and feelings. From these definitions results the principle, that, in order to understand a discourse, we must be acquainted with the laws of thinking and of speaking. But is this sufficient for the comprehending of a train of remark? It is not. If a person say, "I love," then I can understand his words, so far as their logical and philological import is concerned; but in order to have a full comprehension of their meaning, I must have experienced the emotion of love, I must also know the circumstances of the person who utters these words, whether he be an old man, or a child, a religious man, or a sensualist. This information with regard to the personal relations of the author of a discourse, is called the historical knowledge of the discourse. The question then arises, whether it be sufficient for the interpretation of the Bible to have this historical knowledge, in connection with the logical and philological. The affirmative answer to this query was given by Ernesti, Semler, Keil. They demanded for the understanding of the Bible, the grammatico-historical interpretation. Staüdlin of Göttingen, on the contrary, demanded that the religious interpretation be superadded to the above. See his *Dissertatio de Novi Testamenti Interpretatione historica non unice vera*, 1807. Keil defended his own views in the *Analects of Keil and Tzschirner*, Vol. I. Staüdlin was entirely correct in his meaning, but not in his definitions; for the historical interpretation, when rightly understood, includes within itself the religious interpretation also. When a pious man speaks, I cannot give the proper historical interpretation of his words, unless I know from my own experience what that is of which he speaks, and unless I interpret his expressions accordingly. It is a very beautiful remark which Origen made concerning John the Evangelist, that "the beloved disciple could best interpret the words of the Saviour, because lying on the breast of his Lord he became another Jesus." The greater the resemblance between a man and the authors whom he explains, so much the better will be his explanations.

The term "historical interpretation," however, has been used by Semler, Eichhorn, and the rationalistic interpreters, in a different sense from that which has just been elucidated. They have explained the phrase thus: the discourses of Jesus and of the

apostles are to be interpreted in conformity to the conceptions and the opinions of their Jewish contemporaries; the teachings of the prophets are to be understood in conformity to the prevalent notions of their respective times; and these notions again are to be illustrated by the views which prevailed among other ancient tribes besides the Jewish. Accordingly, the interpretations of these critics are commonly introduced with these words: *Opinabantur enim Judaei*. If, however, we adopt this mode of exclusive historical interpretation, we must proceed on the ground that Christ and his apostles have taught nothing new, nothing higher than was taught by their contemporaries. We must not recognize in the Saviour a religious genius; for such a genius will ever advance beyond the standard of its own age. Pursuing this method of exegesis we are led into error by the multitude of proverbs, figures of speech, and forms of phraseology, which were indeed in ordinary use among the Jews of our Saviour's time, but which were used in a new and exalted sense by Christ and his apostles. The lofty religious views of these men are not recognized in the rationalistic mode of interpretation. If we adopt this mode, we must either ascribe to Christ and his apostles the crude errors of Judaism, as is done by Meyer, Rückert, Fritzsche; or we must accommodate their language in its essential meaning, and suppose that they knew the falseness of their assertions, but conformed to the errors of their times. This latter style of comment is adopted by Reiche and earlier expositors.

Those who interpret the Scriptures according to such false views of historical exegesis, must adopt the plan of accommodation. Language may be accommodated in various ways. There is a negative mode, as when I conceal a truth with regard to which I have not been interrogated. There is a positive mode, as when I make a false assertion instead of a true one, for the sake of avoiding collision with my hearers. We may accommodate our speech, in its substantial meaning (*materiell*), as when we say what is false with regard to the subject under consideration; or in its style and fashion (*formell*), as when we use an inappropriate phraseology for the purpose of making the subject intelligible. This *formal* accommodation is unobjectionable, and is often adopted in the teaching of youth. The negative accommodation is also entirely irreprehensible, but the positive and *materiell* belongs to the category of the lie. Many advocates of the false historical interpretation, which has just been considered, explained such passages as Mat. 8: 11, 25: 31, 32, 1 Cor. 6: 3, 10: 4, in

accordance with the rabbinical notions that prevailed in the first ages of Christianity. Thus were very crude meanings attached to those verses; and it was accordingly supposed, that Christ and his apostles designed to accommodate their speech to the Jewish errors. This theory of accommodation, however, is sanctioned at present by very few; by no interpreter of the Scriptures except Reiche.

The different kinds of interpretation are described by Hahn in an essay published in the second number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830. Concerning the citations of the Old Testament in the New, see the Supplement to Tholuck's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews; Art. The Old Testament in the New, 1836.—The general principles of Hermeneutics are developed by Ast in his *Ground-plan of the Grammatical, Hermeneutical and Critical Sciences* (*Grundriss der Gram., Hermeneut. und Krit.*), 1808. The most extended system of theological Hermeneutics is that of Morus, ed. Eichstadt, Jena, 1796, in two parts. This work is rich in materials, but it is deficient in its philosophical ground-work. The same remark is applicable to the celebrated treatise of Ernesti: *Institutio interpretis Novi Testamenti*, fifth edition, from Ammon, 1809.¹ This small book has been very highly prized, because it was the first which applied the principles of classical interpretation to the New Testament. The *Manual of Hermeneutics* published by Keil in 1810 is also valuable, contains much historical matter, but is written neither in the true philosophical nor in the true Christian spirit. Lücke has also published an *Essay on the Hermeneutics of the New Testament* (*Versuch N. T. Hermeneut.*), 1817. The most instructive work in this department is, *die Hermeneutik von Schleiermacher*, ed. Lücke.

§ 20. *Biblical Philology of the Old and New Testaments.*

A. *Lexicography of the Old and New Testaments.*

In order to form a judgment of the biblical lexicography, we must attend, in the first place, to the faults which are found, in a greater or less degree, in lexicography in general. First, lexicographers omit to trace the word back to its primitive signification. This original meaning always expresses something which is, as it were, palpable to the senses. Secondly, the derived significations

¹ Translated, and accompanied with original notes, and extracts from Morus, Beck, Keil and Henderson, by Prof. Stuart.—Tr.

are not arranged, by our lexicographers, in the order according to which they are deduced from the original import of the word. Thirdly, they are not so presented that the learner can ascertain the manner in which they are derived from the fundamental signification of the term. Fourthly, the sense of a word is often confounded with its signification. The signification of a term is the meaning which it has in itself, originally; the sense of it is the meaning which it acquires in a certain connection. Fifthly, our lexicons often omit the definite authorities which are needed for the meaning assigned to particular words.

The lexicographer must have an insight into the nature and origin of the languages which he explains. This knowledge is important in its relation to theology. The following remarks are worthy of notice on this subject.

First, every word has some meaning. There are no terms introduced into the language without a reason. Even the primitive words signify something. Thus *οὐρανός* is derived from *ὄρω, ὀρνυμι*, to raise one's self; whence also *ὄρνις* a bird, which raises itself in the air; *οὐρανός*, therefore, is that which is lifted up. *Cœlum* is derived from *κοῖλον*, the concave, the vaulted. *Terra* comes from *terere*, to rub, grind; the earth is, therefore, that which is triturated. The word *ἄνθρωπος* is ordinarily derived from *ἄνω* and *τρέπω*, and is thus made to denote one who turns his countenance upward. It is more correct, however, to derive the word from *ἀνής* and *ὄψις*, the aspect of a man. So likewise *homo* comes from *humus*, and denotes, 'born of the earth'; *γυνή* comes from *γεννάω*, etc.¹

A second remark of importance on this theme is, that all objects which belong to a sphere above the senses have received their names from men, who formed merely sensible images of those objects. The examples already adduced will show that, in giving names to things of which the senses take cognizance, men have seized hold of the chief quality in those things, have brought it into the foreground, and have applied such names to the objects as would indicate that chief quality. They have followed the same law in attaching names to things of which the senses do not take cognizance. If their method of designating sensible objects, as it was described in the preceding paragraph, was looked upon as wonderful, still more must we consider their method of

¹ On the evils that may arise from an excessive reference to etymology in defining the signification of words, see Campbell's *Dissertations*, Part III. Diss. IV. § 15—26.—Tr.

designating objects which lie above the sphere of the senses. Thus the German word, *Wahrheit* (truth), is deduced from *Wer-dend*, and denotes that which ever endures, that which is eternal. So the Hebrew word *נָצַח* is derived from *נָצַח*, to be firm, and hence denotes that which is stable, unchangeable, sure, true. The German term, *vernunft* (reason), is derived from *vernehmen*, to perceive, and denotes the power of perceiving, the higher decision of our intellectual being. The Greek word *συνείδησις* denotes the knowledge which one has with himself, that is, with the inmost I.

When the chief quality of the object denoted by the word had been made prominent in the word itself, it was then represented by the sound of the component letters. Thus there is a resemblance between the sound of the following terms and their signification: *stark*, strong; *schwach*, weak; *hell*, bright; *dunkel*, dark; *starr*, numb, fixed; *weich*, soft, etc. It is generally admitted that the vowels have this power of representing, of painting the idea; but the same power exists in the consonants also; and Plato has essayed, in his *Cratylus*, to find their signification.

When we reflect on what has been now advanced, it appears plain that the primitive state of man cannot have been that of a mere animal, but was rather that of mental excitement and elevation; of profound thought also. It is only by these qualities that he was able to give such an appropriate distinction to the most prominent qualities of the objects, especially the super-sensuous objects, that received names from him, and to express those qualities with such significant sounds. This consideration has led some to appeal to Genesis 2:19, and to explain the passage thus: The first man, guided by a divine impulse, gave such names to the objects around him, as were entirely appropriate to their nature. Now the object of language in general is to give these appropriate names to things. Plato says, in his *Cratylus*, "the designations of things are agreeable to their qualities." The preceding exposition of the verse in Genesis is not sufficient to prove, that all languages were formed under a divine influence; for all languages are not modeled after the Hebrew, but as they have originated in more recent times, so they adopt their own peculiar modes of designating the objects of thought. Compare Tholuck on the Primitive World, in the 2d part of his *Miscellanies* (*Vermischte Schriften*).

There is another interesting thought, which may also be deduced from the study of the first principles of language. It appears that original roots of words, in different tongues, are similar

to each other. If a man had ventured the assertion, in the middle of the eighteenth century, that the Lithuanian and the Indian languages have a mutual affinity with one another, he would have been deemed lunatic. But it is at present a settled truth, that the Indian, Greek, German, and Slavonic languages are derived from the same original source. The rules for Comparative Grammar have been laid down by Bopp.

Let us now apply what has been advanced, to the lexicons of the Bible. The third and the fourth faults of lexicography, which have been mentioned, are sometimes found in these works. The word *רוח* has eight different significations, as it is defined in the first edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon; these eight are reduced to four, in the edition of 1833. The lexicons of Schleusner and of Bretschneider exhibit many instances, in which the sense of a word is given instead of the signification. This fault is especially conspicuous in Schleusner, so that it becomes even ridiculous. Hence is it that he gives so great a number of definitions to a single word; to the term *σάρξ*, for example, he assigns eighteen different meanings; to the term *πνεῦμα*, twenty three, (whereas the same word has only nine in Wahl's Lexicon, and only three in Bretschneider's,) to the particle *ἐν* he gives thirty one, and to *ἐπί* fifty two. Wahl's lexicon is free from this fault to a considerable extent. It is marked, however, by another blemish. It does not substantiate its definitions of words by any fundamental exegesis of the texts in the New Testament, where these words occur. It also determines the meaning of a word too often on the authority of classical writers only, and does not make its chief appeal to the use of the Jewish authors, and the most ancient fathers. In this respect Bretschneider's Lexicon is superior to Wahl's.

Gesenius's Thesaurus is the most extensive and copious of all the Hebrew lexicons. It is at the same time a depository of historical, geographical, and antiquarian researches. The Latin edition of his lexicon, published in 1833, exhibits in respect of many words a great improvement upon his previous labors in this department.¹ Besides the lexicon of Gesenius, the student should use Winer's edition of Simonis's lexicon, published in 1828. This contains much that is peculiar to itself. It is especially funda-

¹ This edition of Gesenius's Lexicon, accompanied with the author's later corrections and emendations, has been recently translated into English, and published by Prof. Robinson.

mental in its treatment of the prepositions. See also Hupfeld, *De emendanda ratione Lexicographiae Semiticae*, 1820. He designates three gradations of excellence in the Hebrew Lexicography, and places the Lexicon of Gesenius in the second class.

The concordances have an intimate connection with the lexicons. It is absolutely indispensable, that a (German) preacher have in his library a German Concordance of the Bible. That of Büchner is in the highest degree serviceable and copious. It was published in 1776, but has been issued in a new and much improved edition by Heubner.—For a Hebrew concordance we have that of Buxtorf, published in 1632, and a new edition of the same by Fürst.—For the Septuagint we have the concordance of Trommius, in two vols. folio. For the Greek Testament, we have that of Er. Schmidt, 1638 folio. (A later and the best edition of Schmidt is by Bruder, 1842.) Schleusner's Lexicon for the Septuagint is a total failure. It was published in five volumes in 1821. It may however be of use as a concordance, though not as a lexicon.

Wahl's smaller *Clavis* of the New Testament accomplishes very well the object for which it was intended. His larger *Clavis* is faulty in respect of its definitions, which are altogether too minutely subdivided.¹ Wilke has published a small *Clavis* which is very convenient for common use, but not sufficiently fundamental for a student who wishes to make a thorough examination of a word. The new edition of Bretschneider's Dictionary, published in 1839, is superior to Wahl's in one particular, it makes more extensive use of the Hellenistic literature. It is inferior, however, in all other respects. Its explanations of words are often very unnatural. The various meanings which it gives to words are not arranged with precision, as they are by Wahl. His definitions, too, are more deficient than Wahl's, in the statement of the true religious import of words. Schleusner's Lexicon, 4th ed. 1819, is still worthy of reference, as a depository of philological citations and of antiquarian notices. Winer is at present engaged in preparing a new German Lexicon of the New Testament.

A great advance has been made since the close of the preceding century in the science of Grammar. This improvement has

¹ This *Clavis Philologica* of Wahl was translated and revised by Prof. Robinson and published in this country about eighteen years since, but is superseded for the English student by Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament.—Tr.

been shared by the grammar of the Hebrew language, and also by that of the New Testament. The improvement consists chiefly in the introduction of more rational principles into the study of language, the search for the philosophical ground of the various phenomena of speech, and the attempt to explain these phenomena in a rational way. The comparison of different languages with one another has, in various ways, accelerated the progress of grammatical science. The study of the original structure of languages has had a similar influence. The introduction of this philosophical spirit into Grammar may be traced to the exertions of Fr. A. Wolf. Next to him are to be mentioned some recent authors, as Gottfried Hermann, who has done much for the Greek Grammar; Jacob Grimm, who has vastly improved the German Grammar; Bopp, who has contributed much to the Indian; Ewald, to the Hebrew; and William Von Humboldt, to the study of the general principles of language.

Previously to the labors of Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar was treated either according to an arbitrary system of rules, as by Danz, or without any definite plan and with some false views, as by Vater. The Grammar of Gesenius was the first, which introduced a clear and simple method into the treatment of the Hebrew language, made the language easy of comprehension, and easy of survey as a whole. Ewald's method differs from that of Gesenius, is less simple and facile, but goes further, even to the simplest elements, in analyzing the structure of the language, and thereby renders the language more comprehensible as an organized whole. The treatises of Hupfeld on Hebrew Grammar, which are published in the *Studien und Kritiken*, third volume, second and fourth numbers, shed much light upon the subject. They are designed to prepare the way for a new Hebrew Grammar, which must surpass that of Ewald in the fundamental character of its researches.

In reference to the Greek language the work of Hermann, *De emendanda ratione Gramm. linguae Graecae*, affords much valuable information. The same may be said of his additions to Viger, *De praecipuis Graecae dictionis idiotismis*, fourth edition, 1834. The grammar of Matthiae is pervaded by a spirit of raw empiricism; that of Thiersch discovers an animated pursuit after the philosophical principles of the language; so likewise does the larger Grammar of Buttmann, which however is deficient in its syntax. But the larger grammar of Kühner is superior to that of Thiersch or of Buttmann in this particular. It unites clearness

of style, with philosophical research, and also with a considerable degree of completeness. It was published at Hanover in 1835, in two parts. The same author published also a Grammar for schools in 1836. The Greek Syntax of Bernhardt, which was published in 1829, is also worthy of commendation for its rational views, and completeness. It has opened the way for a history of the Greek language. It is liable to criticism, however, for the obscurity of its representations.

Until the year 1820, the language of the New Testament has stood in need of nothing so much as of improved grammatical treatises. There were some excellent philologists among the commentators, who flourished at the time of the Reformation. One of them was Beza, whose expositions are truly admirable; another was Camerarius. The commentators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, lost in a remarkable degree this philological skill. We discover the want of it in the supernaturalists, those of Storr's school, and also in the rationalists, as in Dr. Paulus, for example. His interpretation of the passages, which record the miracles of Christ and the apostles, is so forced and unnatural, that Hermann says, "Paulus has turned the miracles of Christianity into miracles of philology." We find the most astonishing blunders in his commentaries. Thus he derives the word *καθεξῆς* (*in a connected form*) in Luke 1: 3, from *κατά* and *ἔχω*; so that the passage must mean, It has seemed good to write in an order in which one event comes after another. He likewise derives the word *τετραάρχης* from *ἄρχω*, *I rule*, and *τέταμαι*, *I am stretched out*; so that the meaning is, a ruler stretched out, that is, a great ruler. Winer is the first who broke up the arbitrary methods of preceding critics. Among the excellences of this grammarian, is especially to be noticed and extolled his sound judgment and discretion. He has made the following remarkable confession in reference to the new method, as compared with the old, of interpreting the Scriptures: The controversies among interpreters have ordinarily led back to the admission, that the old protestant views of the meaning of the sacred text are the correct views; see Leips. Litteratur Zeitung, 1833, No. 44. The severe application of grammatical principles to the interpretation of the Bible is, in this respect, like the rigid observance of exegetical rules. Both have an influence upon the development of the religious spirit of the Bible. Bengel's *Gnomon* shows, in an especial manner, how much may be gained in favor of religion by strict accuracy in the interpretation of the sacred text. For

example; let the student search, in conformity with the rational principles of Grammar, for the reasons which induced the Greek to say πιστεύειν εἰς, to believe, with a direction of the mind toward or upon a person; πιστεύειν ἐν, to believe, resting on the merits of a person; πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τινι, to believe with a direction of the mind towards a person and a supporting of one's self by him; and let the student contrast these phrases with the simple πιστεύειν τινι, to believe the word of a man, and he will at once see that the first of these forms always include, what the last form does not, an heartfelt confidence and trust in the individual believed.

§ 21. *Biblical History and Antiquities.*

A. Biblical History of the Old Testament.

There is need at the present time of a learned history of the Jewish people. In this history the providence of God toward Israel, with reference to the introduction of Christianity, should be the leading idea. There is also need of a popular history of the same people, which shall illustrate the same pervading idea; for the history of the Old Testament is one of the chief studies in the system of popular education. The older histories of the Jews are not exactly adapted to the wants of the learned at the present day. They are written in accordance with that narrow theory of Inspiration, which teaches that not only the law and the prophecies, but likewise all the historical elements of the Bible are communicated immediately by the Holy Spirit. We are indebted to Buddeus and Rambach for the most important of the older works on the history of the church, as recorded in the Old Testament. These writers were not skilled in criticism, and their history is simply an amplification of the more ancient works in this department. The thoroughly critical mode of treating the subject was not introduced until 1780 or thereabout; but with this improvement in one respect came a deterioration in another. The sensibility for the religious excellences of the Old Testament history was lost, and in a short time the criticism was merged into the extreme of skepticism. De Wette seemed at one period, to have gone furthest in this direction in his critical View of the Israelitish History (*Kritik der Israel. Gesch.*), 1807. But De Wette's skepticism has been surpassed in more recent times by Von Bohlen and Vatke. The Commentary of Von Bohlen on Genesis, published in 1835, is generally acknowledged to have been very hastily and

superficially composed. He goes even so far as to dispute the very existence of Abraham, although we have proof of his existence from sources independent of the Scriptures, from the traditions of the gentile Arabs. His skepticism in reference to the biblical description of certain scenes in antiquity is shown, by the old Egyptian monuments, and by other means, to be destitute of foundation. Vatke is another of the recent critics, who has surpassed the skepticism of De Wette. This appears in his *Theology of the Old Testament*, published in 1835. He goes so far as to affirm on the ground of a misinterpretation of Amos 5: 25, that the Israelites, at the time of Moses, did not worship Jehovah but the planet Saturn, and that the temple of Solomon was not built after the pattern of the tabernacle, but that the account of the tabernacle is a fiction, and was suggested by the structure and uses of the temple.

Leo's Jewish History was written in the spirit of the modern skepticism, more particularly in accordance with Vater and De Wette. After it was published, the author himself condemned it, and recalled it from circulation. He has given us a narrative of the Jews in the first volume of his *Universal History*, and has here adopted the correct principles of criticism and judgment.

Although we are in need of an extended critical work on the state and character of the ancient Jews, we have a very commendable history of this people, adapted to popular use, and written in the spirit of child-like piety, by Hess of Zürich, author of the *History of the Patriarchs, of Moses, of Joshua, of the Kings of Judah and Israel after the Revolt, of David and Solomon, of Christ, of the Apostles, etc.*

B. Biblical History of the New Testament.

The highest literary effort which is demanded of a theologian, is to form a clear conception of the life of the Redeemer on the earth. This presupposes a fundamental acquaintance with all the departments of theology, and can properly be the result of nothing less than a theological life. Particularly does it demand a comprehensive knowledge of the truths pertaining to miraculous agency, and also of those affecting the person of the Redeemer.

The first attempt that was made in Germany to accomplish this task, and give a vivid representation of the Saviour's earthly residence, was by the venerable Hess, in his *Life of Jesus (Leben Jesu)*, 1st ed. 1768; 8th ed. 1828. This work is composed with care, and with earnest piety, but evinces not much critical ac-

men, and bears the impress of the degenerate age in which he was educated. In more recent times has appeared, first, Hase's Compendium, *The Life of Jesus* (*Leben Jesu*), 3d ed. 1840. Christ is represented in this work as the second Adam, who was appointed to represent our race as it existed in its original purity, without sin, without any error in regard to religious truth, with the same power over nature which was possessed by man in his state of innocency. But the author rejects the weighty arguments, which prove the historical authority of the first three Gospels, and therefore abandons, as untrustworthy, a great part of the evangelical narrative. Hase is not a rationalist, however, but acknowledges a distinction in kind as well as degree between the Saviour and other men. (Rationalism admits a difference of degree only, none in nature: *einen graduellen nicht einen specifischen Unterschied*).—Strauss published his *Life of Jesus*, in two parts, soon after the publication of the work of Hase. The fundamental error of Strauss's treatise is the presupposition on which he proceeds, that miracles are impossible. On the ground of this *a priori* judgment, he declares the genuineness of the four evangelists to be in the highest degree suspicious, and scarcely gives himself the trouble to examine, in any proper way, the historical reasons for their authenticity. (These external arguments are of but little force with him, against the internal character of the history.) How little of thorough investigation he had given to the dogmas he has advanced, is evident from the sudden change of his views, which was announced in the third volume of his *Controversial Writings*. Here he acknowledges, all at once, that the majority of the miracles recorded in the New Testament may have a resemblance to the phenomena of Magnetism, and may therefore be historically true. In the third edition of his *Life of Jesus*, he seems inclined to admit the genuineness of the Gospel of John. He has, however, himself declared, that if the genuineness of only one Gospel can be proved, then the theory of their mystical character must lose its chief supports. In the Preface to his *Characteristics*, published in 1839, and in the fourth edition of his *Life of Jesus*, he has once more changed his views, and announced that he has gone back to his original position.—After Strauss, Weiss appeared in his *Criticism on the Evangelical History* (*Kritik der evang. Gesch.*), 1837, in two parts. He deals with the narratives of the Gospel still more arbitrarily than Strauss does, but has a worthier view of the Saviour's character, and contends for his miraculous powers.—Neander's *Life of Jesus* followed that

of Weisse. In this work, Neander exhibits a warm spirit of piety, a judicious criticism, but a want of established doctrinal views in relation to the person of Christ. He is likewise deficient in energy, also in freshness of portraiture. He does not bring the scenes which he describes into the reader's ideal presence. He expresses himself too often with indecision, where a decided opinion may be safely formed.—Kuhn, a Catholic Professor in Freiburg, published a *Life of Jesus* in 1838. This work is philosophical and critical. It is, at the same time, written with the spirit of an animated Christian. — Krabbe published his *Lectures on the Life of Jesus* (*Vorlesungen über das Leben Jesu*), in 1839. It is a thorough-going refutation of Strauss's skepticism, and adheres very strictly to the standards of the church.—On the historical character of the records concerning Christ, see Tholuck's *Credibility of the Evangelical History*, (*Glaubwürdigkeit*, etc.) 2d ed. 1838.

Next to the necessity of obtaining a vivid conception of the life of Jesus, is the importance of clear views in reference to the life of Paul. Hensen published, in 1830, a history of this apostle (*Leben Pauli*). It is written with a good spirit, and betrays industrious research, but is destitute of originality. The work of Neander on the *Planting of the first Christian Church*,¹ satisfies, in a high degree, the demands of the student. It contains the history of the most prominent men among the apostles, an introduction to their writings and their doctrinal views. Its want of precision, however, is palpable, as likewise its deficiency in acuteness of apprehension. It may well be used as an introduction to the history of the church, to systematical and exegetical theology. — It were desirable to have a good description of the characters of the most important personages mentioned in the Bible. Niemeyer gave us such a description in his *Biblical Characteristics* (*Charak. der Bibel*), in five parts; but this work is not adapted to our times, and can no longer be used with profit.

C. Biblical Geography.

The Old and New Testaments are occupied chiefly with scenes that occurred in Palestine. It is therefore necessary to learn the geography of that land. The most extended work which we yet have on this subject is Reland's *Palestinè*, published in 1714, in two parts, quarto. The best of the recent geographical descriptions of Palestine is the *Manual of Geography* (*Handbuch der*

¹ Translated into English by Jonathan Edwards Ryland, of Northampton, England.—Tr.

Geog.) by Charles von Raumer, 1838. In some particulars this work is excellent. It is, however, too aphoristic, and does not leave on the mind a complete impression of the scenes described. It is especially desirable to obtain faithful and impressive pictures of the Holy Land, such as are taken from nature and from life. There is a beautiful collection of plates, representing scenes in Judea, by Bernatz. It is accompanied with notes by Schubert. Its title is, *Bildersammlung aus dem heiligen Lande*. We should connect with such ocular representations the journals of travellers, the picturesque narratives of such men as Chateaubriand and Lamartine, and especially the very instructive *Researches of Robinson*, etc. — The student should also possess maps of the countries described in the sacred volume. The small Bible Atlas of Ackermann, published in 1822, is very serviceable. It contains a chart of Jerusalem. The best map of that city is Berghaus's. Neander's *Planting of the Apostolical Church* contains a chart for the countries mentioned in the New Testament.

D. Biblical Antiquities.

That part of the sacred antiquities which is most important for us, is the account of the religious life of the Israelites. It were delightful to possess a work like the *Journey of Anacharsis to Greece*; we have something like it in the work of Strauss, the court-preacher at Berlin. It is entitled *Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem* (*Helon's Wallfahrt nach Jerus.*), and consists of four parts. The most accurate Jewish Archaeology is that of Faber, which appeared in 1773. Only one volume, however, has been published, and that describes the family scenes of Judea. The most extensive Archaeology is that of Jahn, published in 1796 and 1818.¹ The two volumes of the first part describe the domestic habits and the usages of society among the ancient Jews; the second volume describes the Jewish political institutions; and the third, the sacred antiquities. Unfortunately only the first two volumes of the first part have appeared in a new edition. The second and third volumes are left, therefore, in a very imperfect state.—De Wette published a *Compendium of the Hebrew Antiquities*, in 1830; but this must be accompanied with lectures on the subject; else it is insufficient for the scholar.—A knowledge of the Jewish religious antiquities is absolutely indis-

¹ This work was subsequently abridged by the author himself; the abridgement was published in Latin, in one volume, and the second edition of it was translated into English by Prof. Upham, now of Bowdoin college. Tholuck speaks of the original German works, not of the Latin Abridgement.—Tr.

pensable to the biblical student. The most learned treatises in this department are, Reland's *Antiquitates Sacrae*, as it was edited by Simonis, and Carpzov's *Antiq. Sac.*, published in 1748.

§ 22. *Biblical Introduction and Criticism.*

One important element of an introduction to the Old and New Testaments is wanting, in the treatises which we now have. The authors of these treatises have confined their attention too much to the externals of the Bible, and on this account the whole department of biblical introduction seems dry and dull. The nature of this department requires, first, that it delineate the characteristics of the Bible as the primitive depository of a divine revelation, as a strictly religious volume; secondly, that the distinguishing religious characteristics of each several book in the volume be stated; thirdly, that the student be shown what was the design of the Deity in making precisely these communications to our race, in giving to the Bible its present contents rather than any other. More topics of this kind should be considered in the Introduction.

The department of criticism is divided into the higher and the lower. The lower criticism has respect to the text of the Bible, its various readings, etc. Very little of this species of criticism is now demanded in the study of the Old Testament. The scrupulous care of the ancient Jewish transcribers has precluded the occurrence of any important errors. In the study of the New Testament, however, there is still much to be done in this department. We have, as yet, no critical edition of the Greek Testament, which meets the demands of the scientific theologian. Our *lectio recepta* is from the edition of the Elzevirs, published in 1624.¹ It is conformed, chiefly, to the edition of Beza, but in part to the peculiar views of the editors. It is not known, however, by any one on what principles exactly the Elzevirian text was framed. Meanwhile, the number of the various readings, which are discovered in the progress of the New Testament study, increases. Mill had collected 30,000 in the year 1760, and about 15,000 may have been added since that time. This great number of discrepancies disturbed the religious sensibilities of Bengel, so that he prepared a critical edition of the New Testament. He was the first who reduced the various readings of the codices to distinct classes. His undertaking was further prosecuted by Griesbach,

¹ See Hug's Introduction to the N. T. Chap. VII. § 58.—Tr.

who took the received text for the basis of his edition, and altered this text in cases of importance only. Unimportant errors, however, may perhaps be found in the *lectio recepta*. This consideration induced Lachmann to resolve on commencing the whole work *de novo*, and on constructing a text which should be accommodated exclusively to the united authority of the oldest manuscripts. Those readings were therefore to be received as the basis of his text, which were sanctioned by the most ancient oriental and occidental copies of the Scriptures. He did not connect with this investigation of the oldest records a comparison of the different versions, conjectures, etc. His text was only a reproduction of the readings, found in the most ancient manuscripts. It is therefore not at all suited to the use of students. It cannot be called a critical edition of the New Testament, but only a preparation for such an edition. That it is not adapted to ordinary use, is evident from the following considerations. First, since there are so few codices, which are written in uncial characters, and are preserved entire, Lachmann has been obliged, sometimes, to adopt the readings which are authorized by only a single codex. Thus he has given the whole text, from the fourth to the twelfth chapter of 2d Corinthians, according to no other authority than that of Codex B, and the whole text, from Hebrews 9: 14 to the end of the epistle, on the basis of Codex A merely. In the second place, all the most ancient codices contain, sometimes, the same errors of the copyist, and these errors are therefore adopted by Lachmann. Thus in Ephesians 1: 15, the words *τιν ἀγάπην* are omitted. In Hebrews 6: 14, instead of *ἡ μὴν*, these manuscripts insert *ἐμὴν*. Thirdly, it is a disadvantage under which Lachmann's edition labors, that it does not present to the eye the division of the text into verses.

For manual use, the best editions of the New Testament which have yet appeared are those of Knapp and Hahn. That of Titmann, stereotyped in 1828, is the most convenient, but is disfigured by many errors of the press. The best critical apparatus is contained in Griesbach's large edition of the New Testament, and in his *Symbolae Criticae*.—The most correct editions of the Old Testament are, that published at Basle in 1827, and the second edition of Hahn's text, published in 1832.

That which is called the higher criticism is more important than the lower. It examines the authenticity and the integrity of the sacred books. The Protestant church permits a free critical investigation of this subject, on the ground of the external testi-

monies and the internal data for or against the authority of the records. It may indeed appear hazardous to institute a scientific examination of the authenticity of the Scriptures, because such important interests depend upon the results of the inquiry. The Catholic church pronounces a decision, concerning the authentic character of the books, by means of her councils which claim to be inspired. We, however, put confidence in the power of Christian truth, and believe that a critical examination of the reasons, on which our religious faith is built, will not invalidate the faith itself. Besides, it is not in all cases a particularly injurious concession, to give up the genuineness of a scriptural book, if we be obliged to do so on critical grounds. The concession, for example, that the latter part of Isaiah was not written by that prophet, may be made without important loss, provided that the evidence in the case requires the abandonment of the common belief. So, too, might we believe, without serious evil, that not Luke but Timothy is the author of the Acts of the Apostles, if there were good reason to adopt this opinion of some recent critics. It is only of importance to retain our belief, that the books of the Bible were written by the men to whom they have been usually ascribed, when we must otherwise lose our confidence in the credibility and authority of the writings themselves. In the first place, when it is said that one of the historical books of the Bible was not written by a man who lived at the time of the occurrences which he relates, by a man who lived among the scenes which he describes; when it is said, for example, that the Pentateuch was composed in the time of David, and without the aid of older records which served as a basis for the new, there is something advanced on which important practical consequences depend. In the second place, when it is said that prophetic books were written after the predicted events had transpired; when, for example, modern critics assert that the book of Daniel was not composed until after the occurrence of the scenes foretold, then also will serious evils result from conceding what these philologists claim. In the third place, similar baneful consequences will follow, if we admit that the didactic portions of the New Testament were not written by the apostles; if we adopt, for instance, the opinion of Bruno Bauer, that the Pastoral Epistles were composed in the second century, and of course by some writer or writers who had no apostolical authority.

Until the year 1770 or thereabout, until the time of Semler and Eichhorn, the historical criticism had remained in nearly the same

state in which it was left by the Reformers. The progress of free inquiry was checked by a close adhesion to a certain dogmatic system, and a fear of injuring the cause of orthodoxy by untrammelled investigations. From the time of Semler and Eichhorn, however, great advances have been made in this department. Many erroneous views have been corrected, but criticism veered from the side of an undue dependence upon the orthodox system to the side of an undue dependence upon the Rationalistic system. The critics proceeded on the assumption, that miracles and prophecies are impossible, and they accordingly rejected the authenticity of the sacred books. So Bertholdt, De Wette, Eichhorn. The commentators of this school manifested a vacillation of mind with regard to the occurrence of miracles, and thus betrayed the fact that they had no solid ground on which to rest, in their disbelief of such occurrences; but still, notwithstanding this indecision, they conducted their arguments on the basis of the doctrine that miracles are impossible. Such wavering is seen in De Wette. In the first three editions of his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, he says, § 145, "Since it appears a *decided* fact to an educated mind, that such miracles have not actually taken place," etc. But in his fourth edition he says, "Since it appears to an educated mind, *doubtful*, at least, whether such miracles have occurred," etc. Vatke in his *Biblical Theology*, page 9, says, "Very many of the reasons, and sometimes the principal reasons, why we must assign a more recent date to a pretendedly ancient book, are of a dogmatical character." Strauss in the preface to his *Characteristics* says, that he can see the insufficiency of all objections against the genuineness of John's Gospel, except the single objection, which results from the miracles which it records. This he cannot answer; and on the sole ground of its record of miracles, he feels obliged to give up the Gospel.¹ The question will now be asked, is not this a very objectionable slavery to a dogmatical system? Must not the critical examination of the text be free from all influence from one's theological opinions? To this question, we reply, that we have no right to demand such a separation between criticism and dogmatic theology. All the convictions of a man's mind must be connected together. Therefore will my philosophical opinions exert an influence upon my histor-

¹ These are some of the numerous concessions which are made by the most learned of the German rationalists and infidels, and it is partly on account of such concessions that their works are so serviceable to the establishment of orthodox principles.—Tr.

ical, and my observations in history will produce an effect, in their turn, upon my notions in philosophy. But although we cannot demand, that a critic exclude from his mind all the influences of philosophical or theological speculation, we can demand as much as this, that those interpreters, who adhere to the christian faith, be as much exempted from the charge of having formed their critical opinions under the influence of a doctrinal creed, as their opposers are exempt from it; that the christian interpreters be acknowledged to have as much freedom from the prejudice of system, as the infidel interpreters have; that, in fine, both parties admit themselves to be under the influence of dogmatic opinions.

The books of the New Testament whose genuineness is most severely contested, are the Gospel of Matthew in its present form, the Pastoral Epistles, and the second Book of Peter. The controversy with regard to the Old Testament is chiefly confined to the genuineness of the Pentateuch, the Book of Daniel, and the last part of Isaiah. It is necessary for the student to read the books which are written on both sides of this controversy. The contest is not yet decided by our scientific theologians, and the arguments, therefore, which both parties adduce, should be allowed to make their legitimate impression upon the scholar's mind. The oldest works in the department of higher criticism, are chiefly in opposition to the genuineness of the above-named parts of Scripture. In defence of their genuineness the following works are the most important for consultation: Hengstenberg's Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament, (*Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T.*), including, 1st, the Defence of the Book of Daniel, 2d, the Authenticity of the Pentateuch; König, on the Genuineness of the Book of Joshua (*Echtheit des Buchs Josua*), 1836; Kleinert, on the Genuineness of the disputed portions of Isaiah (*die Echtheit der angefochtenen Theile des Jesaia*), 1st Part, 1829.

The following are the principal Introductions to the Old Testament, which have been written in the spirit of the Christian faith; Jahn's Introduction to the Old Testament, in two parts, 1802 (*Einl. ins A. T.*; this work is not fitted to the wants of the present age); Hävernicks Introduction to the Old Testament (*Einleitung ins A. T.*), 3 Parts, 1837. The results of the negative criticism, (that which opposes the genuineness of the disputed books in the received canon,) are given most extendedly in the Introductions to the Old and the New Testaments by Ber-

tholdt, in 6 Parts (Einl. ins A. und N. T.), 1812—19, and in the Introduction to the Old Testament by De Wette.

When the student has not leisure to examine the works which have appeared for and against both parts of the Bible, then is it especially recommended to him to select two authors of solid merit, who shall best represent the two conflicting parties, and to examine their respective arguments in favor of, and in opposition to, some one scriptural book. He should adopt this course, in order to obtain a general impression of the comparative force of argument on the two opposing sides.

We have several extended Introductions to the New Testament. That of Hug, Prof. of Theol. in Freiburg, a Catholic, is learned and is written in an interesting style. The third edition of it appeared in 1829.¹ He has attempted to vindicate and sustain the genuineness of all the books, which are commonly regarded as canonical. Schott published an Introduction to the books of the New Testament (*Isagoge in Lib. N. T.*) in 1829. In this work he sets forth the results of the higher criticism with sobriety, learning and candor. Credner published an Introduction in 1836, in which the investigations are erudite, and are exhibited with perspicuity, but in some cases they indicate an arbitrariness, capriciousness of judgment. Other works in this department are Olshausen's Proof of the Genuineness of the New Testament Writings (*Nachweisung der Echtheit sämmtlicher Schriften des N. T.*), 1832, and De Wette's Introduction to the New Testament. The last named is the most skeptical of all the New Testament Introductions.²

‡ 23. *Literature of the Exegesis.*

The requisites for a biblical interpreter are to be set forth as follows. First, all good interpretation of the Scriptures depends upon this, that the commentator himself possess the spirit of his author, or that he be able to transfer himself into that spirit. Many commentators of the latter half of the preceding century were greatly deficient in this sympathetic quality. This is seen in the work of Vogel, entitled, *John and his Commentators before the Judgment-seat* (*Johannes und seine Ausleger vor dem jüng-*

¹ Two translations of this work into the English language have appeared, one in England by Daniel G. Wait, LL. D., and a much more accurate one in America by David Fosdick, Jr.—Tr.

² Translated by Rev. Theodore Parker, of Roxbury, Mass.—Tr.

sten Gericht). In Vol. I. p. 26 of this work the author says of the Evangelist John, that he "was adapted to the weakness of those men upon whom the philosophical spirit of our century, (alluding to the philosophical speculations of Kant,) has not been poured out." The same is seen in the commentary of Lange upon the first epistle of John, where the author calls on the reader to sympathize with the evangelist, "who was, at the time of his writing that epistle, a weak old man, and had no longer the power of thinking in any connected manner." The unfitness of such a commentator to give the spirit of a biblical writer is especially shown by Dr. Paulus, who gives the following explanation of John 9: 4, "I must heal the diseased eyes before the evening twilight comes on, because when it is dark we can no longer see to work." It may be offered as a general remark, that this deep sympathy, this identity of spirit, between interpreters of the Bible and the writers of it, is wanting in those commentators who adopt the principles of the falsely-called historical interpretation. The commentaries of Meyer are in this respect very deficient; those of Rückert are less so.

Secondly, the biblical writer must be explained psychologically; that is, a man must transfer himself into the identical situation of the individual whose writings he interprets. Chrysostom is remarkable for this excellence in his comments on the Epistles of Paul, as also is Calvin in his Exposition of Paul's Epistles and of the Psalms.

Thirdly, a commentator must explain the meaning of a biblical writer in the true spirit of the ancient history; that is, he must bring before the eyes of the modern a picture of the whole mode of life, which was adopted in the days of inspiration, the whole character and the accidental peculiarities of the Jews and early Christians. Dr. Paulus has a remarkable talent for this vividness of representation. Neander's *Life of Jesus* is entirely destitute of such picturesque exhibitions. Gesenius gives them in his *Commentary on Isaiah*.

Fourthly, an interpreter must explain the sacred text with philological exactness. The Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians by Harless is, in this respect, excellent and may be called a master-piece.

We need three kinds of Commentary on every book of the sacred Scripture. The first is such a commentary as shall serve the purposes of a *repertorium*, and shall contain, in reference to every passage, all the information which the student shall wish to pro-

cure. It must exhibit the entire history of the expositions that have been given, and answers to the critical, grammatical, and archaeological questions that have been proposed on every part of the text. An old work of this description is the commentary of Chemnitz, entitled *Harmonia quatuor Evangeliorum*, continued by Leyser and Gerhard, in three volumes. Among the more modern works of this description are Gesenius's Commentary on Isaiah, Tholuck on the Sermon on the Mount,¹ and Bleek's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Secondly, we need that species of Exposition, the chief design of which is to exhibit the spirit of the sacred books in a connected manner, and also to develop their doctrinal contents. The commentaries of Olshausen are excellent in this respect. Thirdly, we need commentaries for cursory reading. These are especially important for students, and should contain the most important parts of the verbal and historical exposition. Of this kind are the commentaries of Matthies, Meyer, De Wette, Tholuck on John.² The commentary of Meyer has explained the antique phraseology of the sacred books with exactness and appropriate brevity; but has failed in its exhibition of the doctrinal system, and of the spirit and ideas found in these books. If a commentator aim to unfold the rational import of the figurative expressions in the Bible, he is said by Meyer to pursue a falsely *rationalistic* method. Such a style of exposition as Meyer's will keep the mind always outside of the sacred writer's meaning. The commentaries of Matthies, on the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians, give a spirited theological exposition of these books with a proper degree of conciseness. This expositor, should have given more attention, however, to the helps which learned men have provided for the interpretation of the scriptural text. The merits of De Wette's Commentaries are stated in Tholuck's *Vermischte Schriften*, in an article entitled, *The Characteristics of De Wette as an Interpreter*.

The exegetical works on the Old Testament which have been prepared with reference to the wants of students are, the *Abridgement* of Rosenmüller's Commentary, and the *Commentary* of Maurer. Neither of these works gives a good theological and religious exposition, but that of the last named author far surpasses that of the first named, in acute apprehension of the thought, and in exact explanation of the words of the text.

¹ A part of this commentary was translated by Prof. Torrey, in the *Bib. Rep.* Vol. V.—Tr.

² Translated into English by Rev. A. Kaufman, at Andover, Mass.—Tr.

There are exegetical works of a more comprehensive character than those already mentioned. The first of these is the *Critici Sacri*, in nine folio volumes. This is a collection of the most celebrated expositions, which appeared in the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. In respect of philology and exegesis, it is indeed meagre; still it goes over the whole ground of the Hebrew Scriptures, and comments on the New Testament also. The second of these comprehensive works is more modern, the *Scholia* of Rosenmüller. The chief deficiency in this work is, its want of spirit in its treatment of the inspired authors. Neither their thoughts nor their language are examined by Rosenmüller in a very penetrating manner, and there is but very little life or animation in his whole work. It is praiseworthy, however, for the industry which it exhibits in its author, for the simplicity and naturalness of its expositions. Rosenmüller was in a great degree dependent on other philologists, especially on Clericus (*Le Clerc*), and *Heinr. Joh. Michaelis*. In many places he has barely transcribed the words of these commentators.

The greatest desideratum of the Old Testament Literature for our times is, that of a *Theologia Prophetica*; by which is meant a treatise on the distinctive marks of a prophet's office, or the nature of the prophetic gift, and on the predictions themselves. We possess three works of this character. The first is *Hengstenberg's Christology*.¹ This contains an explanation of those passages in the Old Testament which refer to Christ, and also an introductory explanation of the author's theory of prophecy. This discussion on the distinctive character of the prophetic gift is, however, peculiarly deficient and imperfect. True, the writer uniformly exhibits acuteness in his reasonings, but is mechanical in his style of thought, and often constrained, forced. The last part of his *Christology* is written in a freer spirit than the first. The second work in reference to this subject is, *Knobel on the Prophetic character (über den Prophetismus)*, in two parts, 1837. This book is composed on the principles of Rationalism, and is useful as a collection of theories, but is deficient in spirit and originality. The third work in this department is, the *Prophetic Character of the Old and New Testaments (der Prophetismus des A. und V. T.)*, by *Köster*, published in 1838. This treatise is written in the spirit of accommodation between the opposing

¹ Translated into English by Dr. Reuel Keith of Alexandria, D. C. Prof. Hengstenberg intends to make a thorough revision of this work, and issue an improved edition of it.—*Tr.*

theories. It is in great measure destitute of severe discrimination, and of lucid proof, but contains much excellent matter in reference to some relations of the subject, and may be especially recommended to students.—Compare also Tholuck's Treatise previously referred to, entitled, *The Old Testament in the New*.

At the present day it is demanded of the prophetic theology, that it be able, altogether independently of the Messianic predictions, to show the absolute impossibility of denying a supernatural influence upon the mind of the Jewish prophet. Such unquestionable proof must be deduced from that prophetic writer, the authenticity of whose book is entirely undisputed, and who even himself asserts that he wrote down the predictions with his own hand, or caused them to be written according to his dictation. That prophet is Jeremiah, see 30 : 1, 2. 36 : 4. 51 : 60. We may derive from Jeremiah an admirable picture of the self-denial, the fear of God, the sufferings for the cause of God which distinguished the old prophets. There are, moreover, some passages of his writing which must be recognized without a scruple as predictions; see ch. 25 : 12, ch. xxviii, ch. 31 : 16, et seq., ch. 50 : 41, etc. Before all others, then, the prophet Jeremiah claims to be accurately studied. Next to him, the prophets Hosea and Amos will give a lively view of the spirit of their office, and the reality of their predictions.

After we have proved, beyond all rational doubt, that the men who are called prophets did actually possess the power of foretelling future events, then we may pass to the consideration of the Messianic Psalms. When we examine these Psalms, we must proceed on the basis of a remark, which Peter makes concerning the state of the ancient seers in uttering their predictions; see 1 Peter 1 : 11, 12. From this passage it is evident, that the same spirit which was in Christ, was also manifested in those prophets, and that by means of this identity of spirit they obtained presentiments of the future christian scheme, that they had no clear insight into the scheme, and especially that they were ignorant of the time when it should be introduced. The remark, that the spirit of Christ which was in the prophets waked up within them a power to foretell future events, gives us a clearer idea than we should otherwise have of the prophetic gift. The spirit of Christianity had already begun to reign, in its first principles, among the better portion of the Jewish people. This spirit raised them in certain important particulars, far above the religious standard of their countrymen and of their age. Thus we find in the Old Tes-

tament such ideas and expressions, as are not at all homogeneous with the spirit and character of the Mosaic economy. It is said of Abraham, that nothing but his faith commended him to the favor of God, and that his faith was counted to him for righteousness, see Gen. 15 : 6. In like manner also, David expresses the idea of free grace and of the forgiveness of sins procured without a ceremonial offering. He says, that the worshipper should sacrifice his own will rather than a dumb animal to God, see Psalms 51 : 16, 17. 40 : 6, 7, 8. comp. Heb. 10 : 8, 9. But especially deserving of notice, yea more remarkable than any other production in the Old Testament, is Jeremiah 31 : 31—34. In this passage, a prophet of the ancient dispensation himself predicts, that the first covenant will ultimately be dissolved, and that the new covenant will be distinct from the old in several important particulars. One particular is, that the law shall be applied, under the new dispensation, not to outward works but to the exercises of the will, to the inward motives. Another particular is, that the prophet's office and the priest's office shall be discontinued, and that all men shall possess a like amount of religious knowledge; comp. Heb. 8 : 8—13. In the same spirit also Isaiah recognizes the truth, that the servant of God must be brought into a state of humiliation in order to atone for the sins of the people, and that he will be exalted after he has been thus humbled, see Is. ch. lii.

The idea of the scenes that were to occur in futurity, was sometimes clearly unfolded in the Old Testament, and at other times was so darkly shadowed forth, in the peculiar style of that book, as to compel us to separate the idea from the form, in order to ascertain the precise scope of the Revelation. Thus the Messiah is represented, in some passages, as king and priest; Jerusalem, as the central point in the new kingdom of God; the conversion of the Heathen, simply as a conversion to pure Judaism. See the second and eleventh chapters of Isaiah, the fourth of Micah, etc. In other passages, the distinguishing idea of the New Covenant is brought forward with such clearness, that the institutions of the Old Covenant seem to be entirely abolished by means of the New. Thus Isaiah 66 : 21 teaches, that priests will be chosen from the Gentiles even, and this is a thought which opposes the whole spirit of the Mosaic economy. When Peter says, that the prophets have ministered to us more than to themselves by their predictions, he means that they had certain presentiments concerning the future scheme of Christianity, but that they could not comprehend the mode in which their predictions would be fulfilled, and

that we, having actually witnessed the fulfilment of these prophecies, are the first who can reap the full benefit of them.

The orthodoxy of former days has failed in its explication of prophecy. It has aimed to prove, that even the minutest particulars of the christian scheme are accurately foretold in the prophetic writings. Umbreit has published several treatises, which serve to harmonize the older with the newer orthodoxy in reference to this subject. His essay on the "Servant of God," in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 4th No. 1836, is a valuable contribution of this kind. Compare Tholuck on Isaiah lii, in the second supplement to the *Commentary on the Hebrews*. See also Umbreit on the Prophets as popular orators, in the fourth No. of the *Stud. und Krit.* 1833.

There is scarcely a commentator, from whom so much may be learned in regard to the religious import of the Old Testament, as Calvin. His commentary on the Psalms is especially serviceable for this end. A new edition of it was published, in two volumes, in 1836. In more recent times the religious character of the Psalms has been developed by Umbreit in his work entitled, *Erbauung aus dem Psalter*, in which he has given an exposition of a small number of the Psalms. Ewald's *Commentary* on this part of the Old Testament has the merit of presenting the poetical character of the Psalms in a clear and proper light. De Wette's *Commentary* exhibits much prejudice in regard to the critical and dogmatical questions which he discusses. The commentary of Maurer meets the wants of the student, who is searching particularly for philological information.¹

It is not right to regard the interpretation of the Messianic Psalms (so called), as the principal object to be attended to in the study of the Psalter. The student should rather devote his chief attention to the unfolding of the elements of the christian religion, which are suggested in those sacred lyrics. We are to give especial heed to such remarkable disclosures of our need of redemption, and of the pious man's consciousness of peace with God, as are made in Psalms xxiii, and ciii, and 73 : 25. Passages of this character may in fact be termed *prophetic*; for they contain other principles than those of the Mosaic religion, and they cannot be fully understood if we examine them in the light of

¹ When these lectures on Encyclopaedia were last delivered, the author's own commentary on the Psalms had not appeared; and only the first volume of Hengstenberg's. Hengstenberg's commentary is now in process of translation into English.—Tr.

mere Judaism. It must be confessed, however, that many Psalms are called Messianic, which are not so in reality. There are some, for example, in which the Messiah has been supposed to speak directly, and in the first person. But we are not authorized to consider any Psalms as strictly Messianic, except the second, and the hundred and tenth, and in these the Messiah does not himself speak, but is spoken of in the third person. Those Psalms, in which the poet introduces himself in the first person, must be regarded as the songs of David, or of some other composer. Still, it is none the less true that in these songs we find certain elements, which we may denominate Messianic; for the authors of them express such hopes as rise above the standard of their times and of their people. How, for example, was it possible that David, under the influence of no extraordinary illumination, could regard his own deliverance from suffering, as a prelude to the conversion of the whole heathen world; see Psalm 22: 28. The last song of David, as it is authentically preserved to us in the 23d chapter of 2 Samuel, authorizes us to look for some references to the Messiah in this collection of sacred songs.

The best of the older commentaries on the minor prophets, Hosea, Joel, Micah, Malachi, is that by Pococke, published in 1625. In its theological as also in its philological character, this exposition is one of the most thorough and profound. The modern commentaries, which are most worthy of notice, on this part of the Bible, are Gesenius, Hitzig, and Umbreit on Isaiah, Umbreit on Jeremiah, Hävernicks on Daniel, Ewald on all the Prophets.

Since the end of the preceding century, the falsely-styled historical interpretation has prevailed in the exegesis of the New Testament. The commentators of the age now passing away, have treated this book as an ancient depository of the old Jewish opinions, such opinions as can be of but little service at the present time. It is on this account that Hegel¹ said of these interpreters, "they treat the New Testament, (as if they had no personal interest in it,) as if they were writing-clerks, taking an inventory of goods for a merchant who has hired them." But the new interest in practical religion, which has been awakened since the year 1817, has imparted life to the interpretation of the New Testament. It was this experimental religion, that first gave the impulse to exegesis. Men came back to the New Testament as

¹ The influence of Hegel was adverse to the spirit and the form of Rationalism in Germany. He often spoke of the Rationalistic system as "superficial," "shallow," "hollow," "low," "flat."—Tr.

the basis of theology, and strove, chiefly by means of exegesis, to give a luminous view of the ideas contained in the Gospels and Epistles. The commentaries which were first published with this intent, are, Lücke on John, and Tholuck on the Romans. The same exposition was afterwards adopted by others, among whom the most prominent is Olshausen. His commentaries have some peculiar merits. First, he treats the New Testament as a whole, and therefore always explains insulated passages with reference to the entire doctrinal system of the evangelists and apostles. Secondly, he makes it an especial object, to give a complete development of the ideas suggested by the sacred writers, and particularly of those ideas which are expressed in the manner most liable to elicit complaint or objection. Thirdly, he endeavors to show the harmony between the contents of Scripture and the demands of human reason. The same tendency is obvious in the commentaries of Harless on Ephesians, Steiger on the first Epistle of Peter, Pelt on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Matthies on the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians and Philippians. The commentaries of Rückert, also, on the Epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Galatians, and Corinthians, are composed with this design, to develop the ideas, to unfold the spirit, of the apostle. He very frequently, however, passes a hasty and rash criticism upon his author, and rejects the assertions of the inspired penmen, before he has penetrated into their real meaning.

In connection with the above named commentators, Fritzsche is deserving of honorable mention, as one who has advanced the philology and the criticism of the sacred writings. He has performed many valuable services to the critical as well as to the distinctively exegetical department of the New Testament literature. He has frequently, however, mistaken the meaning of the sacred text, and given insipid and trivial expositions of it. His errors have been occasioned, sometimes, by his want of theological knowledge, and often by his excessive philological nicety. He has published commentaries on Matthew, Mark, and the Epistle to the Romans.¹

We will now give a few hints in reference to the method of studying the New Testament. In the first place, it is necessary, for the understanding of any work, to take a preliminary survey of the whole; and accordingly, when we wish to study a particu-

¹ This author, Ch. Fred. Augustus Fritzsche, Prof. of Theol. at Rostock, is the same who made the celebrated (notorious) attacks upon Prof. Tholuck in 1831 and 1832.—Ta.

lar book of the New Testament, it is desirable that we first read the entire book in a cursory manner. During this preparatory perusal, we should not delay very long on any single passage. Still, as some expressions may be so difficult of comprehension, as to suggest no distinct idea when they are examined for the first time, we may profitably read a short Commentary in connection with them. Otto von Gerlach's (popular) Commentary on the New Testament, in three parts, is appropriate to this end. After this cursory perusal, we should commence the close and fundamental study of the book, and should make use of such a philological treatise upon it, as will explain not only the language and the historical references of the text, but also its ideas and its spirit. When the student has thus examined an entire chapter, let him embrace the results of his study in a paraphrase of that chapter. In this paraphrase, he should have especial regard to the transitions from one verse to another, and should designate the force of the particles by which those transitions are indicated. Secondly, as every organized whole is the more thoroughly understood, by means of an insight into the single individual parts of which it is composed, so it is desirable that some one prominent book of the New Testament be made the especial object of the student's investigations; that it be studied slowly and thoroughly, and that all the most distinguished commentators upon it be also examined. Thirdly, the interpretation of the Bible must be prosecuted from first to last with an unremitted reference to the especial duties of the pastoral office. These duties constitute the ultimate object of the ordinary theologian in his biblical investigations. It is therefore highly conducive to the end for which he studies, that he have an interleaved Bible, in which he may write everything which serves in any manner to the elucidation of the sacred text. This copy of the Scriptures should be his Repertorium for sentences, thoughts, illustrations, which may reflect any light upon scriptural passages. It is especially important, that the theologian be mindful of the great advantages which result from a collection of parallel texts from the Bible. Such a collection is useful both to the learned commentator, and also to the ordinary reader of the Scriptures.

[To be concluded.]

ARTICLE V.

THE EXPIATORY SACRIFICES OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, AND
THEIR RELATION TO THE ONE SACRIFICE UPON GOLGOTHA.

By Ernst von Lasaulx, Professor of Classical Literature in the Julius-Maximilian University,
Wuerzburg, Bavaria. Translated by Rev. Henry B. Smith, West Amesbury, Mass.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

[The following dissertation is called by its author a Contribution to the Philosophy of Religion. It is thought, that it presents the subject of heathen sacrifices, and of their connection with the one offering of Christ, in some points of view deserving our consideration.

That there is a connection, and a close connection, between the heathen sacrifices and the sacrifice of our blessed Lord, can hardly be contested. That the fundamental ideas of the one must be found in the other, is only a plain inference from language and from history. The early Christians could say: "*De vestris fuimus; fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani.*" Even Tertullian calls Christ "the true Prometheus." The Jewish sacrifices were consummated in Christ's oblation; were not the heathen sacrifices also? Did not heathenism, as well as Judaism, pass over into Christianity? If the grace of God led on the Hebrews, did not the providence of God lead on the heathen? With a proper understanding of the phrase, heathenism as well as Judaism may be said to have a prophetic character in relation to Christianity. There are two books, by German authors, upon the Christian Elements in Plato's Philosophy; and one, upon the Christian Elements in the works of Tacitus. And though the titles may sound paradoxical, and be open to the charge of anachronism, yet is there not a profound truth involved in them? Does not the providential theory of history force us to the conclusion, that in heathenism there was a preparation for Christianity? Was not the God of the Jews, also the God of the gods of paganism? And the sacrifices offered to them—did they not, as well as the Jewish, (to use the words of archbishop Magee,) "terminate in that one grand and comprehensive offering, which was the primary object and the final consummation of the sacrificial institution?" And if

we were required to seek that conservative element in the heathen superstitions, which kept them so long in being,—that article of faith which constituted the link between them and Christianity, where can we find it so clearly as in their views of the nature and necessity of a propitiatory sacrifice?

The sacrifices of the Jews, the sacrifices of the heathen, the sacrifice of Christ—there is a connection between them all. The sacrifices of the Jews were divinely instituted; the sacrifice of Christ was divinely appointed; have the heathen sacrifices, also, in any sense, an origination from God? The current orthodox theory refers all sacrifice to divine appointment, as the only mode of explaining what otherwise would seem so unnatural; and thus, by implication, would make the heathen sacrifices, to some extent, prefigure and foreshadow, to use a phrase of Warburton, be a “scenic representation” of the sacrifice of the cross. And this view is not inconsistent with the one mainly advocated in the following pages. For though the author seeks a basis in man’s soul for this universal system of sacrifices; though he would represent them as the fitting expression of the consciousness of guilt, and of the conviction that an expiatory substitution was needed; yet they may still, by a primitive appointment, have been the ordained means of meeting this feeling of guilt, and of momentarily appeasing, as well as of keeping alive, this longing for expiation and atonement. And the very highest view of a divine appointment is surely not inconsistent, but rather best consists with the supposition that such an appointment is fitted for man’s wants and needs.

Though the origin of heathen sacrifices be traced to God, yet the question would still remain, whether they retain any traces of their divine original? Let the answer be made in the words of De Maistre, in a treatise upon sacrifices, appended to his *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*. “Paganism sparkles with truths, but so changed and displaced, that I entirely agree with the theosophist of our own times, who says, that *idolatry is a putrefaction*. But when it is more closely considered, it will be seen, that among all its absurd, indecent and most atrocious opinions, and among its monstrous practices, so dishonorable to the human race, there is not one, from which we may not be able (through grace and wisdom given us) to remove the admixture of evil, so that the residuum of divine truth may be seen.” With suitable limitations, this position may be found correct. If idolatry be a putrefaction—what is it that is putrefied? Or, if some heathen observances be

caricatures, (as v. Lasaulx maintains,) of what are they the caricatures? What is there underneath the putrefaction and underneath the caricature? And in application to our present subject, what is there that is true, in the unnatural, monstrous system of sacrifices the world over? The following essay may assist us in answering these questions; and, perhaps its most valuable part, is the elimination of the leading ideas involved in heathen sacrifices, and, inferentially, in all proper sacrifice.

Of Ernst von Lasaulx, we are not able to give much more information than is found in the title to this article. He is the author of two other pamphlets, written much in the same spirit, the "Pelagic Oracle of Zeus at Dodona," and the "Mythus of Œdipus."

May the translator offer a criticism upon this production? The chief difficulty he feels in relation to it is, that the application of the heathen sacrifices to the oblation of Christ is kept too much within the region of flesh and blood; that the material, visible portion of the sacrifice is made too prominent. In this respect our author resembles De Maistre in the Essay already cited. In this respect, perhaps, he is faithful to his Roman Catholic sympathies, which in one or two passages are not to be mistaken. That portion of the dissertation which relates to the connection between the heathen offerings and the sacrifice upon Golgotha, is the least satisfactory, and is most open to the charge of obscurity. Nor do we find any clear statement of the mode by which the life of Christ is communicated to a fallen race. The introductory page may also seem liable to the same accusation of the want of clearness. And it is not to be denied, that many things which look clear in German, sound strangely in English; that what in German is announced as a principle, in English would scarcely pass current as a figure of speech; and that what really, in the midst of German speculation, has a substantive value, to the English mind possesses hardly an adjective importance. In reference to such passages and phrases, the translator believes that he has done his duty, so far as was consistent with even the semblance of a translation; unless it should be pronounced his duty, to have omitted them altogether.

An eminent reviewer of this essay, Göschel, in the "Berlin Annals of Science," suggested, that the transition from heathenism to Golgotha should have been made through the Hebrew rites and sacrificial system. The work of Bähr, cited in the second note, contains a most masterly development of the whole Jewish sacri-

fices ; and, in a land of critics and theologians, has contributed to a much higher estimate of the Old Testament economy.

We will venture to interpose only one more criticism between the reader and the article. It would almost seem as if the author supposed the eating of the flesh of the victims, to be the culmination-point of all heathen sacrifices, in order to make out a parallelism with the Roman Catholic views of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. An emphasis, not warranted by facts, is laid upon this point. Whatever truth there may be in the conception, is unquestionably presented, in better accordance with the data, by Cudworth, in his well-known tract upon the " True Notion of the Lord's Supper," (Vol. II. p. 500—542, Andover edition) ; where the analogy is confined to the point that both the heathen and the Christian observances are to be considered as an " epulum sacrificiale," a sacrificial feast—I mean a feast upon sacrifice ; or, " Epulum ex oblatiis," a feast upon things offered up to God. (p. 508, comp. 540.) Only the most material view of this sacrament would admit of comparing the eating the flesh of human victims in horrible heathen rites, with the reception, in the Christian symbols, of the body and blood of Christ.

Throughout the translation, the Greek names of Grecian deities have been retained, in preference to the current Latin forms. A more thorough study of the difference between the Greek and Roman Mythologies, would make such a distinction essential to intelligibility. Zeus is not Jupiter, nor is Artemis Diana, nor Dionysus Bacchus. Zeus is not so much the Greek Jupiter, as is Jupiter the Roman Zeus.—TÆ.]

If the history of the world is not the work of man, but of God by means of man, and *one* almighty will rules the whole ; if, as Aristotle teaches,¹ that which is in its birth the later is in its idea and substance the earlier, and the whole process of things be only for the sake of some predetermined end, so that the purpose revealed at the end, has from the beginning been the moving cause of all things ; then we might expect that all past history, in its inmost principles and laws, would only be as it were a prefiguration of what is to come, a type of what is to be fulfilled. Each past era, containing in itself the germs of the subsequent historical development, will be a kind of prophetic annunciation of what is to follow. Hence, in ancient history, we may be able to discern some

¹ Aristoteles de Anima, II. 3. p. 414 col. b, 29. Metaph. VIII. 8. p. 1050 col. a. 4 seq. Bekker.

intimation and foreshadowing of truths that were afterwards fully revealed. And, if one omnipotent will preside over the course of history, then the history of all people will be essentially but one history, will form, as it were, one life. The histories of particular nations will be parts or members of one organized whole. And the history of all nations will form one continuous series, in which the member, relatively the last, will ever comprise in itself the substance of all that has gone before. Since, however, all history, in its last analysis, is the history of religion, Christianity, being a universal religion, intended for the whole world, must from its very nature have adopted, and must contain, all that is true in all the antecedent religions of the different nations. And there is scarcely a truth enunciated in Christianity, of which we may not find the germ or substance in the systems that previously prevailed. In the following pages we intend to illustrate this position in respect to the idea of expiatory sacrifice, which will be found to be the centre of all the forms of religious faith, that have had a positive character or an historical influence.¹

Prayer and sacrifice are the most ancient and universal mode of the worship of God. Both are found, wherever there is a definite consciousness of religious truth. We may perhaps say, that the first word of primitive man was a prayer, and the first act of fallen man a sacrifice. The Mosaic Genesis carries the origin of sacrifices back to the earliest history of the race, to Cain and Abel. Grecian story refers them to Prometheus,² and Chiron the Centaur,³ or to the most ancient kings, Melisseus,⁴ Phoroneus and Cecrops.⁵

One of the most difficult problems of the philosophy of religion, is the determination of the meaning and original signification of sacrifice. History gives us no tradition respecting it; and language, from which in many cases the original idea may be deduced, offers no solution of the problem. The Greek word, ῥέζω,

¹ Among the later works, treating of this subject, Franz Baader's *Theorie der Opfer*, Münster, 1836, is the most original and suggestive; but its results cannot be maintained, since they are deduced from an imperfect knowledge of the data. The Old Testament sacrifices are profoundly discussed by Baehr, in his *Symbolik, des Mos. Cultus* II. 189—453. De Maistre, with a happy instinct, has felt out some of the most important points, in his *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, II. 216—264.

² Hesiodi Th. 535 seq. and Aesch. Prom. 491 seq.

³ The author of the cyclical Titanomachy in Clemens Alex. Strom. I. 15. p. 361. Potter.

⁴ Didymus in Lactantius, I. 22. p. 146. Walch.

⁵ Clemens Alex. Cohort. p. 38, 27 seq.

in the Boeotian dialect $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\delta\delta\omega$,¹ by transposition and change of δ and ζ , $\epsilon\rho\delta\omega$, is and means nothing more than $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega$,² *work*. In the same way, $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$,³ as well as the Latin terms for sacrifice, *facere*⁴ and *operari*,⁵ has only the general signification of *act, do*; since sacrifice was especially considered as an effective act, and to kill a living animal was looked upon as an important deed.⁶ The word $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$, is connected with $\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$, and signifies *separate into parts, cleave, slaughter*.⁷ In Homer, the word $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ is still only used for the burning of vegetable oblations;⁸ it is the same word with the Latin *fio*, which is retained in *suffio*, and means *kindle, fumigate*. The words $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omega$ and $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$, used for drink-offerings, etymologically signify, as does *libare*, nothing more than *pour out*.⁹ The German word *opfern*, is manifestly formed from the Latin *offerre*, and designates every offering.¹⁰ But all these conceptions are so external and material, that the religious and fundamental idea of sacrifice can hardly be recognized in them. Since language, then, gives us no solution of the problem, and history no tradition, we must endeavor to find some basis in the mind of man, in his religious sentiments, for the origin of sacrifices, and thus determine their primitive signification.

The ground and origin of sacrifices, in man's soul, seems to me to be as follows. The whole nature and consciousness of man, in his primitive estate, was most intimately and directly connected with God. The creature was as essentially allied to the Creator, in the whole substance of his being, as is the child to its mother. And as a created being, he knew it to be his duty to consecrate all that he had and all that he was, to the service of his Creator. To the will of God he owed his existence; he felt himself every-

¹ Eustathius to Il. XIV. 261.

² Eustathius to Il. II. 305, and IV. 29.

³ Athenæus XIV. 79. Eustathius to Od. X. 349. Hesychius vv. $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ Tom. I. 1030, 1031. Alberti.

⁴ Cato de re rust. 134. 139. porco piaculo facito. Columella II. 22. 4. Catulo facere. Virgil. Ecl. III. 77. facere vitula pro frugibus. Tibul. IV. 6, 14. ter tibi fit libo, ter, dea casta, mero. Cicero pro Mur. 41, 90. Junoni . . . omnes consules facere necesse est.

⁵ Operari, the same as, operam dare rei divinæ, Nonius Marcellus XII. 21. Virg. Ge. I. 339. Propertius III. 29, 2. Tac. Ann. II. 14. — *Operari sacris*, Liv. I. 31, 8. *Operari deo* Tibul. II. 1, 9. 5, 95. *Operari Libero Patri* Curtius VIII. 10, 17.

⁶ $\omega\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\ \delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\ \theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu\ \epsilon\mu\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu$ Plutarch. Mor. p. 729. F. Sylb.

⁷ Eustathius to Il. I. 459 and to Od. XII. 385. Comp. Ammonius de Diff. p. 71.

⁸ Athenæus XIV. 79. Scholia antiqua ad Od. XIV. 446.

⁹ Isidor. Orig. V. 19, 32.

¹⁰ J. Grimm's—Deutsche Mythologie, p. 22.

where in his presence, and surrounded by his works; his own will was perfectly consonant with the will of his Maker; the will of God was predominant. So long as this originally-established union of the subjective will of man with the objective will of God subsisted, there would be no conception of anything like a sacrifice. The affiliation between the parties was too intimate. The lowest view of any kind of sacrificial oblation would be the offering up to God of a *part* of what man might possess; but where total union of will exists, where *all* that belongs to man belongs to God, there were no need of the special consecration of any part. But this originally constituted union of the human with the divine will did not have a long duration. A breach between man and God occurred. The union was severed. Man was originally endowed with freedom of will, the possibility of willing otherwise. This possibility was realized. By sin, his will was made different from the will of God, and opposed to it. But though he had revolted, man could not set aside the constant feeling, that he ought still to be united with God; nor the conviction of his duty to consecrate to him, without reserve, all his powers and possessions. But he could not fulfil these duties, he could not bring himself back to this state of union with God, nor to the harmonious and united action of the powers of his soul, now that he was dissevered from his source of life, now that his mind was dissipated among many objects. And the life, which by sin he had forfeited, he now sought to make good, to make an expiation for, by the voluntary giving up of life, in some form. Hence all sacrifices, being a consequence of sin, are in their very nature expiatory. The form which they necessarily assume is that of substitution—they are vicarious; since by the offering up of something that belongs to his external life, man seeks to integrate or to make good the partial and defective consecration of his inward self to God.¹ Now,

¹ Compare Tholuck, Commentary to Hebrews, Supplement 11. "Sacrifice is, originally, a gift to some divine being; and, more specifically, a gift by means of which man strives to make good the ever imperfect consecration of himself to God." p. 69. That the expiatory sacrifices of the Old Testament were in their nature vicarious, he proves from the following positions, established by Scholl in the "Studien der Württemberg. Geistl." I. B. 2 H. IV. B. 1. H. V. B. I. H. (1) "The idea of the substitution of a sacrificed animal for the guilty, prevailed in all ancient nations. (2) It is conceded, that among the Jews, the death of *men* was considered vicarious (2 Sam. 12: 15 seq. 24: 10. Is. 53: 4. Especially Dan. 11: 35); allied to this is a substitution by means of animals. (3) The ritual favors this view; only in the expiatory sacrifices is the animal unclean. Ex. 29: 14. Lev. 4: 11, 12, 21. 6: 27, 28. 16: 28. The remains of it were burnt outside of the camp; Lev. 16: 27. Ex. 29: 14. Lev. 4: 21; and

among all the people of antiquity, the blood was considered as the seat and source of life. Blood and life were to them identical. "The life [soul] of the flesh is in the blood," are the words of Jehovah to Moses, "and I have given it to you upon [for] the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for the blood maketh an atonement for [by means of] the soul."¹ The apostle to the Gentiles repeats the same position, "And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission."² So taught the Egyptians,³ and Persians,⁴ the old Roman pontifical books,⁵ and all the physiologists of ancient times,

as is expressly said in Ex. 29: 14, because "it is a sin-offering." And, Lev. 16: 28, "he that burneth them shall wash his clothes and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp." (4) Substitution may be inferred from Lev. 17: 11, where the blood is called an atonement, "*because the life is in the blood.*" (5) The same, from Deut. 21: 1—9; the guilt is chargeable upon the whole people, if it be not known who slew the man; and by the washing of the hands, the guilt is transferred to the sacrifice. (6) The substantive קָדַשׁ, ransom, *pretium expiationis*, would lead us to the inference that קָדַשׁ, *expiate*, includes the idea of a substitution. (7) The solemn rites of the yearly feast of the expiations, with the scape-goat (*hircus emissarius*), bring us to the same result. The goat that was killed was the sin-offering, by which the sin was expiated; the sin was laid upon the one that was sent away into the wilderness, in order by this most weighty act of expiation to make a more visible manifestation of the taking away of the guilt by means of the expiation. p. 78, 79. Compare with this, Winer's *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, under the word *Sühnopfer*.—Ta.

¹ Lev. 17: 11 (comp. Gen. 9: 4, 5. Deut. 12: 16 seq.) according to the interpretation of Baehr, *Symbol. d. heb. Cultus* II. 199. 206 seq. [Baehr's translation of the passage where it deviates from the English version, is given within the brackets of the text. His commentary upon this passage, which he looks upon as the key to the whole theory of the Jewish sacrifices, covers some fifteen pages of his great work. The chief points he seeks to establish, are: that the central point of the sacrifice is not the killing of the animal, but the procedure with the blood; that the end of the sacrifice was expiation or atonement; that it is Jehovah from whom the atonement proceeds ("I have given it"), and that the atonement is for man ("for your souls"); and that the blood makes an atonement, because the soul is in the blood, the atoning power does not reside in the material blood, but in the soul that is in the blood—קָדַשׁ, "by means of the soul." There is a substitution of the soul of the animal for the soul of man; yet only a symbolical substitution. The sacrifice has also a sacramental character, so far as the blood is the means, ordained by God, of bringing the soul of man into connection with himself. Winer, in his *Real-W. B.* II. 631, says, that "the parallelism of the soul of the animal with the souls of the persons who offered it, is assuredly not without significancy."—Ta.

² Heb. 9: 22. Καὶ σφῶδὸν ἐν αἵματι πάντα καθαρῶνται κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ χωρὶς αἵματος καθαροὶ οὐ γίνονται ἄφροισι.

³ Horapollo I. 7.

⁴ Strabo XV. p. 503, 504. Casaub. 1587.

⁵ Servius ad Æn. II. 118.

Pythagoras,¹ Empedocles,² Hippocrates,³ Critias,⁴ Galen.⁵ But if the blood is in the life, then it is not the shedding of the blood which effects the atonement, but the life itself, or the soul which in the blood is offered up as a sacrifice. And this is precisely what Philo declares when he speaks of the pouring out of the blood as a libation of the soul.⁶

If these positions be correct, we shall be able, in the expiatory sacrifices which were made by means of the shedding of blood, to distinguish a three-fold succession of ideas and acts: 1. the sin-

¹ Pythag. in Diog. L. VIII. 30. *τρέφουσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος.*

² Emped. fr. 315. Sturz. and Cicero Tusc. I. 9.

³ Hippocrates de Corde T. I. 490. de Flatibus T. I. 583. de Morbis T. II. 209. Kühn.

⁴ Critias in Aristot. de Anima I. 2. p. 405. b.

⁵ Galen. de plac. Hipp. et Plat. II. 8. T. V. 233. Kühn. With this idea of the blood is also connected the ancient popular superstition, that a bath or draught of fresh human blood is the only remedy for certain otherwise incurable diseases, particularly for leprosy and epilepsy. See Aretæus de curatione morborum diuturnorum I. p. 312. Kühn. Celsus III. 23. Plin. XXVI. I. XXVIII. 1, 4. Tertull. Apol. 9. Minucius Fel. Octav. 30, 5. The Pseudo-Jonathan's Chaldee paraphrase of Ex. 2: 23, and Midrasch Rabbah to Ex. 2: 1. Paraschah p. 119 col. 3. And it is still a popular superstition, that the drinking of the blood of condemned criminals is a cure for epilepsy. Comp. Feuerbach's Actenmässige Darstellung merkw. Verbrechen I. 271 seq.

⁶ Philonis Opera T. II. 242, 10. Mangey: *ψυχῆς γὰρ, κυρίως εἶπαι, ἐστὶ σπονδὴ τὸ αἷμα.* The belief in the purifying and atoning power of blood, is most conspicuously seen in the sacrifice of bulls and rams (Taurobolium and Criobolium) in the worship of the Phrygian divinities. The person who was to be consecrated was put into a pit; over him was laid a platform perforated like a sieve, and upon it the sacrificial bull or ram slaughtered. Like a rain, through the thousand pores, dropped down the blood upon the forehead, brow, cheeks, eyes, lips and tongue, and over the whole body of the penitent, who believed himself to be perfectly purified and regenerated by this baptism of blood. See Prudentii Peristeph. X. 1011 seq. and Orelli Corpus Inscript. No. 2352: taurobolio criobolioque in aeternum renatus. Compare van Dale de oraculis p. 159 seq. [The passage from Prudentius is quoted in De Maistre, Soirées de St. Pétersbourg, II. 235, as follows:

“Tum per frequentes mille rimarum vias
Illapsus imber tabidum rorem pluit;
Defossus intus quem sacerdos excipit,
Guttas ad omnes turpe subjectum caput
Et veste et omni putrefactus corpore,
Quia os supinat, obvias offert genas;
Supponit aures; labra, nares objicit,
Oculos et ipsos proluit liquoribus:
Nec jam palato parcat, et linguam rigat
Donec cruorem totus atrum combibat.]

ner voluntarily offers up his own life as a sacrifice ; 2. instead of the guilty, another, an innocent person, suffers or takes upon himself the sacrificial death : and, finally, instead of a man, an animal is substituted and sacrificed. These three points we will now illustrate psychologically and historically.

I. The first religious idea which lies at the basis of the sacrifices, is the following. Since life is a gift of God to man, on the condition that man fulfil his commands, every sinner against God has, in strict justice, forfeited his life. It is an old saying, that the sinner, so far as in him lies, is a murderer of the divine will. Death, however, can only be expiated by the death of the guilty ; blood shed demands blood again.¹ In Plato, an aboriginal saying of the priests teaches, "that the avenging justice (*Δίκη*) never leaves a murder committed upon a blood-relation unavenged, but he that has shed such blood must, without fail, give for it his own blood ; so that, he who has killed his father will suffer the like violent death from his own children ; he that may have taken the life of his mother, must come again into the world as a woman, and one of his own children will then take from him this second life ; since there is no other purification for the shedding of the blood of consanguinity, than that the soul expiate the committed murder by the suffering of a like murder."² The consciousness of the guilt of blood, from its very nature creates a remorse, which is often so excessive as to impose the moral necessity of a voluntary self-sacrifice. "Mine iniquity is greater than that it may be forgiven," cried Cain when he had slain his brother, (Gen. 4: 13 ; marginal reading of the English version) ; and that other Cain, Judas Iscariot, was driven, by the same consciousness of guilt, to hang himself. And even now, it is a notorious fact in criminal history, that great transgressors give themselves up to justice, and ask for their own death, which they consider as an expiation of the crimes they have committed.³ Similar instances are found in heathen antiquity, and they seem to me to express the psychological idea which lies at the foundation of expiatory sacrifice.

¹ Compare Euripides El. 681. αἷμα δ' αἵματος πικρὸς δαεισμός ἦλθε τῷ θανόντι. Ovid. Metam. VIII, 483. mors morte pianda est. Caesar de b. G. IV. 16 : pro hominis vita nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur.

² Plato de Legg. IX. p. 156, 157. Bekker. πρὶν φόνον φόνος ὁμοίος ὁμοίον ἢ δοῦσα ψυχὴ τίσση.

³ Feuerbach, as above cited, I. 249. II. 473 and 479 seq. (F. misjudges the first instance, in contradiction with himself, comp. S. 275.)

Thus Herodotus¹ and Diodorus² relate, that a Phrygian of regal lineage, Adrastus by name, whose hands were stained with the blood of a brother, whom he had inadvertently killed, came to Croesus, king of the Lydians, praying for a purifying expiation. Croesus granted it to the unhappy man, and retained him, and exhorted him to bear his fate with patience. In a wild boar hunt, the king committed to him the care of his son Atys; but in the chase, Adrastus, aiming at the boar, missed the animal and killed Atys. "And then Adrastus, who had first slain his brother, and afterwards the son of his benefactor, called himself the most unfortunate of men, and after he became calm, went and killed himself upon the grave of Atys." Similar is the story of Althaemenes, son of Creteus, the king of Crete. Hearing that either he or one of his brothers were to be their father's murderer, he fled to Rhodes to avoid becoming a parricide. Creteus, after the death of his other sons, went to Rhodes, to see his son Althaemenes. When he landed, the inhabitants attacked him in the night, supposing him to be an enemy, and he was killed by the hand of his own son. When Althaemenes knew what he had done, "he could not endure the burden of his misery; he departed from the sight and society of men into the wild deserts, and grieved himself to death, wandering about like one insane."³ The same idea, though in a broken form, and in the transition-state to the second stage of expiatory sacrifices, is expressed in the following narration, which carries us back to the oldest times. "Hercules had maliciously killed Iphitus, by throwing him down from a tower. For this murder, he was smitten with a severe sickness. On that account, he went to Neleus, at Pylos, and prayed him to purify him from the guilt of blood. Neleus refused. Hereupon he applied to Deiphobus, the son of Hippolytus, who was persuaded to attempt the expiation of the murder. But since Hercules did not get rid of the disorder, he asked the oracle at Delphi the means of cure; and the oracle replied, that he would be healed, when he should sell himself, and pay the price of his purchase to the children of Iphitus. He sailed over to Asia and sold himself to Omphale, queen of Maeonia, sent the purchase money to the children of Iphitus, and was restored to health."⁴ Here also we indubitably have expressed the conviction, that murder must be

¹ Herodotus I. 34—45.

² Diodori fr. p. 553. T. IV. 79. Dindorf.

³ Diodorus V. 59. According to Apollodor. III. 2. 2, he prayed the gods to remove him; and the earth immediately opened and swallowed him up.

⁴ Apollodorus II. 6, 2. Diodorus IV. 31.

expiated by the death of the murderer ; only, instead of the actual, physical death, we have the civil or moral substituted, the death of personal freedom.

II. The religious consciousness advanced one step further. The true view of man, is not that which considers him to be only an isolated individual. He is a member of a race. His individual life is connected with the life of the whole race. And men are bound, not only individually but collectively, to the service and worship of God. The race as a whole, if we may so express ourselves, as one solid, compact, living, organic whole, has duties to God. On account of this connection of each individual with the whole race, since man, as man, has generic as well as specific qualities ; it is possible that one individual stand as a representative for others ; it is possible, that one be put for another, be both given, accepted ; it is possible, that one be sacrificed for another, or sacrifice himself for another ; in short, it is possible that one be offered or offer himself as an expiatory sacrifice instead of others. This idea will, be found to pervade all the ancient religions. And especially was the *voluntary* sacrifice of the innocent thought to be effectual and pleasing to the gods, in proportion to the purity of will, of him who thus offered himself for others. "A pure soul, when voluntarily offered up, is surely in a condition to make satisfaction for thousands ;"¹ are the words, we find in Sophocles, addressed to Œdipus, the sufferer, when about to be glorified. And in the Sohar we read, "the death of the just expiates the sins of the world."² In Grecian Mythology, I find no earlier example of such a voluntary, expiatory death, than that of Chiron in the story of Prometheus. As a punishment for stealing the fire from heaven, Prometheus was chained to the Caucasian mountains, by order of Zeus, where an eagle was ever to devour his ever growing liver. Through many generations of men he endured these torments, until at last Hercules, in his wanderings through Asia, killed the bird of prey ; and Chiron, the Centaur, who ruled over the mountainous regions, voluntarily offered himself to death instead of Prometheus.³ In history we find similar instances. When once the plague was spreading through all Aonia, the Gortynian Apollo proclaimed, that the pestilence would be stayed, when the infernal gods, Hades and Persephone, should be

¹ Soph. Œdipus. C. 498 seq.

² Sohar to Levit. p. 100 : mors justorum est expiatio sæculi. Comp. Gfrörers's Philo II. 196, and Jahr. des Heils II. 133.

³ Apollod. II. 5, 4, 11.

appeased by two virgins, offering themselves up, of their own free will, as an expiatory sacrifice. The daughters of Orion, Metioche and Menippe, consecrated themselves to death for their fellow-citizens, and the pest ceased. To these virgins, the Aonians erected a splendid temple, in the Boeotian Orchomenus, and thither boys and maidens brought to them thank-offerings every year.¹ In Attica, the daughters of Erectheus, the Hyacinthians, and the daughters of Leos, voluntarily suffered a sacrificial death for their father-land; and in later times, the grateful Athenians brought to them public libations.² Known to all is the voluntary death of Codrus for his people. The prophet Tiresias in Thebes, proclaimed victory to the Cadmeans, in case the son of the king should give himself to be slain for a sacrifice. When Menocœus heard this, he offered himself up to death before the gates of the city.³ Such voluntary, sacrificial deaths (*θῦσαι*) were carefully distinguished from suicide, and from the killing of another (*πορεύσαι*); and only the first were deemed pious.⁴ In the first Messenian war, a Delphic, oracular declaration announced to the hard-pressed Messenians, that they would obtain redemption from their miseries, if an immaculate virgin, of royal dignity, of the blood of Aepytus, and chosen by lot, were sacrificed to the infernal deities; and should she in any way escape the sacrifice, then they must take some other, who might voluntarily (*ἐκούσιως*) consecrate herself to this object. Aristodemus, offered his own daughter; and when her suitor protested against it, (falsely denying her virginity), in his rage her father slew her with his own hand. And now, some other must give up a daughter, since Aristodemus had not offered his to the gods, but had murdered her. Yet the other Aepytidae succeeded in making it appear, that the death of one maiden should suffice.⁵ When the priest Epimenides of Crete was called upon by the Athenians, about the forty-sixth Olympiad, 596 years before Christ, to perform a sacred lustration for their city, on account of the guilt they had incurred by the death of Cylon, (who was persuaded to leave the sanctuary of Minerva, under a promise that his life should not be forfeited, but was afterwards killed), he declared that the blood

¹ Antoninus Liberalis c. 25.

² Demosthenes Epitaph. 27, 2^o, p. 587. seq. Bek. Apollod. III. 15, 4. Diod. XVII. 15. Aelian. V. H. XII. 28. Cicero Tusc. I. 43 and N. D. III. 19 seq.

³ Apollod. III. 6, 7. Eurip. Phœn. 913 seq. Statii Theb. X. 610 seq. Juv. XIV. 240.

⁴ Paus. IV. 9. 5.

⁵ Paus. IV. 9.

of a man was needed for this; the Athenian youth Cratinus offered himself as a voluntary sacrifice; and thus was the expiation completed.¹ One other remarkable fact deserves to be adduced. The priestess Cometho with her paramour Melanippus once desecrated the temple of Artemis Triclaria in Achaia. The wrathful goddess brought sterility and infection upon the whole land, and the Delphian oracle declared, that they should not only sacrifice to Artemis both the guilty ones, but every year bring to her the sacrifice of a beautiful virgin and youth, until upon a time, a foreign king should come into the land, and teach them the worship of another God.²

Afterwards, when voluntary sacrifices became more infrequent, as would naturally be the case in process of time and under the gradual deliverance of the religious consciousness from the tyranny of a fearful superstition, there grew up even in Athens the horrible custom, of nourishing every year, at cost of the State, two poor, forsaken persons, male and female; and then, at the festival of Thargelia, of putting them to death for the expiation of the people, as though they had assumed their sins. Hung about with figs, and scourged with rods of the fig-tree,³ these *φαρμακοί*, to the sound of an ancient melody, called *αρὰδιὰς*, were led in solemn procession out of the city to their sacrificial death, and then, either hurled down from the rocks,⁴ or burned, and their ashes cast into the sea.⁵ The same expiatory custom existed in the Phocæan colony, Massilia. As often as the plague prevailed, they were wont to lead through the city a poor creature, adorned with wreaths and festive garments, who a year long had been fed at the public expense, to imprecate upon his head all the calamities of the people, and afterwards to cast him down from the rocks.⁶

¹ Herodotus V. 71. Thucydides I. 126. Ulrici's *Gesch. der Hellen.* Poesie I. 458 seq. II. 235 seq.

² Paus. VII. 19.

³ The fig-tree is famed for its sweetness. By figs, it would then seem, is here to be implied, that the sacrifice was sweet. On this account the fig was an *ἐπιθύμιον* of all sacrifices. It was also reputed to be an antidote against every poison. Julian. *Epist.* 24. p. 391 seq.

⁴ Aristoph. *Ran.* 733 and *Eq.* 1133, with the Scholia. Helladius in Photius *Cod.* CCLXXIX. p. 534. col. A. Bek. and Photii *Lex.* p. 533. Harpocration p. 179. Ammonius de *Diff.* p. 136. Suidas t. III. 581. Hesychius v. *αρὰδινης ῥήμος* p. 337. and v. *φαρμακοί* p. 1494.

⁵ Tzetzes *Chil.* v. 23, 735. *Oracula Sibyll.* III. 361. Gallæus.

⁶ Petronii *Satiricon* c. 141 extr. and Servius ad *Ae.* III. 57.

Upon the island Leucas, a man was thrown every year into the sea, for the absolution of the people.¹ In like manner, at Rhodes upon the sixth of the month Metagitnion, a man was sacrificed to Chronos. This custom was afterwards so changed, that any one condemned to death was kept till the festival of Chronos, and then strangled outside the gates, opposite the temple of Artemis ἀριστοβούλη, after they had given him wine to drink.² So in Cyprus, in the cities Amathus and Salamis, a man was every year sacrificed to Zeus;³ in the latter city, in the month Aphrodisios, one to Agraulus, and in later times to Diomedes. The one appointed for the sacrifice, led by youths, ran three times around the altar, the priest then thrust a lance into his throat, and burned him whole upon a funeral pile, ὀλοκαυτίζεν. Diphilus, king of the Cyprians in the times of Seleucus the Theologian, first abolished this custom, by substituting the sacrifice of bulls for that of men.⁴ At Laodicea in Syria, a virgin was yearly sacrificed to Athena; instead thereof, in later times, a hind was offered.⁵ In general it may with certainty be assumed, that human expiatory sacrifices prevailed in all parts of Greece; among no other people are there found more or more various accounts of such offerings, than among the Hellenists. In the Pelasgian Arcadia, from the first periods till the Roman imperial times, men were sacrificed to the Lycaean Zeus:⁶ he that went into the Lyceon no longer cast a shadow.⁷ At Halus in Thessaly, all the descendants of Athamas that entered the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystius, were offered in sacrifice.⁸ Upon the island Lemnos, virgins⁹ were sacrificed to Artemis Orthia; upon Tenedos to Palaemon;¹⁰ upon Crete, children¹¹ to Chronos and to Zeus; and Theseus was the first that abolished the tribute brought every year to the Minotaur.¹² Upon the islands Lesbos, Chios and Tenedos, human sacrifices were offered to Dionysos Ὠμάδιος; and in Lacedaemon to Ares.¹³ The Locrian Ajax, son of

¹ Strabo X. 2. p. 332.² Porph. de Abst. II. 54.³ Ovid. Metam. X. 224 seq. Lactantius I. 21.⁴ Porph. de Abst. II. 54, 55.⁵ Id. II. 56.⁶ Plato Min. p. 254. Theophrastus in Porph. de Abst. II. 27. Pausan. VIII. 2, 38. Varr. fr. p. 361 seq. Bip.⁷ Plut. Mor. p. 300.⁸ Herod. VII. 197. Plato Min. as cited.⁹ Steph. Byz. v. Ἀῖμος p. 183. Muller's Orchom. p. 310.¹⁰ Lycophron 229 with Tzetzes.¹¹ Istrus in Porph. de Abst. II. 56. Plutarchus Thes. p. 6, D.¹² Isocrates Encom. Hel. 27. p. 234. Bekker.¹³ Dosidas in Clemens Alex. Cohort. p. 36. Porph. de Abst. II. 54. Euseb.

Oileus, after the taking of Troy, dishonored Cassandra, daughter of Priam, priestess of Athena. The goddess avenged the outrage not only upon the criminal, who in his voyage back was shipwrecked, but also upon all the Locrians, whom she visited with general public calamities. They consulted the oracle, and received for answer, that for a thousand years, they must each year send two virgins to Troy, to serve in the temple of Athena, and this they did till the so-called holy war.¹ The virgins were burned, and their ashes cast into the sea from mount Traron.² Achilles, the noblest of Grecian heroes, sacrificed twelve Trojan youths to the manes of Patroclus;³ Neoptolemus immolated Polyxena to the memory of his father Achilles.⁴ Menelaus, detained in Egypt by adverse winds, sacrificed two boys.⁵ In the midst of the proper historic period of Greece, Themistocles, before the battle of Salamis, brought three Persian prisoners⁶ to the altar of Dionysos the Fercious, *Διόνυσος ὠμότης*; in accordance, as Phylarchus maintains, with an ancient custom, that all Greeks, ere they went to war, must offer human sacrifices.⁷

The same religious ideas were the basis of the like sacrifices in ancient Rome.⁸ As in Athens, Codrus and the daughters of Erechtheus voluntarily offered themselves; so in Rome, out of many examples to adduce one, P. Decius, the consul in the Latin war, consecrated himself for the sake of his legions, of his own free will to a sacrificial death.⁹ Prisoners were afterwards substituted for these voluntary sacrifices. In the year of the city 397, three hundred and seven Roman prisoners were immolated at one time, by the Etruscan Tarquinius, with Punic cruelty.¹⁰ As often as any great and general calamity threatened the existence of the Roman State, by order of the books of fate, human victims

Praep. ev. IV. 16. and de Laud. Const. 13. 4 seq. Other instances of human sacrifices are adduced in Clem. Alex. Cohort. 3, p. 36 seq. and Cyrill. adv. Julianum, p. 128.

¹ Plut. Moral. p. 557, D. and Schol. Lycophr. 1135.

² Callim. fr. p. 564 Ern. and Tzetzes Chil. V. 23, 738.

³ Il. XXI. 27 seq. In like mode Æneas in Virgil X. 517 seq.

⁴ Eurip. Hec. 37 seq. 104 seq. 215 seq. 516 seq. Ovid. Metam. XIII. 441 seq.

⁵ Herod. II. 119.

⁶ Plut. Themist. p. 119, A. Aristid. p. 323 seq.

⁷ Phylarchus in Porph. de Abst. II. 56.

⁸ Upon the old Italian human sacrifices, and that Hercules was the first who attempted to abolish them, see Dionysius I. 38. Ovid. Fast. V. 621 seq. Macrobius Sat. I. 7. p. 240 seq. Zeune. Lactantius I. 21. Minucius Felix Octav. 30. Arnobius II. p. 91.

⁹ Liv. VIII. 9, 10.

¹⁰ Liv. VII. 15.

were sacrificed. A man and woman of the Gauls, a man and woman of the Greeks, or natives of whatever country threatened them with danger, were buried alive in the cattle-market,¹ with magical forms of prayer repeated by the president of the College of the Fifteen, who had charge of the Sibylline books.² It was not until the year 657 of the city, or 97 years before Christ, that the senate issued a decree forbidding human sacrifices.³ But in spite of this we read, that the dictator J. Caesar, A. U. 708, or 46 years before Christ, commanded a sacrifice of two men, with the traditionary solemnities, upon the Campus Martius, by the Pontifices and the Flamen Martis.⁴ And Augustus, after the defeat of L. Antonius, immolated four hundred senators and knights upon the altar of the deified Julius, at the Ides of March 713, or 43 years before Christ.⁵ Even in the times of Hadrian, the beautiful Antinous died a voluntary sacrifice for the emperor;⁶ and the annual immolation of men to Jupiter Latiaris, upon the Alban mount, is said to have continued even into the third century of our era.⁷

As it was in Greece and Rome, so it was among almost all the oriental and occidental nations. Nowhere are to be found more bloody and fearful human sacrifices, than among the idolatrous descendants of Shem, especially in ancient Canaan, in Phoenicia and Carthage. Here, perhaps, we find human sacrifices in their primitive form. Not any and every human being was immolated, but the innocent children were selected; and among these, the preference was given to the only child or to the first-born.⁸ A king of the Moabites, whom the three united kings of Israel, Judah and Edom had driven back into his principal city, takes his first-born son, and slays him upon the wall for a burnt-offering; and the three kings, indignant at this barbarity, returned to their own

¹ Plin. XXVIII. 2, 12.

² Liv. XXII. 57. Plut. Marc. p. 299, C. and Mor. p. 283 seq.

³ Plin. XXX 1, 12.

⁴ Dio Cass. XLIII. 24.

⁵ Dio Cass. XLVIII. 14. Suet. Octav. 15. Seneca de Clem. I. 11. Sextus Pomp. had not only horses but men thrown into the sea, as a sacrifice to Neptune. Dio Cass. XLVIII. 48.

⁶ Xiphilinus p. 356, 21. Sylb. Ael. Spartianus Hadriano 14. Aur. Victor de Caesaribus 14.

⁷ Porph. de Abst. II. 56. Just. Martyr Apol. II. p. 100, D. Theophilus ad Autol. III. p. 412, E. Tatian. adv. Graecos p. 284, B. Euseb. de Laud. Const. 13, 5. 1198. Zimmerm. Tertul. Apol. 8. and Scorp. adv. Gnost. 7. Minucius Fel. Octav. 21, 15. 30, 4. Lactantius I. 21, 30. Prudentius adv. Symmach. 1. 380.

⁸ Euseb. de Laud. Const. 13, 4 τὰ μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὰ τῶν τέκνων κατασφάζειν.

land.¹ The Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech.² The valley of Hinnom is especially designated as the place of abominations, where children were immolated to the Moloch of the Ammonites.³ The Phœnician history is full of such sacrifices. In all great calamities, in war or general sterility, in plague or famine, they believed that they could appease the wrath of Baal, who inflicted these punishments, by offering to him the dearest child as a peculiar sacrifice.⁴ At Carthage there was a metallic statue of Chronos, in a bending posture, with hands stretched out and raised upwards. This statue was heated, till it glowed, by a kiln beneath; into its arms were placed the children destined for sacrifice; from its arms they fell into the gulf of fire beneath, dying in convulsions, which were said to be of laughter.⁵ The childless were wont to buy children of the poor. "The mother," says Plutarch, "stands by, without shedding a tear or uttering a sigh; should sigh or tear be observed, the money is lost, yet the child is sacrificed: around the image of the god, all resounds with the noise of kettle-drums and flutes, that the crying and wailing be not heard."⁶ Another author informs us, that the tears of the children were stifled by caresses: *ne flebilis hostia imoletur*.⁷ It is evident that every attempt was made, to have at least the semblance of a voluntary sacrifice. When the Sicilian king Agathocles appeared before the walls of Carthage, the besieged, to repel the invaders, immolated upon the altar of Chronos two hundred boys of the noblest families; and three hundred more were voluntarily offered to a like sacrifice;⁸ and after the defeat of Agathocles, the best and most beautiful prisoners were slain as a thank-offering to the gods.⁹ Gelon had, indeed, (Ol. 75, 1,) when he conquered the Carthaginians at Himera, granted them peace only on condition that they, from that time forth, should sacrifice no more children to Chronos;¹⁰ but the

¹ 2 Kings 3: 27. [The English version reads, "indignation *against* Israel;" but the original is *בְּיָד*, super.]

² 2 Kings 17: 31.

³ 2 Chron. 28: 3. 33: 6. Is. 57: 5. Jer. 7: 32. 19: 2, 4 seq. Ex. 16: 20 seq. 23: 37 seq.

⁴ Sanchoniathon in Porph. de Abst. II. 56 and in Euseb. pr. ev. I. 10. IV. 16.

⁵ Clitarchus in the Schol. Plat. p. 396. Bekker. Diod. XX. 14.

⁶ Plut. Mor. p. 171, B.

⁷ Min. Felix Octav. 30, 3. Tertul. Apol. 9.

⁸ Diod. XX. 14 and Pescennius Festus in Lactant. I. 21. p. 132.

⁹ Diod. XX. 65. ¹⁰ Plut. Mor. p. 175, A. 552, A. Comp. Just. 19, 1. 33*

agreement had no duration. The old and fearful superstition maintained its validity, until, under the reign of Tiberius, the public immolation of children ceased, but in secret it still continued.¹

Among the gloomy and austere Egyptians, the existence of human sacrifices cannot be denied. Manetho testifies, that in the city Eileithya, every year in the dog-days, some so-called Typhonian (i. e. red-haired) men, were burnt alive, and their ashes thrown into the air with winnowing-shovels;² and like persons were sacrificed by the kings at the grave of Osiris.³ Milder was the custom of the religious Ethiopians. Every twentieth generation, or every sixth hundredth year, there was a general purification of the land by two men, usually foreigners. They were put into a small boat, with provisions for two months, and commanded to sail towards the South, where they would arrive at a happy island, inhabited by just men.⁴ The Persians buried alive the men who were to be sacrificed;⁵ and it would seem to have been a custom amongst them, as with the Greeks, before a battle to slay prisoners.⁶ The Dumatians in Arabia sacrificed a boy every year, and buried him under the altar;⁷ the Arabians, in garments sprinkled with blood, offered regularly to Mars a warrior, and every Thursday to Jupiter a sucking child.⁸ The same human sacrifices, in fine, are found among the Northern nations; among the

¹ Tertul. Apol. 9. From a passage in Porph. de Abst. II. 27, it would seem that children were still sacrificed there in his times, 300 years after Christ. For a more full view of the Punic human sacrifices, see Fr. Münter, Religion d. Karthager, S. 17 ff.

² Plut. Mor. p. 380, C. D.

³ Diodorus I. 88. The grave of Osiris is called, by the Egyptians, Busiris. Hence, the well known Grecian fable, that Busiris was an Egyptian king, who sacrificed foreigners and devoured their flesh, till Hercules put an end to the enormity. Pherecydes in the Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 1396. Apollod. II. 5. 11. Panyasis in Athen. IV. 72. Virg. Ge. III. 5. Ovid. de Arte am. I. 649. Met. IX. 182. Trist. III. 11, 39. This fable was adequately refuted, even among the ancients, by Herod. II. 45. Isoc. Busir. 5. 36, 37 and Diod. I. 88. Compare Creuzer, Symb. und Mythol. I. 352 seq.

⁴ Diodorus II. 55. When, on account of the wrath of Poseidon, Ethiopia was inundated, and was laid waste by a sea-monster, the oracle of Ammon declared, that the land would be delivered from the disaster, if Andromeda, the daughter of the king, should be cast out to this monster of the deep. The virgin was chained to a rock, but released by Perseus, and carried home as his bride. Apollod. II. 4, 3 and Heyne's Observ. p. 126.

⁵ Herod. VII. 114, with Wesseling's Comment.

⁶ Herod. VII. 180.

⁷ Porph. de Abst. II. 56.

⁸ Stühr's Religion der heidn. Völker des Orients, p. 407.

Scythians, the Getae and the Thracians;¹ among the Russians on the Dnieper,² the Swedes and the Danes;³ among the Germans,⁴ the Gauls,⁵ the Britons⁶ and the Celts.⁷ I will adduce only one additional instance, found among the Albans, from which it is made very clear, that those who offered it, sought by contact with the sacrifice to become partakers of its expiatory virtue. After the man was slain, the body was carried to another place, where all, for the sake of the purification, touched it with the foot, *ἐμβαίνουσιν ἅπαντες καθαρσίῳ χρώμενοι*.⁸

These historical proofs may suffice to establish the positions, that the necessity of purification and of the reconciliation of sinful man with God, was most strongly and universally impressed upon the religious systems, and experienced in the religious convictions, of all the nations of antiquity; and that it was believed that the means of such an absolution were to be found in the shedding of human blood. Even where a milder feeling struggled against actual human sacrifices, the religious faith in its necessity was still so strong, that there was at least a constant longing for the shedding of the blood of man. Hence, facts like the following: the priests of Baal tore their flesh till the blood flowed, and limped around the altar of their god;⁹ the priests of the Phrygian mother of the gods danced their bloody weapon-dances, wounded themselves in the arms and feet, and castrated themselves;¹⁰ the priests of Hercules at Gades in Spain daily sprinkled the altar of the god with blood;¹¹ the priests of Bellona, in feigned insanity, lacerated their shoulders and arms with knives in the

¹ Herod. IV. 62. 71, 72. V. 5. Plut. Mor. p. 171, B. Porph. as above. Ovid. ex Ponto IV. 9, 84. Lucian. de Sacrif. 13. The human sacrifices offered to the Taurian Artemis are known through all the world, comp. Diod. IV. 44, 45. Ovid. Trist. IV. 4, 61 seq. and ex Ponto III. 2, 45 seq. Lactan. I. 21 and A.

² Solinus 15, 2.

³ La Cerdas advers. sacra c. 43. Mone Gesch. d. Heidenthums I. 261, 270. Grimm, deutsche. Myth. p. 29.

⁴ Tac. Germ. 9. 38. Grimm, deutsche. Myth. p. 26 seq.

⁵ Caesar B. G. VI. 16. Just. XXVI. 2. Diod. V. 31, 32. Strabo IV. 4. p. 319. Lactan. I. 21. Min. Felix Octav. 30 and Plac. Lactan. in Statii Theb. X. 788.

⁶ Caesar B. G. VI. 13. Tac. Agr. 11.

⁷ Lucanus I. 444. Zeuss, die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 32.

⁸ Strab. XI. 4. p. 417.

⁹ 1 Kings 18: 26 seq.

¹⁰ Lactan. I. 21. p. 133. August. C. D. VII. 26. Creuzer, Symb. und Myth. II. 39 seq. Comp. Aretaeus de causis et signis diuturn. morb. I. 6, p. 84. Kahn.

¹¹ Porph. de Abst. I. 25. p. 37.

temple of the goddess;¹ after human sacrifices at the graves had actually ceased, the Roman women, despite the prohibition of the Twelve Tables,² tore the flesh from their cheeks, in order, by the show of blood, to make satisfaction to the deities of the infernal regions.³ At the festival of Artemis Brauronia in Attica, which was appointed in commemoration of the sufferings and deliverance of Orestes, instead of the human sacrifice, a man must offer the back part of his neck to the sword, and at least some human blood be shed.⁴ To the same series of facts, belong the scourging of the Spartan boys at the altar of Artemis Orthia;⁵ and the scourging of the Arcadian women at Alea in the Dionysian festival *Ξυέρεα*.⁶ In these cases, fresh human blood, drawn by violence, is manifestly substituted for the actual offering up of the life. The Semitic nations, that burnt their children upon the funeral pyre, when they would spare their lives, let them pass through the fire.⁷

In connection with these attempts to avoid the religious claim of the sacrifice of the whole life, another mode of effecting this object had already established itself. When once the primitive idea of the giving up of life itself, had been exchanged for the giving up of that which represents and sustains life, viz. the blood that was shed, then the next step would be, as follows under our third division.

III. Since that which constitutes the substance of all life, the blood, or the soul in the blood, (so to speak, the blood-soul,) is the same in all living beings; then the *ánima vicaria* of the life of an animal, may be substituted, a soul for a soul, an *ἀντίψυχον*⁸ for

¹ Hor. Sat. II. 3, 223 and Heindorf on the passage p. 318. Tibull. I. 6, 45. with Dissen's Comment. p. 137 seq. Tertul. Apol. 9. Lactan. I. 21, p. 133.

² Mulieres genas ne redunto, neve lessum funeris ergo habento. Cic. de Legg. II. 23. Servius ad Ae. XII. 606.

³ Varro in Serv. ad Ae. III. 67. mulieres in exequiis et luctu ideo solitas ora lacerare, ut sanguine ostenso inferis satisfaciant.

⁴ Eurip. Iph. T. 1424 seq.

⁵ Pausan. III. 16, 6 seq. Plut. Mor. p. 239. C. Sextus Empir. III. 208. Møller's Dorier I. 382 seq.

⁶ Pausan. VIII. 23, 1.

⁷ Lev. 18: 21. 2 Kings 16: 3. 17: 17. 23: 10. 2 Chron. 28: 3.

⁸ Lucian. Lexiphane 10. T. II. 333. Reitz. and Eusebius Demonstr. ev. I. 10. p. 35, B. ed. Paris, 1628. ἀντὶ τῆς οἰκίας ψυχῆς τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων προσήγον θύσας, τῆς σφῶν ψυχῆς ἀντίψυχα προσκομίζοντες. Comp. Joh. Chrysostomus adv. Judaeos VIII. 9. T. I. p. 688, A. Montf. [It was believed, as it always will be believed, that the innocent could pay for the

the more valuable life of man, and be offered to the gods by way of reconciliation or expiation.¹ This vicarious character of animal sacrifices, this substitution of them for human sacrifices, is very clearly expressed in an Egyptian custom. Upon the sacrificial bulls that were found to be without blemish, a seal was branded, which represented a man kneeling, with his hands bound behind him, and a sword placed at his throat.² We also find this transition from human to animal sacrifices unequivocally expressed in the Grecian traditions. At Orchomenos in Boeotia, from immemorial times, a malediction had rested upon the race of Athamas, in consequence of which the first-born son must die as a piacular sacrifice for the people.³ Phryxus, the son of king Athamas was about to be immolated. As his father was leading him to the altar, his mother sent him a ram with a golden fleece, which Hermes had given her. The golden ram carried away Phryxus and his sister Helle through the air, over land and sea. Helle fell into the sea, and gave to that part of it, where she died, the name of Hellespont; Phryxus reached the far land of Aea, there sacrificed the ram to Zeus Laphystius, and gave the golden fleece to king Æetes. The king fastened the fleece to an oak tree in the grove of Ares, and a sleepless dragon guarded it. A brother's son of Athamas, by name Aeson, was king of Jolchos in Thessaly; and his son was Jason, which name signifies a saviour.⁴ This Jason, with the help of Athena, prepared the ship Argo, assembled the most famous heroes of his times, and sailed to Colchis. Assisted by the sorceress Medea, who became his wife, Jason recovered the gold-

guilty; and, hence, the conclusion was drawn, that man, having forfeited his life, a life less precious might be offered and accepted. The blood of animals was offered; the blood was held to be the seat of the soul; and this soul, offered instead of a soul, was called by the ancients *antipsychon* (*ἀντίψυχον*) a vicarious soul; as if one should say, a soul for a soul, a substituted soul." — De Maistre II. 253.]

¹ Ovid. Fast. VI. 161. Cor pro corde, precor, pro fibris accipe fibras. Hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus. In the passage in Virgil *Æt.* V. 483, the expression "*melior anima*" does not mean, (as O. Müller, *Etrusk.* II. 179 seq. will have it) a vicarious animal life, in an absolute sense; but it refers to the "*melior hostia succidanea*," as is proved by the parallel passage, *Æt.* XII, 206.

² Castor in Plut. Mor. p. 363, B. Comp. Herodotus II. 38, 39.

³ Herod. VII. 197.

⁴ Ancient authors thus interpret it by bringing the names Aison and Jason into connection with *iaōs*, the act of healing. So that the name Jason etymologically expresses the same conception as the names Joshua and Jesus. Schol. Pind. Pyth. IV. 211. Joseph. Flav. A. J. XII. 5. 1. Matt. 1: 21. Cyril. Hier. Lect. catech. X. 13. and Joh. Chrys. T. VII. p. 23, B.

en fleece and brought it back to Greece.¹ Athamas, his son Phryxus, and the ram, strikingly remind us of the account in the Old Testament, of Abraham's sacrifice, and the mysterious ram by which Isaac was saved.² If we consider, as does the Scripture, this mystic ram, by which the reconciling God prevents the dreadful sacrifice of Isaac, as a symbol of the Lamb, who was to be offered up for the sins of the world; then Jason, and his heroic expedition after the golden fleece, may have a higher significancy, and appear like a wondrous foreshadowing of the coming of Him, who brought to men the true redemption. The same idea, in respect of the sacrifice of animals, is contained in the well-known tale of Agamemnon and his daughter Iphigenia, where the deity interferes and sends and accepts a hind instead of human life.³ The inhabitants of Potniae in Boeotia had once, in wild debauch, killed the priest of Dionysos. Hardly was the crime committed, when the plague fell upon them, and the Delphian oracle declared, they must every year sacrifice a blooming boy to Dionysos; in later times they were allowed to substitute a goat for the child.⁴ When the plague was raging in Lacedaemon, the oracle, being consulted, returned for answer, that the pestilence would cease if a virgin, of noble family, were every year offered in sacrifice. As once the lot fell upon the beautiful Helena, and she was led adorned to the altar, an eagle of Zeus, rushing down from the heavens, seized the sacrificial sword, carried it to the herds, and laid it upon a young cow; and from this time forward, the immolation of virgins ceased.⁵ Also, that most ancient custom in Rome and Athens, that in case of unintentional murder, the relatives, the bounden avengers of blood, might accept the substitution of a ram for the head of the murderer,⁶ does not permit us to doubt respecting the original meaning of animal sacrifices, that they were substituted for human (*loco hominis*). This point is further illustrated by the account of the origin of the Tarentine

¹ Apollod. I. 9. Pausan. I. 24, 2. IX. 34, 4. Müller's *Orchom.* p. 258 seq.

² Philo, in his work *de Abrahamo*, has instituted a comparison of this sacrifice with analogous ones in heathenism. See Gfrörer's *Philo* I. 469 seq. [For a singular resemblance to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, in the mystical sacrifice of the Phœnicians, see Magee on the Atonement, I. 266, 277.]

³ As the Cyprians relate in Proclus ap. Photium, p. 319. Pausan. IX. 19, 5. Antoninus Liberalis 27. *Ov. Met.* XII. 23 seq.

⁴ Pausan. IX. 8, 1.

⁵ Plut. *Mor.* p. 314, C. Joh. Lydus *de mens.* p. 113. Bekker.

⁶ Festus v. *subjici*, p. 265, 267 Lindem. Serv. ad *Ecl.* 4, 43. *Comp. Lev.* 3: 6. 19: 21. Num. 5: 8. Ezra 10: 19.

games (*ludi Tarentini*). Valesius wished to redeem the lives of his two children, who were smitten with mortal sickness, at first by giving up his own and his wife's life, but he actually redeemed them by the vicarious offering of two sacrificed animals, their souls, represented by the blood, being substituted for the souls of the children.¹

There was now an advance upon this position. According to the maxim, "in sacris etiam simulata pro veris haberi,"² since the *will* is the essential and fundamental point, in the whole matter of sacrifices, we find the principle of substitution still further carried out and developed. At Heliopolis, in Egypt, it was the custom to sacrifice, every day, three men to Hera. King Amosis abolished this; and, instead thereof, commanded the oblation of as many wax figures.³ In Rome every year, after the vernal equinox, in the Ides of May, three or four and twenty so-called *Argei*, that is, images of men made of rushes, were cast down from the Sublician bridge into the Tiber, by the priests and vestal virgins, for the expiation of the people. Hercules is said to have introduced this custom by teaching, that the images of men were to be substituted for human victims.⁴ In like manner, at the festival of the Compitalia, to the Lares of the cross-ways, instead of the original sacrifices of children, dolls and skeins of wool were afterwards hung up; and the consul Brutus ordered, that the heads of the poppy and onion should be offered instead of human heads, in order to satisfy the letter of the law, *ut pro capitibus capitibus supplicaretur*.⁵ The city Cyzicus was sacred to Persephone; at her festival a black cow was sacrificed. When in the second Mithridatic war, at the siege of the city, this had become impossible, they made of wheat-meal an image of a cow.⁶ The

¹ Zos. Hist. II. 1 seq. and Val. Maximus II. 4, 5. The same primitive signification of animal sacrifices, as being "*loco hominis*," lies at the foundation of the Roman federal and votive sacrifices. Here, the killing of the sacrificial animal, and the going through the herds among the limbs of the beast, cut up and scattered round, was significant of the fate of the perjured one. Liv. I. 24, 32. IX. 5). This is made very clear by a comparison of a similar Persian and Grecian custom, as found in Herodotus VII. 39 and Apollodor. III. 13. 7.

² Serv. ad Ae. II. 116. and Mythogr. Vat. III. 6, 30. p. 193, 18.

³ Porph. de Abst. II. 55.

⁴ Varro de L. L. VII. 44. Ov. Fast. V. 621. Dionys. I. 38. Plut. Mor. p. 172, A.

⁵ Macrob. Sat. I. 7. Festus, p. 91 and p. 207.

⁶ But the goddess then sent a black cow over the sea, that of its own accord

poor were generally wont to sacrifice these cows made of meal instead of the actual animal.¹ The Locrians made small bulls even of wood, as a substitute for the real creature;² and at the festival of the Boeotian Hercules, apples were offered instead of sheep, because both are called *μηλα*.³

Through such transition-stages, in the historical development of expiatory sacrifices, men gradually returned to the idea which lies at the basis of them all, the consecration of the will. And as the prophets of the Old Testament tell us that the Lord has more pleasure in those that do justly and love mercy, and that truly know God, than in all sacrifices and burnt-offerings;⁴ (in accordance with which declaration the Essenes would seem to have acted;)⁵ so heathen poets and philosophers also declare, "that it is of no avail for men, whose souls are grovelling in the earth, and are void and sterile of all things heavenly, with such sentiments to go to the temples, and out of the depths of their sinful lives to bring their gifts to the gods."⁶ Cicero (*de Legg.* II. 8. 9.) exhorts, "let them come to the gods with pure hearts; let them bring piety, let them take away wealth; whoever does otherwise, god himself will be the avenger; . . . let not the impious man dare to appease the anger of the gods by gifts." To the same effect he speaks in his work on the Nature of the Gods: (*II.* 28. 71) "the worship of the gods is more excellent than all things else; it is most chaste, most sacred, most full of piety. Ever should we venerate them with a pure, sincere and uncorrupt mind and voice." And Seneca (*de Benef.* I. 6.) tells us, "the honor of the gods is not in victims, though these be most

ran into the temple, and stood still by the altar. *Plut. Lucullo*, p. 498, A. *App. de bello Mith.* 75. and *Porph. de Abst.* I. 25.

¹ Suidas v. *βοῦς ἑβδόμος* T. I. p. 443 seq. In like manner acted Empedocles after the precedence of Pythagoras. See *Athenaeus* I. 5. and *Philostratus* V. *Apoll.* I. 1.

² *Zenobius* V. 5. and *Leutsch* on the passage.

³ *Pollux* I. 30, 31.

⁴ *Micah* 6: 7 seq. *Hosea* 6: 6 Comp. *Psalm* 50: 8 seq. *Isa.* 1: 11 seq.

⁵ *Gfrörer's Philo* II. 341.

⁶ *Persius* II. 61 seq Comp. *Plautus Rud.* prol. 22 seq. *Atque hoc scelesti in animum inducunt suum,*

Jovem se placare posse donis, hostiis:
Et operam et sumptum perdunt: id eo fit, quia
Nihil ei acceptum est a perjuris supplicii.
Facilius, si qui pius est, a dis supplicans,
Quam qui scelestus est, inveniet veniam sibi.

excellent and glittering with gold, but in the pious and upright will of the worshippers: the good are religious even when they offer only corn and pap; the evil do not avoid the charge of impiety, although they make the altars flow with blood." "The sacrifices of the foolish do but feed the fire; and the consecrated offerings give occasion to the robbery of temples; only he is a true priest, who brings himself as a sacrifice, and dedicates his soul to a temple of God, since God has upon earth no more fitting abode than a human soul made pure;¹ we ought to be pure not alone outwardly, but also to be chaste and holy within;² and true and right ideas respecting the gods are more pleasing to them than all sacrifices and ceremonies."³

These declarations, and such as these, are, however, only exceptions; as it were, in anticipation of the truth. In the rule, in the heathen as in the Jewish worship, we everywhere find sacrifices of animals. The oblation of vegetable substances, in particular cases, accompanied them. And not only for expiation of sin, were sacrifices offered, but also in all the most important actions and periods of life, where man needed the help of the gods, at the beginning and end of every weighty transaction, in order to make manifest and to keep alive the continuous connection of men with God.

The aboriginal, patriarchal precepts of Hesiod,⁴ command every one, "when the morning breaks and when the day declines, with holy sprinkling and well-pleasing incense to reconcile the gods, so that their hearts may be inclined to us in complacency and peace." In family life, at birth, marriage, and death, sacrifices were made. The Cretans, who looked upon the marriage of men as a figure of the heavenly union of Zeus and Hera, brought their consecrated offerings, especially on such occasions, to these gods.⁵ When in Athens a man would marry, he brought first of all to the three original sources of life (the so-called Tritopatores) his prayers and sacrifices for the prosperous procreation of children,⁶ since without god there is no birth. Even at marriage there were sacrifices;⁷ and the gall of the animal was thrown behind the al-

¹ Pythag. in Stob. Floril. IV. 109. and Hierocl. p. 25. Compare Zaleucus in Diod. XII. 20. and Paul in Rom. 12: 1.

² Pythag. in Diod. fr. p. 555. T. IV. p. 82.

³ Plut. Mor. p. 355, C.

⁴ Hes. Op. et D. 335 seq.

⁵ Diod. V. 72, 73.

⁶ *ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παιδῶν* Suidas v. *τριτοπάτορες* and Lobeck Agl. p. 754 seq.

⁷ Poll. III. 38.

tar, to signify that no bitterness should ever make the union to be like gall.¹ In addition to this, in Athens, a sacrifice was offered when the bride was conducted to the family of her husband.² In Sparta, mothers at the marriage of their daughters, were accustomed to bring an oblation to Aphrodite Hera, the goddess of marriage love;³ the Boeotians and Locrians to Artemis Euclea;⁴ and the maidens of Haliartus, according to the usage of their ancestors, made a sacrifice preliminary to marriage to the nymphs at the spring of Cissoessa.⁵ Were the marriage blessed by a child, on the seventh or tenth day after its birth an oblation was made for it, and afterwards its name given to it.⁶ And at death, sacrifices were again offered for the repose of the departed soul, as well by individuals as by the State.⁷ The grave-stones were anointed, and wreathed with flowers; funeral piles were made, and victims sacrificed upon them; or, at least, various kinds of food thrown into the flames; pits were dug in the ground, and an oblation of wine, milk, and honey poured into them.⁸ Only for children none of these sacrifices for the dead were offered; because, being as yet unstained by the contact with earthly things, they needed no expiation.⁹

In like manner, they were accustomed to offer the first fruits of all that the bounty of the gods had given them; the firstlings of the flock, the first fruits of the field,¹⁰ of the vintage, of the or-

¹ Plut. Mor. p. 141, E.

² τὴν γαμήλιαν θύοιαν εἰσφέρειν. See Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alterthüm. I. 237.

³ Pausan. III. 13, 6.

⁴ Plut. Aristid. p. 331, E.

⁵ Plut. Mor. p. 772, B.

⁶ δευτέρην θύειν Aristoph. Av. 494. 922. with the Schol. and Aristot. Hist. An. VII. 12. For the Roman custom, Festus v. Iustici dies, p. 90.

⁷ According to Plato, de Rep. II. p. 71, it was an Orphic doctrine, that there were certain redemptions and purifications (λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοί) even for the dead; that is, by means of certain sacrifices even the dead could be redeemed; this is in striking analogy with the Roman Catholic doctrine of masses for the soul, which also reposes upon the belief in the continuity of existence, and the unceasing communion of those united by religion.

⁸ Comp. Soph. Ant. 431. Eurip. El. 115. Joh. Lydus de mens. IV. 26. Lucian. Char. 22. Plut. in Arist. p. 332. describes the great public sacrifice for the dead, which the Plataeans, to the latest times, offered for those that fell in the battle against the Persians. Comp. Thuc. III. 58.

⁹ Plut. Mor. p. 612, A.

¹⁰ Hence, e. g. in Mycalessus, the first of the fruits were every year offered to Hercules, who was there revered as one of the Idaean Dactyli (Paus. IX. 19, 4). In the Attic Thargelia and Pyanepsia, fruits were offered to Apollo and the Heroes, especially the εἰρεσιβέρνη, which may be compared with our

chard,¹ the first of the drink and the first of the food.² Aristotle looks upon the offering of the first fruits of the field as the most ancient form of sacrifice.³ A Roman author, Censorinus, expresses himself, with great beauty upon this subject. "Since our forefathers lived in the belief that all their means of life, that their country, yes, that life itself, was a gift of the gods, they were accustomed to sacrifice to them something of all they had, rather to show their thankfulness than because they believed that the gods needed it. Hence, ere they had partaken of the fresh fruits of the field, they consecrated a part to the gods. And since they possessed the country and the cities only as stewards of the gods, to them they consecrated a part for temples and chapels. Some were wont, in order to preserve the health of the rest of the body, to offer the topmost part thereof, the hair of their heads."⁴ For the expiation of the sins committed in the family, the fathers brought a sacrifice every month to Hecate. Certain kinds of food were prepared, the dishes carried through the whole house, to banish into them the curse that rested upon the evil deeds that had been committed, and then were put at midnight in a cross-way. Whoever ate of them, they believed that with the food he ate the curse also; only dogs, and men like dogs, partook thereof.⁵

Not less were sacrifices conjoined with all the weighty trans-

harvest wreaths, (Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 739. Plut. 1055). Such first-fruits were also left in the public roads, for the refreshment of travellers, who were supposed to be under the protection of Hermes, Etymol. M. v. *Ἐκμασθ* and Demosth. adv. Mid. 52. p. 477 seq. Compare also Horat. Epist. II. 1. 139 seq. and Tibull. I. 1, 11 seq.

¹ *Ἰνδορυγία*, Plut. Moral. p. 655, E. The Roman calpar, Festus p. 50 with the remarks p. 304.

² Porph. de Abst. II. 20.

³ Arist. Eth. Nic. VIII. 11 extr. Some of the ancient writers maintain, that the bloodless sacrifices were the oldest, and that in primitive times only fruits and cakes were offered, (Plato de Legg. VI. p. 471 and Porph. de Abst. II. 5, 6. 7, 27), and for proof of this they rely upon the alleged tradition, that Cecrops first taught the worship of Zeus as the *ἱνακρον*, and sacrificed to him nothing that had life, but only cakes made of meal and honey, (Pausan. I. 26, 6. VIII. 2, 11. Upon the *πίλαρος*, see Harpocration p. 145. Suidas s. v. Pollux VI. 76. Photius Lex. p. 350 seq.). This view does not seem to me to be based upon facts, but to be a mere philosophical speculation. The oldest of books, Genesis, looks upon bloody and bloodless sacrifices as alike ancient, but manifestly gives the preference to the former.

⁴ Censorinus de die natali I. 9, 10.

⁵ Plut. Mor. p. 708. F. Schol. Aesch. Choeph. 95. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 594. Demosth. adv. Conon. 39. p. 479. Hemsterhusius ad Lucian. t. I. p. 330.

actions of political life. A preliminary sacrifice (*προεῖλαι*) preceded every important act of the State, to enlist the favor of the gods.¹ At Athens, before every meeting of the people, from the consciousness that all were stained with sin, and that sinful men could not give wholesome counsel, a sacrifice of the young of swine was made, and their blood was sprinkled upon the seats of the assembly for their purification.² Then the priest carried the stones of the sacrificed animal through the congregation, and banished their sins into these *ὄρχαι*.³ When this was done, incense was scattered, and the same priest went around with the vessel of consecrated water, and pronounced a blessing upon the purified people for the act which they were about to perform.⁴ After this, the herald prayed the prayers of their fathers,⁵ and then first began the deliberations. Similar were the preliminary sacrifices of the senate, of the Prytanes, and of several of the public officers.⁶ Sacrifices preceded the sessions of the courts, and all taking of oaths.⁷ In war, no important measure was undertaken, before the sacrifices were auspicious and announced success.⁸ At the departure of the army from home,⁹ when they crossed rivers and boundaries of nations,¹⁰ when they made an advance,¹¹ when they embarked and sailed away,¹² when they landed,¹³ before they assaulted a besieged city,¹⁴ before the battle,¹⁵ and after

¹ Wachsmuth, *Hellen. Alt.* IV. 287 seq.

² Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 44. *Eccles.* 128. Suidas v. *προεὶλας*. This was concisely called *ἐκλήγοντες καθαίρειν*, Aeschin. *de falsa leg.* 158.

³ Demosth. *adv. Cononem* 39.

⁴ Aeschin. *adv. Timarch.* 21, p. 256.

⁵ Aesch. *adv. Timarch.* 23.

⁶ Demosth. *de falsa leg. adv. Aeschin.* 100, p. 362. Thucyd. VIII. 70. Suidas v. *εὐετήρια*.

⁷ Compare, as one example of many, Aeschin. *de leg. sua adv. Demosth.* 87, and Demosth. *adv. Aristocrat.* 67 seq.

⁸ *πρὶν καλλιερεῖν* or *καλλιεργῆσαι* Aeschin. *adv. Ctesiph.* 131. Dio Cass. 47, 38. *Porti Lex.* Herod. s. v. Suidas et *Etymol. M.* s. v.

⁹ *ἐξετήρια, ἐπεξέδια* Herod. IX. 19. Xen. *Anab.* VI. 3, 2.

¹⁰ *διαβατήρια* Herod. VI. 76. VII. 113, 114. Thucyd. V. 54, 55, 116. Xen. *Hell.* III. 4, 3, 5, 7. IV. 7, 2. V. 1, 33, 4, 37, 47. VI. 4, 19. Plut. *Lucul.* p. 507, E.

¹¹ *ἐπὶ προόδῳ* Xen. *Hell.* III. 4, 15.

¹² *ἐπιβατήρια* Herod. IX. 92, 96. Thucyd. VI. 32. Xenoph. *Hell.* V. 1, 18. *Apoll. Rh.* I. 421. IV. 1593 seq.

¹³ *ἀποβατήρια* Steph. *Byz.* v. *Βονθρατός*, p. 81.

¹⁴ Xen. *Hell.* III. 1, 17 seq.

¹⁵ S. not. 168. Herod. IX. 33, 36, 37, 38, 45, 61, 62. Xen. *Hell.* IV. 2, 18, 20. VII. 2, 21.

the victory,¹ sacrifices were offered to the gods. The Athenian generals especially invoked, by sacrifice, the guidance of Hermes ἡρμῆος.² All truces, treaties of peace, leagues and contracts were accompanied by sacrificial acts.³ Plato will have it, that on every day of the year the magistrate make an offering to a god or demon for the city, and its inhabitants, for their goods and chattels.⁴ The shedding of blood was everywhere the means of the union of men with one another and with the deity.

The facts are so well known, that it would seem superfluous to give detailed accounts of the sacrifices of animals. I shall, therefore, restrict myself to those characteristic features, in which the original idea is clearly expressed, and the inward connection of the religious conceptions is distinctly seen. At first only domestic animals, which, as such, participated in the daily life of man,⁵ were offered in expiatory sacrifice; such as swine,⁶ bulls, horses,⁷ sheep,⁸ goats, geese, fowls, doves.⁹ Every animal was not sacri-

¹ ἐκτίμιμα or ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ σπένδουσιν. Plato Conviv. p. 370, 14. Xen. Hell. IV. 3, 14. VII. 2, 23.

² Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1160. Boeckh's Staatshaush. II. 254.

³ Thucyd. IV. 118. V. 19, 47. Liv. I. 24, 32. IX. 5.

⁴ Plato de Legg. VIII. p. 74.

⁵ De Maistre, II. 234.

⁶ Among the animal sacrifices that of swine is said to be the most ancient, (prima putatur hostia sus meruisse mori, Ovid. Metam. XV. 111). It was even asserted that swine, *is*, *sus*, had its name from *θύω*, Athen. IX. 64 and Varro de re rust. II. 4, 9. The intestines of swine have, as is well known, a great similarity with those of man. Might this have been the ground that they were sacrificed instead of man? The passage we have cited from Varro, and Athen. IX. 17, 18 seems to favor this view. To the Jews swine were the object of aversion, not only in opposition to the heathen view of sacrifices, as Spencer maintains, but also because pork hurts the humors of the system and predisposes to leprosy.

⁷ Among the Romans sacrificed only to Neptune and Mars, Festi Exc. v. equus p. 61. v. October equus p. 111, and v. panibus p. 120; and by the Massagetæ to the sun, "because to the swiftest of gods must be offered the swiftest of animals." Herod. I. 216.

⁸ The lamb, on account of his gentleness (placidum pecus, Ov. Met. XV. 116) was considered the most excellent of expiatory sacrifices, hostia maxima (Virg. Ge. 3, 486 seq.) and could be neither more nor less than two years old. Gellius XVI. 6. Macrobius VI. 9. Serv. ad Aen. IV. 57. The most solemn of the expiatory sacrifices in Rome consisted of a swine, a sheep and a bull, suovetaurilia. Cato de re rust. 141. Varro de re rust. II. 1, 10. Liv. I. 44. Dionys. IV. 22.

⁹ Sacrifices like those of the emperor Balbinus, who once offered 100 eagles, 100 lions, and as many other beasts, (Jul. Capitolinus v. Balbini, 11), had their basis only in the folly of the emperor.

ficed to every god, but according as the animal was conceived to have some relation to the most prominent attributes of the god.¹ For Zeus, bulls were preferred, especially such as were white,² and rams. To Poseidon were offered black bulls and horses, adorned with sea-green bands,³ and sometimes fishes as a thank-offering;⁴ to the gods and heroes of the lower world only black beasts, with a libation of milk, honey and wine;⁵ to the virginal Athena, young, never-yoked cows;⁶ doves to Aphrodite, the goddess of love;⁷ a bull and two white goats to Apollo;⁸ to the huntress Artemis stags, does and, in general, beasts of the chase;⁹ to Hermes, young lambs and kids, and of the members of these animals, especially the tongues, as the organs of speech, to the *θεὸς λόγιος*;¹⁰ to the prolific mother of the earth Demeter and Tellus matter, fat and pregnant swine;¹¹ and a sterile cow to the barren queen Persephone.¹² Only the ploughing ox, (*βοῦς ἀροτήρ, βοῦς arator*), might not in ancient times be sacrificed, being the fellow-laborer of man.¹³ To the heavenly gods victims were sacrificed by day, to the infernal at the going down of the sun.¹⁴ All sacri-

¹ Arnobius VII. p. 223 seq. Serv. ad Ge. II. 380. Ae. III. 118.

² Virg. Ge. II. 146, and Cerda to the passage p. 312, 313. Festi Exc. v. Albion, p. 4. Arnobius II. p. 91. Ovidius ex Ponto IV. 4, 31. Trist. IV. 2, 5. Juv. X. 66.

³ Val. Flacc. I. 189.

⁴ Athen. VII. 50, 51.

⁵ Il. III. 103. Blomfield gl. ad Aeschyl. Pers. 616. Luc. III. 52. Virg. Ae. VI. 153. Tibull. III. 5, 33 seq. Seneca Oed. 563 seq. Arnobius VII. p. 225 seq. 249.

⁶ Il. X. 292. Od. III. 382. Ovid. Met. IV. 754. XII. 151. Arnobius VII. p. 227; Minervae virgini virgo caeditur vitula, nullis unquam stimulis, nullius operis excitata conatu. Comp. Numbers 19: 2.

⁷ Propert. IV. 5, 63.

⁸ Liv. XXV. 12, 13. Macrobius Sat. I. 17. p. 300. Ovid. Met. VII. 244 seq. XII. 151. Winckelmann's Werke II. 579.

⁹ Pausan. VII. 18. 7. Ovid. Fast. I. 388.

¹⁰ Od. XIX. 398. Ath. I. 28. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1111.

¹¹ Phurnutus de nat. deor. p. 211. Gale, Macrobius Sat. I. 12. p. 267. Arnobius VII. p. 228. Comp. Festi Exc. v. praecidaneae agna, p. 122 and the remark on it, p. 581.

¹² Virg. Ae. VI. 251. Od. XI. 30, *στειραν βοῦν*.

¹³ Ael. V. H. V. 14. H. A. XII. 34. Aratus Phaen. 132. Varr. de re rust. II. 5, 3. Plin. VIII. 45, 180. In later times this prohibition was not observed. Comp. Ov. Met. XV. 122 seq. and Lucian. de sacrificiis 12. *προοδυνοῦ . . . βοῦν μὲν ἀροτήρα ὁ γεωργός, ἄγνα δὲ ὁ ποιμήν*.

¹⁴ Virg. Ae. VI. 252, and Cerda on the passage.

ficial animals, as with the Jews, must be without blemish and unhurt, *τέλεια καὶ ὅλα*, *integrae et illaesae*), and of these, the most beautiful were selected.¹ Nor in respect to the number were they niggardly. Well known are the hecatombs of bulls, lambs and goats, in Homer. Pindar says it is Grecian custom, to sacrifice all, up to a hundred, (*πάντα θύειν ἑκατόν*).² And in Athens, in later times, we find sacrificial festivals in which three hundred oxen were immolated, at the public cost.³

The sacrificial rites and ceremonies were most solemn; all the ceremonies seemed to express that the offering was made with freedom and joy. Those that brought oblations to the gods of heaven, wore white garments,⁴ and had garlands upon the head and in the hands;⁵ he that sacrificed to the gods of the lower world was clad in black.⁶ The sacrificial beast was also adorned with garlands and bands, and on solemn occasions the horns were gilded; it was led by a loose rope, so that it might seem to follow of its own accord.⁷ Should the animal escape, it was an inauspicious omen; it must still be slaughtered, but might not again be brought to the altar.⁸ First of all, before touching the sacrificial utensils,⁹ the hands were washed, that

¹ Arist. in Ath. XV. 16. p. 674, F. Plut. Mor. p. 437, A. Pollux 1. 29.

² Pind. Fr. 154, Boeckh.

³ Isocr. Areop. 29. p. 163, Bekker, Boeckh's Staats. d. Ath. I. 226 seq. II. 165, 229. Croesus, to secure the favor of the Delphian god, once immolated some 3000 animals, Herod. I. 50; Xerxes to the Ilia Athena 1000 bullocks, Herod. VII. 43; Solomon and the people of Israel, at the dedication of the temple, 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep, 1 Kings 8: 63.

⁴ Casaubon. ad Theoph. ch. 21. p. 212. Fischer.

⁵ The garlands of those that made the sacrifice were woven from the foliage of the tree that was sacred to the god. To Jupiter the oak was consecrated, to Apollo the laurel, to Minerva the olive, the myrtle to Venus, the mallow to Hercules, Plin. XII. 1. 3. Those that sacrificed to Ceres bore wreaths of the ears of corn; garlands of the pine-tree were for Neptune and Vulcan, of the ivy for Bacchus, of the yew-tree for the infernal deities.

⁶ Il. X. 202. Od. III. 384. Arist. Nub. 256. Liv. XXV. 12, 13. Tibul. IV. 1, 15. Ov. Met. VII. 161. XV. 131. Plin. XXXIII. 3, 39.

⁷ Virg. Ge. II. 395. Ae. V. 773. Juven. XII. 5 and the commentators.

⁸ Liv. XXI. 63 extr. Macrobius Sat. III. 5. p. 425. The animal brought, instead of such a *victima effugia*, was called *hostia succidanea*, Servius ad Ae. II. 140. Gell. IV. 6. Festus p. 129, 142, 212, 243.

⁹ A concise description of the customary sacrificial acts is given in Eurip. El. 795 seq. Arist. Pax. 948 seq. Lucian. de sacrif. 12 seq. and Dionys. VII. 72.; the latter with the remark, that the Grecian and Roman usages were similar.

what was sacred might not be handled by the unclean.¹ Then the consecrated barley, coarsely bruised, and mixed with salt,² and the sacrificial knife, were brought in a basket, and carried around the altar;³ a twig of the laurel or the olive-tree, symbols of purification and of peace, was dipped into the consecrated vessel, and the by-standers besprinkled with it.⁴ Even the holy water was consecrated by prayers, and by the dipping into it of a fire-brand from the altar.⁵ Silence was then enjoined, the profane were removed,⁶ the herald cried with a loud voice, "Who is here?" (*εἰς τιδῆ;*) those that were present answered, "Many worshippers." (*πολλοὶ καὶ ἁγνοί.*)⁷ Then began the special sacrificial prayer, for the gracious acceptance of the oblation.⁸ After the animal was proved to be sound and without blemish,⁹ in order to see if it were itself willing, the back of the sacrificial knife was drawn from the head to the tail,¹⁰ and the mixture of barley and salt poured over the neck, until by bowing its head, it had, as it were, consented to the offering.¹¹ After other prayers, the priest took a goblet of red wine, tasted it, and let those present drink therefrom, and poured what was left between the horns of the animal.¹² The

¹ In all religions, washing with fresh water is considered an image of purity of soul, comp. Heb. 10: 22, and the custom of the Essenes in Porph. de Abst. IV. 12.

² *οὔλαι, οὐλοχίται, πταρρμα*, mola salsa, far pium. Without salt no sacrifice was offered, as among the Jews. Plin. XXXI. 7, 89. Lev. 2: 13. Salt was especially considered as the federal symbol, on account of its purifying and conservative virtues, its prevention of death and decay. Comp. Plut. Mor. p. 668 seq. and 684 seq. Diog. L. VIII. 35. Eustath. to Il. I. 449. IX. 214. and Baehr's Symb. II. 324 seq.

³ Aristoph. Pax. 956 seq.

⁴ Ovid. Fast. V. 679. Virg. Aen. VI. 230. and Cerda's comments p. 634. Synesius Epist. 121. p. 258, B. Sozomenes hist. eccles. VI. 5. p. 644, D.

⁵ Eurip. Herc. F. 908. Arist. Pax 559. Athen. IX. 76.

⁶ Lobeck Agl. p. 14 seq. Euripid. Herc. F. 527: *οἱ γὰρ πᾶς ἔστω λαός, οἷα, σιῶπα*. Arist. Pax 434: *εὐφημεῖτε, εὐφημεῖτε*. Thesmoph. 39: *εὐφημος πᾶς ἔστω λαός στόμα συγκέλευσας*. Favete lingua, Horat. Od. III. 1, 2.

⁷ Arist. Pax. 968. Schol.

⁸ Such a prayer is given in Arist. as above cited: another by Menander in Athen. XIV. 78.

⁹ *εἰ ἐντελής εἴη*, Lucian. de sacrif. 12. comp. Soph. Trach. 762.

¹⁰ Servius ad Aen. XII. 172: obliquum etiam cultum a fronte usque ad caudam ante immolationem ducere consueverunt.

¹¹ Plut. Mor. p. 435, C. 437, 729, E. and Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 425.

¹² Ov. Met. VII. 593 seq. and Fast. I. 357 seq. after the Greek epigram of Euenos in the Anthol. Pal. IX. 75. Compare the Jewish custom as given in Sirach 50, 16.

hairs of the forehead were first cut off and thrown into the fire,¹ the incense was kindled;² and the rest of the consecrated mixture of barley and salt poured upon the altar. At last, with the music of fifes and flutes, that no inauspicious word might be heard during the sacred act, and, when the sacrifice was especially solemn, with the singing of chorus songs, and with circular dancing, the animal was struck with the axe, and its throat cut with the knife;³ when it was offered to the gods of the upper world, with its head raised to heaven;⁴ when to the gods of the lower world, bowed down to earth.⁵ The blood was then received into a basin,⁶ and in part poured around upon the altar,⁷ a part sprinkled upon those standing by, that they might be absolved from their sins.⁸ All who would participate in the sacrifice must touch the sacrificial animal, and the sacrificial vessels.⁹ The most ancient custom was to burn the whole of the animal;¹⁰ in later periods only particular parts, the head and feet (the extremities instead of the whole), the intestines,¹¹ as the seat of the passions,¹² the thighs as

¹ Od. XIV. 422 with Eustathius, Virg. Aë. VI. 246. Eurip. El. 815 seq.

² Ovid. Fast. II. 573.

³ Plin. XXVIII. 3. Heindorf on Plato's Cratylus § 73. Santen ad Terent. p. 62.

⁴ Lucian. de sacrificiis 16. p. 227. and the passages collected in Bode, Gesch. der Hellen. D. II. 313. The Jews also, in their solemn days and the new moons, were accustomed to blow with trumpets over the burnt-offerings and the peace-offerings. Num. 10: 10.

⁵ Orphei Arg. 316. II. I. 459 with Eustathius p. 110, 27 seq. Lips. Virgil. Ge. III. 492. Aë. VI. 248, and the commentators.

⁶ Schol. Antiqua and Eustathius upon Od. III. 444. Suidas s. vv. ἄμμιον and σπῆγμα. Comp. Ex. 24: 6.

⁷ Lucian. de Sacrificiis 13: αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ τερεχέειν. Eustathius on Od. III. 445: αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ ἐπέχεον.

⁸ Schol. Arist. Acharn. 44. Eccles. 128. Apoll. Rh. IV. 704 seq. As with the blood of the covenant in the Hebrew sacrifices: Ex. 24: 8. Lev. 1: 5, 11. 7: 2. 16: 18 seq. Heb. 12: 24.

⁹ συνεσπῆγτοθους τῶν ἱερῶν, Aeschin. de Leg. sua adv. Demosth. 84: χερσὶ-βῶν καὶ παντὶ ἀψόμενον Demost. adv. Androt. 78: ἀπτόμενοι θύειν Apoll. Rh. II. 717.

¹⁰ Hyginus Poet. Astron. II. 15: antiqui quum maxima caerimonia deorum immortalium sacrificia administrarent, soliti sunt totas hostias in sacrorum consumere flamma. Hence ἱερῶν ὀλοκαύται Xen. Cyrop. VIII. 3, 24. Anab. VII. 8, 5. Porph. de Abst. II. 54, 55; as in the Hebrew burnt-offering and sin-offering. Lev. 4: 12. 6: 30. 16: 27.

¹¹ Dionys. VII. 72. p. 478, 48. Sylburg.

¹² Eustath. on Il. I. 461. p. 110, 42 and Tzetzes on Hes. Op. et D. 335

representatives of strength, the fat as the choicest portion.¹ Red, unmixed wine was also poured into the flames.² The rest of the flesh, as with the Hebrew peace-offerings, was eaten by those that presented the sacrifice, at a sacred festival,³ (as from the most ancient times had been the custom), after the completion of the sacrificial acts; and the gods were originally supposed to be present as guests at this feast.⁴ By this common participation in the pure flesh of the sacrifice, this communion of the flesh immolated to god (*κρέα θεόθυστα*),⁵ the substance of a new life was supposed to be, at the same time, imparted to the participants;⁶ for all that eat of one sacrifice are *one* body.⁷

There are found traces of a primitive custom, of eating the flesh and blood even of human victims, especially of sacrificed children. Here I seem to discern indications of a fearful mystery. Not only is it reported of the Scythian races, the Massagetae, the Issedoni, the Bassari and the Tauri, that they ate the flesh of immolated men,⁸ and that it was Orpheus who first abolished these hideous feasts;⁹ but in respect to the Lycean human sacrifices in Arcadia, it is testified, that the father tasted the sacrificed flesh of his own son. "More exactly to determine the nature of these sacrifices," said Pausanias, "is not within the province of my inquiries: let the circumstances be as they are, and as they have

¹ Baehr's Symb. II. 381. — Herod. (II. 39) gives it as a custom peculiar to the Egyptians that they cursed the head of the victim, and imprecated upon it all the calamities which the people or the land were to experience.

² Lev. 7: 16 seq. Baehr, Symb. II. 372 seq.

³ In the maledictory sacrifices alone, the flesh was not eaten, lest they should become partakers of the sin and the curse; as it were, eat in the curse. II XIX. 267. Apoll. Rh. III. 1033. Porph. de Abst. II. 44. Pausan. III. 20, 9. V. 24. 2.

⁴ Comp. II. I. 423 seq. II. 420 seq. Od. VII. 201 seq. Virg. Aen. IV. 206 seq. Ex. 34: 15. Ezek. 18: 6.

⁵ Pollux I. 29.

⁶ De Maistre II. 286.

⁷ 1 Cor. 10: 17. Hence the stiff-necked opposition of the early Christians to eating the flesh of the heathen victims. — At the end of the sacrificial feast, as it appears, the herald dismissed the assembly with the words: *λαοὶ ἀγείοι*, *ite missa est*. Apulei. Metam. XI. p. 267. Bip.

⁸ Pythagoreorum fr. in Gale's Opusc. Mythol. p. 713. Herod. I. 216. IV. 18, 26. Aristot. Eth. Nic. VII. 6. p. 1148. Sext. Emp. III. 207. Porph. de Abst. II. 8. p. 116.

⁹ Orphei fr. in Sext. Emp. II. 31. IX. 15. Arist. Ran. 1032. Hor. A. P. 391. seq.

been from the beginning."¹ Porphyry testifies, that, in his own times, the same custom was still observed.²

From these facts, certain very logical reasoners would draw the inference, that the Greeks were originally cannibals; human flesh tasted so good to them, that they served it up for their gods.³ After what has already been said, it will hardly be necessary to refute this most insipid and absurd notion. Between the bestiality of those tribes where cannibalism is known to exist, and which are actually severed from all direct and living influence upon the development of the human race—and this most awful and unnatural mystery, the eating the flesh of sacrificed children, there is a broad distinction, an immense difference. In the one case, there is the extreme of the savage state; in the other, the most frightful caricature of a religious mystery, the true form of which is known to every Christian. It seems to me, that just this point is fitted to disclose to us, a thorough and conclusive understanding of the heathen piacular sacrifices.

Here, as in all investigations upon the philosophy of religion. the final question must be, not only whether any doctrine be truly contained in any particular religious system, but whether the doctrine itself be true?

I believe, that I may assert the theory which has been here presented to be logical and closely linked together in all its parts; and that it is nothing more than a fair induction from the facts, reduced to the form of a doctrine. But if it be so *and* is based upon correct premises, then it must be objectively true, that is, be true not only for the heathen, but also for us. But that it is not; no one now-a-days would maintain the monstrous position, that real expiation and atonement could be effected by human sacrifices. Wherein, now, is the flaw, in this theory in other re-

¹ This addition seems to be only an imitation of Herod. I. 140. II. 28.

² Pausan. VIII. 2, 3. 38, 5. Porph. de Abst. II. 27. Varr. in Plin. VIII. 22, 82. and in Augustin. C. D. XVIII. 17. Ovid. Metam. I. 165 and Ibis 431. Here belong the well known narrative of the Phocian women in Daulis, who placed before the Thracian Tereus, the flesh of his own son, (Pausan. X. 4, 6. Comp. I. 41, 8. and Ov. Met. VI. 635 seq.); and the abominable banquets of Atreus and Thyestes, with which Herod. (I. 119) compares the Persian king Astyages, who slew the son of Harpagus, and served parts of the body at the table to his father. See, also, what Herod. III. 11 relates of the Greek mercenary soldiers in the service of the Egyptians; and Dio Cass. (68, 32) of the Jews in Cyrene, and (71, 1) of the so called Bucoli in Egypt.

³ So F. A. Wolf in his superficial treatise on the origin of sacrifices, in his *Miscellanea litter.* p. 270 seq.

spects so accordant with facts? If a system be constructed according to the laws of a sound logic, and yet be false in its results, the error must lie in the first proposition. Let us, then, recur to the first terms of our theory; which were as follows. Since life is only a gift of God to man, on the condition, that his commandments be obeyed, every transgressor, in strictness of justice, has forfeited his life to God. But though the sinner deserves death, yet an indestructible feeling gives him the hope, that his sins may be expiated, his debt paid, his life saved, if an *innocent* person would *voluntarily* suffer death instead of him and for him. It is the universal faith of the ancient world, that the life of the guiltless, voluntarily sacrificed, has power to redeem the life of the guilty, which were otherwise necessarily lost. And thus far, the substance and purport of those religious feelings, which in heathenism gave birth to the expiatory sacrifices, are universally and perfectly true. The inmost centre of all the ancient religious systems, is the consciousness of the need of redemption, and that this redemption is possible only through and by means of an innocent person; and this, too, is perfectly true. The problem was recognized, but not, therefore, correctly solved. The disease they had indeed experienced and also in their inmost soul they knew, that for the disease there was a remedy, and of what nature this remedy ought to be. But the true remedy they did not, they could not know.

Only he that has, can give; only he that is good, can make good. To pay, something must be possessed; or else, debt is added to debt. It is, then, perfectly true, that only an innocent person can make satisfaction for the guilty; it being presupposed that he is guiltless and in a condition, to discharge the whole debt. But here lies the prime falsehood (the *πρώτη ψεύδος*) of all the heathen sacrifices. For, *where is this innocent person*, that he may by the voluntary sacrifice of his immaculate life atone for the forfeited life of the guilty? Scripture assures us, "that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth."¹—"Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?"—"They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Both Jews and Gentiles, they are all under sin."² Even the most perfect man escapes not sin, if he be but born into the world."³ Ever since the great catastrophe of the human soul, at the beginning of our history, no one of all man-

¹ Gen. 8: 21.

² Job 14: 4.

³ Rom. 3: 9 seq. comp. Psalm xiii. and liii.

⁴ Philo II. 249 extr.

kind has been innocent; in the first man all men sinned; there is absolutely no one that is pure, not even one. Hence all heathen sacrifices, in the sight of a holy God, are insufficient; hence they were ever repeated, because all are only means of palliation, and none effect a real and radical cure. And even if an expiation for sin could be made, that were not enough, if to the sinner were not, at the same time, given a new and pure basis for the acts of his will. For that primeval fall not only disturbed the primitive relation of the human will to the divine; it also, necessarily, vitiated the whole normal condition of man, alienated his mental as well as his physical powers. For the restitution of the original relation of the creature and the Creator, there was indeed need of an expiation for human sins, in order to effect a reconciliation of man with God; but there was also, no less imperatively, needed an actual, inward restoration of the human will to its original estate; the morbid affections of the soul must be overcome, and the harmonious action of all its powers, be reestablished. Not only must guilt be atoned for, but that which sin had wrecked must be again made whole. But that could be effected in no other way, than by a renewed, actual implanting of the original principle of life. If we consider the human race as one huge organism, in which a diseased life has been generated, and has permeated all the parts, the intellect and will, as well as the body; then, to carry out the figure, this diseased affection cannot be otherwise extirpated, than by the introduction of a new, original principle of life into the morbid organism, which by means of its inherent virtue, shall be ever-growing, diffusing itself through all the members, assimilating to itself, (so to speak, by a dynamic process), all that is foreign to it in the whole system; for even that which is now foreign, was at first of the same nature. Or if we look at the human race under the figure of a work of art, which has been defaced and corroded; the work cannot restore itself, the artist must do it—the Creator must restore the creature.

Without my having expressed it, every one will feel the connection of these positions with the incarnation of the Son of God, and his atoning death upon Golgotha. Only, by this was both effected; the atonement for sin effecting the reconciliation of all who desire it with God, *and*, at the same time the possibility of an inward regeneration of the human race. That Christ made an expiatory sacrifice is clear from Scripture. The Holy One of God, "bore our griefs and carried our sorrows;" He was stricken with

all the sufferings of the world ;¹ " He was obedient even to the death of the cross." " He gave himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God." " He is the propitiation for our sins ; by him we have received the atonement."² " He is the true and real soul substituted and offered for all (*ἀντίψυχον*).³ Athanasius says, " The Logos of God fitly brought the temple of his own body as a substitution and deliverance for the souls of all (*ἀντίψυχον*), and was obedient even unto death."⁴ Hence Augustin (c. Faustum XXII, 17) maintains, that there is only one true, universal sacrifice, which is offered to the one only true God by Christ, the mediator of God and men ; and it was fitting that promissive types of this sacrifice should be celebrated in animal victims, in order to commend the flesh and blood of that one victim, by whom the remission of the sins of flesh and blood should be effected. Hence as the Hebrews celebrated the religious types and foreshadowings of the true sacrifice, so did the Gentiles the sacrilegious counterfeits : for as the apostle says, (1 Cor. 10: 20) " the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God." " An ancient thing is this predicted immolation of blood, testifying, from the beginning of the race, to the future passion of the Mediator."

Further elucidation is needed for the second point, viz. that an introduction and implanting of the original principle of life, into the disordered nature of man, was effected by the incarnation of the Word of God. Irenaeus⁵ calls it, " an ingrafting of the Word, (Logos) by which men return to their pristine nature." The incarnation of the Logos must inevitably be considered as a reimplanting of the primitive principle of life into the individuals and the race, that had forfeited and lost it ; as a reëtrance of the original ground of life into a fallen world. When Christ is called, the second Adam, it is not to be forgotten, that *originally he was the first* ; for if he were, in himself considered, only a second Adam, how could his influence reach backward to the first ? The whole of the race fell in Adam ; it could be raised up and redeemed only by one higher than Adam, and before him ; by the heaven-

¹ Is. 53: 4.

² Phil. 2: 8. John 1: 29. Ephes. 5: 2. Heb. 7: 27. 1 John 2: 2. 4: 10. Rom. 8: 22. 5: 11. 2 Cor. 5: 21.

³ Euseb. de Laud. Const. 15, 6. p. 1213 seq. Zimmerm.

⁴ Athanas. de Incarn. Verbi t. I. p. 54. E. Bened. ; and again, *ὡς πρόβατον ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων σωτηρίας ἀντίψυχον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα εἰς θάνατον παραδούς.*

⁵ Iren. adv. Haeres. V. 10, 1. p. 302.

ly Adam, of whom the earthly is but the figure; by the true Demiurge, by Him who is the first-born of all creatures, as is Adam of all men.

Let us look more closely at the logical connection of the Christian doctrine upon this point. The only Son of God, generated from eternity, is, at the same time, so to speak, the transition to creation; and, hence, in reference to this, is declared to be the beginning, and the first-born of all creatures.¹ From the Word, or Logos, originally proceeds all created life. In the Logos was ideally contained all the fulness of life, revealed in creation;² so that the actual creation is only an evolution or unfolding (explicatio) of that which in the Logos was (implicite) enfolded and conceived from all eternity.³ If, now, the Logos be the prototype of all creation, and in him all that exists have its eternal ground of being; if from him all creation proceeded; then, in the incarnation of the Logos in Christ, we should expect an actual reëntrance of the original creative life into the race of which he became a member and which had degenerated from its destination, and become subject to the law of sin and death.⁴ The Logos, as the Creator of men, was the source of life to them all; becoming a man, he imparts a new life to all who will receive it. Therefore we read, that Wisdom "is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy is every one that receiveth her."⁵

Such is the Christian doctrine, in its most condensed statement.

¹ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ Apoc. 3: 14. and ὁ πρωτότοκος πᾶσις κτίσεως Col. 1: 15, 18. Rom. 8: 29.

² John 1: 3, 4 ὃ γέγονεν· ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν: quod factum est, in ipso vita erat. Thus should this passage be punctuated, against the received text, with Iren., Origen, Augustine and others. Apart from the logical connection, which absolutely demands this, the external articulation of the phrases, where each subsequent member begins with the word with which the preceding ended, proves that this punctuation is the only correct one.

³ Thomas Aq. Summa adv. Gentes IV. 42, 2: omnes creaturae nihil aliud sunt, quam realis quaedam expressio et representatio eorum, quae in conceptione divini verbi comprehenduntur. Comp. G. Postellus de ult. mediatoris nativitate. p. 72, 73.

⁴ Johannes Scotus Erigena de Div. Nat. V. p. 252.

⁵ Prov. 3:18. This wisdom, σοφία, is only, so to speak, the feminine aspect of the Logos. Comp. Apoc. II. 7. and August. Civ. Dei XIII. 20. [Compare with the above view, the phraseology of John: Christ "giveth life unto the world;" he is "the bread of life;" he "gives his flesh for the life of the world," (6: 33, 35, 51, 53); those that believe "have life through his name," (20: 31). Paul also speaks of the "law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, (Rom. 8: 2) and of "Christ, as our life," Col. 3: 4.]

Forced to adopt it, is no one, for the truth depends not on the belief of man. It is offered to man; and if he will, if he have the heart and courage, he may dare to receive this greatest of truths—and those that do it, know, that faith is all-powerful, and that the truth makes them free, and that this freedom is bliss. He that adopts the doctrines of Christianity finds in them a satisfactory answer to every reasonable question, and a key to the understanding of history, of the *gesta Dei per homines*. In respect to the bloody expiatory sacrifices of the heathen, it is clear to me, that this frightful immolation of children (*τεκνοθυσία*) must continue, until in the true and highest sacrifice of the Son (*υιοθυσία*) upon the Golgotha of the old world, an objective and valid expiation and redemption were effected.¹ The reason for this continuance is also clear. And in that awful mystery, the eating the flesh of the immolated children, is only expressed the truth, which the church and the faithful daily celebrate in the Sacrament of the Altar, in which there is an inseparable union of both parts of our redemption, the continual presentation of the expiatory sacrifice, and the continual gift of the new life.

ARTICLE VI.

PUBLICATIONS ON ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Bibliotheca Patrum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum Selecta, ad optimorum librorum fidem edita, curante E. G. Gersdorf. voll. 1—10, 12mo. Lipsiae, 1838—1842.

THIS select library of the Latin fathers is to be reckoned among the best literary projects of the times. The study of the early ecclesiastical writers has been limited to a few scholars, partly in-

¹ The first prohibition of human sacrifices was by the Roman senate 97 B. C.; and it was repeated by Augustus and Tiberius. Plin. XXX. 1, 12. Sueton. v. Claudii, 25. But only after the great atoning sacrifice of Christ upon Golgotha, in the time of Hadrian, did these sacrifices generally cease, as is testified by Porph. de Abst. II. 56. and after him by Euseb. de Laud. Const. 16, 7. and Praep. Ev. IV. 17. The Jewish theology also maintains, that with the Messiah, the sacrifices of animals will cease, for he will perfectly fulfil the whole intent of these sacrifices; "he will give himself and pour out his soul unto death, and his blood will make expiation for the people of God," as is said in a Rabbinical Treatise in Eisenmenger II. 721.

deed, from its nature, but scarcely less from the expensiveness and the unattractive form of the editions in common use. The Library before us is designed as well for the ordinary clerical reader, who can command neither the time nor the means requisite for a full course of reading in this branch of sacred literature, as for the ecclesiastical historian and critic, who needs a work of moderate dimensions that may lie on his table for cursory reading and easy reference. The volumes are highly attractive in their external appearance. The paper and type and form are precisely what one would desire. But the editor has not confined his attention to external improvement in his publication; he has also taken great pains to give a purer text and a better arrangement of subjects. In a word, the literary execution is not inferior to the mechanical, and both are worthy of the age which has produced them.

Mr. Gersdorf, who holds an honored place among the Leipsic scholars, was formerly employed in the Royal Library at Dresden, but, for several years past, has been librarian of the university of Leipsic. He is well known to the public on both sides of the Atlantic as a man of high literary attainments. As general editor he sustains to the whole work nearly the same relation as that of Jacobs and Rost to the *Bibliotheca Graeca*. The labor of preparation is so distributed, that each of the Latin Fathers is assigned to such an individual as is peculiarly qualified for the task of editing his works.

The first volume, containing the *Recognitions of Clement*, is edited by Mr. Gersdorf himself. The second and third volumes comprising all of Cyprian's genuine works, are edited by Mr. Goldhorn, private teacher in the university of Leipsic. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes embrace the complete works of Tertullian, and come out under the care of E. F. Leopold, of the Gymnasium of Annaberg, in Saxony. The eighth volume contains the three books *de Officiis Ministrorum* by Ambrose; and the ninth, the *Hexameron* by the same author, both of which are edited by Mr. Gilbert, of the Leipsic University. The tenth and last volume yet published presents to us the first five books of the *Institutes of Lactantius*, the christian Cicero, whose entire works will be included in the collection. The editor of this volume is professor O. F. Fritzsche, of Zürich.

It will be seen at once from the account here given, that the selection has been made with judgment. The works of Cyprian and Tertullian alone, as thus published, exceed in value the expense of the entire set. Here, in one small volume of two hundred and

fifty-four pages, we find all the epistles of Cyprian; and in another, all his treatises, both of them presenting invaluable documents on the state and character of the early church. The works of Tertullian, are less accessible to the general scholar than those of Cyprian, and here they are found, with an improved text, and at a very moderate expense, in four small volumes.

It may be objected, however, to this Library that as the notes are very few and brief, much difficulty will be experienced in ascertaining the meaning of the text. But, in the first place, while a great advantage will be secured by having such an edition constantly at hand for reference, and for occasional reading, the larger editions can easily be procured from public libraries, whenever a particular treatise is to be studied critically. In the second place, if one shall furnish himself with the small work of Rettberg, *Cyprianus nach seinem Leben und Wirken*, and use it in connection with Goldhorn's edition of Cyprian, we hazard little in saying, that he will have the very best means of understanding the works of this author. The writings of Tertullian are much more obscure and difficult to interpret. Still the clearest light that has been thrown upon them is found in Neander's *Antignosticus, Geist des Tertullianus und Einleitung in dessen Schriften*. The edition of Rigaltius, *Index Latinitatis*, by Bauer, in Semler's edition, can easily be resorted to for additional aid in the study of this founder of the Punic Latin of the church. It is scarcely necessary to remark that Möhler's *Patrologie*, would be an excellent companion to the Library of the Fathers.

We cannot agree with those who complain that selections are, in any instance, admitted instead of complete works. If all the inferior productions of voluminous writers, like Augustine and Jerome, were to be included in the collection, one of the most important objects contemplated in the plan would be sacrificed. We most cordially approve of the designs and of the method of the editor; and, thus far, the public have good reason to be satisfied with the execution of the plan.

B. S.

The Apostolical and Primitive Church, popular in its Government and simple in its Worship. By Lyman Coleman, author of "Antiquities of the Christian Church." 1 vol. 12mo.

Such is the title of a new work upon our table from the pen of one who enjoys a high reputation in this country and in Europe.

Appearing from such a source, at this time, and devoted to such topics as are indicated in its title, it can hardly fail of attracting much more attention than is usually accorded to publications of a similar kind. Many, we are sure, will feel that this unpretending duodecimo goes far toward supplying a very obvious deficiency in our ecclesiastical history.

Most of the topics upon which Mr. Coleman touches in this volume have indeed been ably handled by others. But some such book as this was yet needed, as a convenient manual for frequent use, as a repository of the results to which patient and extended investigation will lead, and as a guide to sources of information with which some are not very familiar and which many have not the requisite time thoroughly to explore for themselves. There are some cardinal points on the subject of church polity which ought to be clearly expounded in a popular and attractive form, not so much for the benefit of the few as of the many. Unlettered men, and even some who are called men of letters, need to be enlightened and fortified, in this way, against the pretensions of error. If we may be allowed to make some specifications, in illustration of our meaning, we will say that scholars have not done all their duty to the cause of truth, so long as the mass of our clergy and laity are left without a volume at hand, which will satisfy them beyond all reasonable doubt that the Scriptures and the Fathers, and every other credible witness will sustain such positions as these:

First; *That all ecclesiastical power is lodged, by Christ, in his churches as social communities.*

The power to appoint officers, to prescribe how and by whom they shall be inducted into office, to determine when and for what reasons they shall be deposed; the power "to decree rites and ceremonies," as the XXXIX Articles express it; in short, the power to determine their whole polity, and regulate their entire government, is committed, not to some vicegerent of Christ for the churches, but to the churches themselves under Christ. They are social communities, sanctioned by Him, and responsible for their internal regulations only to Him. This truth is explained and defended, with masterly ability, in Dr. Whately's "Kingdom of Christ," a work which all Christians, and especially all high-church prelatists, would be much profited in reading.

Speaking of the churches of the Reformation, archbishop Whately says, "these bodies of Christians had full power to retain, or to restore, or to originate whatever form of church govern-

ment they, in their deliberate and cautious judgment, might deem best for the time, and country, and persons they had to deal with; whether exactly similar or not to those introduced by the apostles; provided nothing were done contrary to gospel precepts and principles. They were, therefore, perfectly at liberty to appoint bishops *even if they had none*, that had joined in the Reformation; or to discontinue the appointment, *even if they had*; whichever they were convinced was the most conducive, under existing circumstances, to the great objects of all church government." Radical enough! some men will exclaim; and yet, coming from an archbishop, we trust it will not be considered unsound or false. We receive it without hesitation as demonstrably the true doctrine, on the question of ecclesiastical authority. And this is really *the great question* on the subject of church polity. All the other prominent points in dispute turn upon this. We need, therefore, to have the true ground in this matter explained, illustrated, fortified, by sound authorities, enforced by the very concessions of its opponents, all within a compass and in a style which shall ensure its general reception.

Another principle which ought to be set forth in the same compendious form is this: *That although the churches of Christ are intrusted with all ecclesiastical authority under Him, there are certain general principles laid down in the Scriptures by which every church is bound to guide itself in the exercise of this power.*

Churches are indeed empowered to act authoritatively in respect to their polity; but they are not, therefore, left to act as they please. "What is left to men's *discretion*," as Dr. Whately says, "is not therefore meant to be left to their *indiscretion*." The power with which any church is intrusted is to be exercised only in subservience to certain specified ends—only in a certain well-declared spirit. It is clear, for instance, that *we are required to make our church polity not only subordinate to Christian doctrines and graces, but directly subservient to them*: any system, in whatever age or country, which does not recognize this principle, is not only *unscriptural* but *antiscritptural* and without valid authority.

It is no less clear, that *we should aim at simplicity in the several features of the system which we may adopt—simplicity as opposed to what is complicated and ostentatious*; the life-time of imposing rites and ceremonies, so far as they have any scriptural sanction, came to an end when Christ appeared; the outward was then supplanted by the inward—the form by the power. "In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but

faith which worketh by love." Under this new dispensation, as Neander justly affirms, in his Introduction to Mr. Coleman's work, "everything is made to depend on what is *internal and spiritual*"—"upon this the Christian church at first was grounded, and upon this alone, in all time to come, must it be reared anew and compacted together."

There are other principles, too, no less plainly laid down in the Bible, to which every church is bound to adhere in determining what shall be its polity, and how it shall be administered. But it must be confessed that this fact has not always been kept in view by Christian communities; and yet they surely have no other infallible guide, no other authoritative standard.

We deem it important also to lay no little stress upon this principle: *That the forms of church polity, to which an enlightened application of these scriptural principles will lead, may, and indeed must, be widely different in different cases.*

Possessing the right to determine what shall be their polity, and being bound to use this right so as best to subserve their spiritual life, the churches of our day and in this country are at liberty, may are under obligation, to adopt such a system as will, in their judgment, most effectually promote this great end.

What may be undeniably best for us, might be questionably good, or even unquestionably bad for others, in totally different circumstances. What might have been better than anything else, and therefore obligatory, in the days of the apostles, or of their immediate successors, may be very far from binding upon us, because of its unsuitableness to our character and condition.

The idea that the only church polity which has any authority is some nicely-adjusted system that is fixed and immutable—some Procrustean bed of iron, to which every body of Christians must be fitted, is repugnant to the whole spirit of the christian economy. We are left in no such "bondage under the elements of the world;" there is no such "hand-writing of ordinances" against us. *We are free*; and so long as we do not swerve from the general principles of God's Word, in matters of ecclesiastical order and discipline, we have the amplest license to adopt any system which is best fitted, so far as we can judge, to promote the great ends for which all churches are constituted.

Christian communities stand on precisely the same ground with civil communities in this particular. Both must have officers, must have laws; but both are authorized and indeed bound to or-

dain such officers and laws as will, in their rational judgment, best minister to their existing wants.

Moreover, we cannot esteem it unimportant yet further to insist, *That such views as these accord fully with the principles and practice of the primitive churches.*

All the authentic history we have of the first two centuries, whether from the pens of inspired or uninspired men, clearly establishes this position. The early churches of Christ were, in the strictest sense, republican bodies, and their church polity originated with themselves, under the guidance of their inspired teachers and of the Holy Spirit. They were organized and governed according to their prevailing necessities, and not after some prescriptive and unbending model. The pattern of their fabric was not shown them, in minutest detail, from the Mount. They chose their own officers—such officers as their emergencies called for; they admitted new members to their fellowship—“such as should be saved;” they commenced and consummated all processes of discipline; nor did they hesitate in the least to give some new feature to their polity whenever it was obviously requisite. But in all this they were continually guided by a few simple established principles. Nothing was done with any other intent than to give the churches the greatest attainable efficiency, as spiritual bodies; the utmost simplicity distinguished the features of their system; and there was the same rigid conformity on their part to all the other inspired directions that had been given to guide them.

Now we know what a charm there is in that word “primitive;” we know also, too well, how the power of this fascinating name has been abused. This has been the strong-hold of every system of hierarchy that aspiring man could devise. Early precedent has been claimed and pleaded, until it has been felt to be a valid plea, in favor of the most arrogant prelatical assumptions and the most crushing spiritual despotism. We say, it is time to meet this unfounded claim—to show, as we can most clearly, that primitive precedents are in favor of ecclesiastical republicanism. Not that we are bound to follow the early churches in every particular—this we deny—but so far as their example ought to weigh with us, let us know that it is on the side of puritan simplicity and popular freedom. The claim that churches, in the days of the apostles or of their immediate successors, were under such a hierarchy, as some are now wedded to, is all an assumption; and

this truth ought to be submitted to the consideration of the churches in the clearest light.

We consider it every way desirable, also, not only to proclaim this fact, *but to trace, step by step, the rise of those opposite principles and practices, which have led many churches to the widest departures from apostolic usage.*

When was the fancy first promulged that ecclesiastical authority is intrusted by Christ not with his churches themselves as social communities originating under his sanction, but with a certain class of men "ab extra" for these churches? When did credulous man first begin to believe that the rite of ordination possesses some mystic sacramental virtue, and must, therefore, be confined to priestly hands of prelatic sanctity alone, instead of looking upon it, still, simply as an appropriate mode of putting one into office, like the administration of an oath to the man whom we choose for our governor? Where was the conceit first entertained, that there must invariably be three, or five, or a dozen orders of the clergy, rather than one? Who first lent himself, "*diaboli instinctu*," as Jerome insinuates, to the work of encumbering the churches, and enfeebling their spiritual life, by means of imposing rituals and Pharisaic forms, and prelatical usurpations? How rapidly, by what means, against what strugglings of the faithful, was this new leaven made to pervade and corrupt the body of Christ? Who advocated, who resisted these secularizing innovations? In a word, what is the true history of this Man of Sin and his many children in formalism, who dream and vaunt so complacently about their fancied apostolical lineage? These and a thousand similar questions it is by no means a vain work to answer. It is of great consequence, rather, that they be thoroughly investigated and plainly expounded. Indeed there is peculiar need of this at the present time, and a peculiar propriety in undertaking it, because so much is arrogantly assumed in the discussions of the day on this topic which can be most triumphantly refuted.

But we have not space to pursue these remarks. It is especially desirable, we think, to have some manual containing a connected and convincing statement of the true doctrine on these various points in Church Polity. Such a treatise, of moderate size, written in a lucid and attractive style, and not altogether spoiled by the haste of printers, ought to be found in every clergyman's library, and on the shelf of every intelligent layman. Now we are free to express the opinion that Mr. Coleman has done more than any

other writer toward meeting the wants of the churches in this respect. His book is decidedly better adapted than any other with which we are acquainted to take this place in our libraries.

On all the topics now referred to, as well as upon some others, he has brought together much valuable and well-authenticated information, and has presented the whole in an acceptable form.

We observe, it is true, some inaccuracies, some slips of the pen, or the types, which we did not expect to meet, knowing that the author is a man of sound scholarship. It has not escaped our recollection, however, that he was at some distance from the press during the printing of his work, and that we ought not, therefore, to have been greatly surprised on meeting with such phrases as "descended down," "arrived to," etc., together with some Latin and Greek words with which we should be loath to become familiar. We presume that when these minor blemishes made their appearance in his book too late to be removed, they offended his eyes much more than they have ours.

Mr. Coleman was well qualified to write on the topics which he has here discussed, by the studies in which he had been zealously engaged for several years, and which as embodied in his *Christian Antiquities* have already gained him a high reputation both at home and abroad. He has written, too, in the present case under the most favorable circumstances, having had access to the best original authorities, and being favored with the personal counsel of the first ecclesiastical historian of the age. His production shows convincingly that none of these facilities have been neglected. He has evidently spared no pains to make his treatise answer the high expectations which his learning and advantages justified us in entertaining with regard to it.

The chapter on "The Equality of Bishops and Presbyters" in the primitive churches, is one of the best specimens of convincing cumulative argumentation upon this topic with which we have ever met. The success with which he has traced "the rise of Episcopacy," through its various stages, is complete. The disasters which befel the churches in consequence of this revolution in their government are well detailed. And every position which is taken is so amply fortified by the best authorities, that the work cannot be read without profit, or answered without difficulty.

J. L. T.

ARTICLE VII.

PUBLICATIONS IN SACRED LITERATURE.

Uebersetzung und Auslegung der Psalmen für Geistliche und Laien der Christlichen Kirche. Von Dr. A. Tholuck. Halle, 1843. Translation and Interpretation of the Psalms, for Clergy and Laity of the Christian Church. pp. 574.

It appears from the preface to this work, that professor Tholuck has been in the habit of lecturing on the Psalms as a part of his university-course for more than twenty years; and we know that these lectures are considered by his hearers among the most attractive which he delivers in the department of Old Testament exegesis. On no portion of the Scriptures indeed could his peculiar tastes and talents find ampler scope than in commenting, before a literary audience, on the Psalms. The present volume has grown out of these academic prelections; but being designed for a different class of persons, has retained only such fruits of them as were adapted to the new or at least modified object, with which the author has here written. It has been his aim, not at all to furnish a critical commentary on this part of the Scriptures, but merely a book which clergymen may find it convenient to use who would re-possess themselves, at a glance as it were, of the results of their previous studies, without renewing the processes of them, and which the mass of uneducated christian readers may also use for purposes of religious instruction and practical benefit. The portion of the work which is likely to prove of the greatest interest to scholars, is the Introduction, on which the author has bestowed evidently his chief attention. It is less statistical and critical than that of de Wette; but supplies an important deficiency under which that labors, in the greater prominence which is given to those important religious and theological inquiries which the study of the Psalms brings up at every step, and on which the serious reader is naturally most anxious for information. The following summary of the topics which the author has here discussed will give an idea of the value of this part of his labors, and illustrate the christian spirit and tendency which pervade the entire work. He treats (1) *of the Psalter in the christian church*. Under this head he traces its use from the earliest

times to the present, and shows, by the citation of testimonies from Athanasius and Ambrose to our own day, what importance pious men have always attached to these sacred songs. (2) *The form, division and use of the Psalter under the Old Testament dispensation*, especially as employed in the temple-service of David. (3) *The authors of the Psalms*. The first place is here assigned to David, a brief sketch of his history given, and the characteristics of his psalms, compared with those of the other writers, pointed out. (4) *The system of doctrine and morality taught in the Psalms*. The subordinate topics in this section are—views entertained by the writers of God and his government of the world—man, his dependence and sinfulness—the nature of piety—the future life—the Messiah.

The work contains a translation of each Psalm, arranged in the metrical form, upon the basis of that of Luther, with such deviations as the sense of the original seemed to require. An attempt is made in the exposition which then follows, to fix as far as possible the precise historical occasion of the Psalms, and thus to gain a position which will enable the interpreter to give greater individuality and definiteness to their contents. For this purpose the author assumes, in most cases, the genuineness of the titles, and denies the justness of the view which would separate them from the text, and leave them entirely out of the account, as a means of settling the time, object and authorship of these compositions. The extent to which professor Tholuck has applied this historical mode of explanation, is much greater than has been usually attempted, and imparts to the work one of its most distinguishing features. An analysis is also given of the contents of each Psalm, neither too brief or too extended, discovering a happy tact in this sort of demarkation, where one is so liable to err in the way either of excess or deficiency. The prophetic import of the Messianic portions he recognizes fully, but in the case of some of them, as Ps. xvi, xxii, xl, lxix, arrives at this result by principles of interpretation which many would not be willing to admit without more proof than he has thought it worth while to offer.

The second Psalm is one of special interest; and the remarks upon it afford perhaps a fair specimen of the general spirit and style of the commentary. The following are the principal of them: "A comminatory Psalm against all the powerful of the earth who rebel against the king anointed by God, the Messiah."

In the title of the Psalm the author of it is not named, but in

Acts 4: 25, the Apostles designate David as the writer. Should any one refuse to allow that the Messiah is the subject of it and contend that it should be understood rather of a rebellion of subjugated nations against a king, he would still be obliged to refer it to the time of David or Solomon, since no king reigned in the later periods of the kingdom of Judah, of such power that a representation like this could be explained from his history. But we cannot now refer the Psalm to events in the history of David or Solomon; it is not appropriate to the times of David, for—to mention only one circumstance—it treats plainly of rebellion against a king just inaugurated to office, and David when he ascended the throne had not even all the tribes of Israel, much less foreign nations subject to him; and it is not appropriate to the time of Solomon's accession, for he, as well as his whole reign was peaceful¹, on which account he was called also by way of eminence the *prince of peace*.—David, on the contrary, uttered this Psalm with spirit, as he perceived how the nations of the earth would at a future time rise up in vain against his royal Son.

As regards now the form, under which the writer speaks of the Redeemer, we have to refer to what has been already said in the introduction. That which has particularly given offence, namely, that a severe punishment is threatened against those who resist the Messiah, is found also in the N. Testament in the discourses of Christ. In a similar manner the Redeemer himself says, that the citizens of his kingdom rebel against his authority, that they would "kill the heir," (Luke 19: 14. Matt. 21: 38), but at the same time he declares also, that these rebels should be destroyed, that those "who would not that he should reign over them" should be slain. (Matt. 22: 43. Luke 19: 27.) Thus the word of the prophecy agrees well with the word of the New Testament.

The prophetic Psalmist is transferred to the moment, when the Son of God enters on his office as ruler over the earth, and hears the rebellious speeches of the mighty. (v. 1—3.) For a time it seems as if God slept, but then he awakes as a hero from his

¹ 1 Kings 5: 3, 4. The rebellions spoken of 1 Kings 11: 14 and 23 were in themselves, inconsiderable and belong to the last years of his life, when this Psalm could not have been written for another reason, namely that Solomon at that time was sunk too deep in idolatry to have composed such a song. Against the reference to Solomon's accession, which some interpreters suggest (Bleek, Ewald) lies the fact, that there is no intimation whatever that the rebellion is that of subjugated nations; and besides this, it may be asked whether, in case v. 6 is to be translated "upon Zion" it can be said of Solomon that he was anointed on Zion. (Comp. 1 Kings 1: 38.)

sleep, and gives an actual demonstration, that the king whom he has appointed, can be deposed by no mortal. (v. 4—6.) The Messiah now appears in the scene, in order to furnish proof of the dominion over all flesh, which the Father has given him. (v. 7—9.) The royal prophet then admonishes the kings of the earth to submit themselves by timely obedience, before the divine judgment bursts forth upon them. (v. 10—12.)

H. B. H.

Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked, with Notes by H. B. Hackett, professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Andover: Allen, Morrill and Wardwell. 1844. pp. 171.

The study of Greek in our theological seminaries, so far as the prescribed course is concerned, is almost entirely confined to the New Testament. The Septuagint remains untouched. No attempt is made to study ecclesiastical history by repairing to the original sources in the Greek or Latin Fathers. Even at this period, when the study of Christian antiquity is awakening fresh interest, the most authentic means for acquiring a correct judgment are not much resorted to. Plato, Plutarch, and others, who may be styled the heathen theologians, are passed by in the class-room. This omission, however much to be regretted, has been considered unavoidable. The introduction, to any considerable extent, of the study of the Greek classics, or that of the Greek fathers, would be, in the opinion of most, at the expense of what is of greater importance. The radical difficulty in the way of the prosecution of these studies in the seminary, is the imperfect knowledge of Greek possessed by most students. They are generally admitted to college with a very slender acquaintance with the elements of Greek Grammar. The foundation for successful study was never laid in the preparatory school. Recourse to a Greek author, in subsequent life, is of course a matter of task and prescription, not of pleasure.¹

Another serious difficulty is the want of suitable books and

¹ Recent indications are promising in respect to the investigation of this evil, and providing a remedy for it. Some of the most eminent classical teachers of academies and high-schools in New England are soon to hold a second meeting in order to discuss the general subject, and to devise measures for perfecting and enlarging the course of studies preparatory to college. It is now emphatically a *curriculum*.

helps. There is no good lexicon even of classical Greek. Donnegan is in general use, but a more unscientific guide can hardly be found. It is a pity that this noble language should be so inadequately expounded.¹ What a different aspect would the study at once assume among us, could we have such a lexicon in Greek as that of Gesenius in Hebrew? Until a very recent date, we have had no suitable selections from the Greek classics. The publication of the *Gorgias* of Plato partially supplies this want. The ethical principles inculcated in this dialogue render it eminently worthy of the study of the young theologian. Its anti-utilitarian tendencies well fit it to one of the special weaknesses of American culture.

The tract of Plutarch, edited by Prof. Hackett, in a truly scholar-like manner, supplies another important aid. The doctrine, maintained by the author, is substantially that of the Christian Scriptures. We have heard an able sermon on the reasons why God delays to punish the wicked, which was scarcely anything more than an amplification of the arguments which are urged with equal force by Plutarch. The analysis of these arguments, drawn up by the editor, has far more of correct theology than the professedly Christian sermons which are sometimes delivered from our pulpits. The notes, prepared by Prof. Hackett, are historical and grammatical. They furnish all necessary aid to the right understanding of the author's allusions and diction, and evince patient research and a nice sense of the idioms of the language. The references to the principles of grammar might be increased, in a subsequent edition. Many, who have professedly studied Greek several years still exhibit a deplorable lack of syntactical knowledge. The Greek type is new and beautiful. E.

Ausführliche Hebräische Grammatik. Von Hermann Hupfeld.
Cassel, 1841. pp. 128.

It is said, that the late Dr. Gesenius of Halle recurred, in his last illness, with much satisfaction, to the extensive and beneficial results of his labors. These results it is difficult to estimate. That they are already very great, no impartial judge can deny.

¹ We are not acquainted with the new "Greek and English Lexicon," by Liddell and Scott of the university of Oxford; but its price—twelve dollars—puts it out of the reach of American students.

His Hebrew grammars and lexicons, in various forms and versions, are daily guiding the investigations of multitudes in every part of Christendom. He possessed a rare assemblage of intellectual powers, fitting him for the work to which his life was devoted. It is only to be regretted, that he did not entertain that reverence for the inspired word, and cordial love of its truths, which would have modified some of his opinions, and which must be considered as an essential qualification in one who would write a commentary on Isaiah, or even prepare a vocabulary of the Hebrew language.

In proportion to the extent of Gesenius's influence, and the regret which is felt at his death, may be the desire to know something in relation to his successor. What are the talents and character of one who is thought worthy to fill the place of the great Halle Hebraist? We have not the means of fully answering this question. Yet some notices, collected from various quarters, may not be entirely without interest.

Dr. Hermann Hupfeld was born at Marburg in 1796, and is consequently now in the possession of his matured faculties. His father, who was a preacher first in Dörnberg in Nassau, and afterwards at Melsungen, gave him the first rudiments of education. He received decided religious impressions while residing with his uncle, the pastor Sigel at Siglingen. He completed his school-education at the gymnasium at Hersfeld. In 1813, he went to Marburg to study theology. The shock, which his pious feelings received from the results of his scientific studies, induced him at first to devote his principal attention to philology, instead of theology. From 1817 to 1819, he was assistant to the first reformed preacher at Marburg. In 1819, he became teacher at the gymnasium at Hanau. Ill health induced him to resign this post in 1822. He then turned his whole attention to theological studies, and, particularly, to those connected with the Old Testament. He repaired to Halle to enjoy the instructions of Gesenius in the oriental languages. He became a *privatim docens* in 1824, and began to read lectures. He then went back to Marburg, where he was appointed professor extraordinarius in 1825, and professor ordinarius in 1827. Here he remained till 1842, when he was appointed professor of theology in Halle, in the place of Gesenius.

His chief study has been the grammar of the Semitic languages. He has here sought to do what Jacob Grimm has done for the Germanic dialects, viz. to develop the Hebrew language *genetically* by a consideration of its sounds.

Eighty pages of the first section (*Lieferung*) of the long expected Hebrew grammar, were printed many years since, and do not match very well, at least externally, with the remaining sheets. An historical and critical introduction in respect to the history and literature of the Hebrew language, occupies the first thirty pages. This of course does not embrace the latest literature on the subject, and will, doubtless, receive important additions in a subsequent part of the grammar. The number closes in the midst of the author's remarks on the accent system. When the grammar will be completed, it is impossible to conjecture. The author's health is quite delicate, and often seriously interrupts his studies. His ideal of excellence is, also, so high, that his readers are compelled to wait long for the fulfilment of his promises. Hupfeld is an evangelical theologian, though less decidedly so than some others. He is said to have taken a very active part, at Marburg, in favor of private religious meetings, and of religious toleration generally.

In the *semester* which closed on the 30th of March, 1844, he was to lecture on the book of Genesis, and also give a public lecture on the history and present state of the inquiry respecting the connection between Genesis and the other historical books. He was also to begin a two years' course on the sciences auxiliary to interpretation, together with an exhibition of the structure of the Hebrew language in its scientific relations. E.

INTELLIGENCE.

Two volumes of K. O. Müller's "History of Greek Literature up to the Age of Alexander," have appeared under the editorial charge of his brother Edward Müller. Among the more interesting topics, which are handled, are, The most ancient Poetry of the Greeks, The Epos of the Greeks previously to Homer, Hesiod, The Lyric Poetry of the Æolic Poets, The Doric Lyric Poetry anterior to Pindar, Historical Writing, Thucydides, etc.—The entire works of Leibnitz are in the course of publication at Hanover, from the MSS. of the royal library, edited by G. H. Pertz.—A new edition of Ewald's Hebrew Grammar, (a 3d ed. of which was published in 1838,) is in preparation.—A volume of F. Passow's Miscellaneous Writings has just appeared, under the care of his son W. A. Passow. It is a continuation to his *Opuscula Academica*, published in 1835. "It furnishes a complete picture of Passow's literary labors, as well as of his intellectual development and peculiarities." It embraces a selection of his essays, etc., which were written in the German language,

from 1812 to 1833. — Dr. F. K. Theiss of Nordhausen has published a "Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu Xenophons Anabasis, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Namen u. Sack-Erklärung."—A volume from the pen of Winer has recently been published with the title, *De Verborum cum Praepositionibus compositorum in Novo Testamento Usu*.—The parts of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* (edited by Jacobs and Rost) lately published, are the *Medea* of Euripides by Pflugk, the *Phoenissae* of Euripides by Klotz, Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* by Breitenbach, the first book of Thucydides *de Bell. Pelopon.* by Poppo, and Plato's *Philebus* by Stallbaum.—Maurer's commentary on the Old Testament includes all the books, except Job, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song. It is embraced in three volumes.—The "Exegetische Handbuch" to the Old Testament, contains the twelve Minor Prophets by Hitzig, Job by Hirzel, Jeremiah by Hitzig, Samuel by Thenius, Isaiah by Knobel. The volumes, yet to appear, will be, the Psalms by Hassler, the Pentateuch and Joshua by Tuch, the books of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah by Bertheau, Ezekiel, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song by Hitzig, Proverbs, Ruth, Lamentations and Esther by Thenius.—The "Exegetisches Handbuch" of De Wette to the New Testament, in eight parts, or 2 vols., contains all the books, except the epistles to Timothy, Titus, the Hebrews, the epistles of James, Peter, and Jude, and the Apocalypse. The results of the author's critical studies are here condensed into very narrow limits.

We learn that Professor Stuart's Commentary on the Apocalypse is ready for the press, and that the printing will soon be commenced.—Mr. Pickering is preparing a new edition of his Greek Lexicon for the press.—Guerike's Introduction to the New Testament, in 1 vol. Leipsic, 1843, is to be translated by some gentlemen connected with the Institutions at Newton, Ms., and Hamilton, N. Y.—Prof. Sears of Newton, has in press an introductory work for the Study of Latin, entitled, "Ciceroniana." It consists of a series of short extracts from the writings of Cicero, containing about 100 pages. It is intended that these extracts shall be carefully analyzed by the teacher, the pupil being required to note the explanations, and subsequently to give them in his own language. No vocabulary accompanies the volume, it being understood that the teacher shall in the first instance furnish the definitions. An Introduction of 75 pages explains at large the design of the volume. This method of teaching has been well received in Germany.

The conductors of this work will be aided in the preparation of the shorter reviews, as well as the more important articles, by the following gentlemen, among others: Profs. B. Sears and H. B. Hackett of Newton, Prof. G. Shepard of Bangor, Profs. C. B. Haddock and S. G. Brown of Hanover, Rev. H. B. Smith of West Amesbury, Mr. S. H. Taylor, Principal of Phillips Academy, and Rev. J. L. Taylor of Andover.

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NO. III

AUGUST, 1844.

ARTICLE I

REFORMERS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

Reformatoren vor der Reformation, vornehmlich in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, geschildert von Dr. C. Ullmann. Erster Band, Hamburg, 1841. Zweiter Band, 1842. [Reformers before the Reformation, particularly in Germany and the Netherlands.]

By B. Sears, D. D. President of Newton Theological Institution.

THE author of these volumes ranks among the best German writers of special church history. Nineteen years ago, at the early age of twenty-nine, after having gained some reputation as professor of theology at Heidelberg, he gave no doubtful indication of what he was to be, by that work with which his name is most associated in England and in this country, his life of Gregory of Nazianzum. Naturally endowed with a sound and vigorous understanding, educated both as a general scholar and as a theologian after the best manner of his country, he early applied himself to original investigations in historical theology, and by a life of unremitted effort, has risen to a high eminence, making him an authority, in matters connected with his department of study, second to no other. No writer exhausts a subject of inquiry more than he; no one digests more perfectly the materials which his industry collects, and few present them to the reader in a more complete form or a more lucid order. His style of composition is pure and elegant, his language rich and flowing. Though a man of great liberality of feeling he is strongly attached to the lead-

ing doctrines of the reformation, and always expresses his sentiments with a dignified freedom and christian independence. There is not only an unusual elevation both in his moral and intellectual character, a largeness and breadth of views alike honorable to the philosopher and the Christian, but a beautiful symmetry in his mind, sterling good sense and correct taste, not always associated with learning and talent in the men of his country.

Ten years ago, Ullmann published his life of Johan Wessel, a work which threw a new and unexpected light upon the dark period of the history of the church in Germany immediately preceding the reformation. The volumes named at the head of this article, grew out of a revision of that work and an enlargement of the plan, so that by grouping together the history of those men whose influence was greatest in preparing the soil for Luther to cultivate, but whose services had been almost overlooked, he might exhibit a more perfect and rational view of the causes of the reformation than had yet been given to the public. We well recollect the sensation which his lectures on this subject produced in Halle, by drawing from the wells of history deeper and fresher waters than others had done before him. The most learned and able men of the theological faculty shook their heads, doubting and yet not daring to contradict the position taken. But since the historical evidence has been brought to light and published to the world, all such skepticism has given way to admiration and praise. If it be asked how it is possible that such things should so far have escaped the observation of historians for more than three centuries, we reply by asking, how it was possible for Leopold Ranke to make such a collection of new documentary evidence upon the whole period of the reign of Charles V. as is found in his recent history? The fact is undeniable, whether it can be accounted for or not. But all this goes to prove that the old writers did not examine original and official documents, as historians are now accustomed to do, and that they trusted more to the tradition handed down from spectators whose impressions were sometimes right, sometimes wrong, and whose accounts were frequently desultory, if not superficial.

It is not merely the memory of the men whose full history we now read for the first time, that interests us; it is the important link which they supply in history that lends to this valuable contribution of Ullmann its highest charm. Reasoning from general principles men have long since come to entertain the belief that such a spiritual movement as that in which Luther was the most

conspicuous actor, could not have been produced by him, nor by any other human being; but that there must have been some great process of preparation working deeply in the minds of the people. It has been said, and with truth, that spiritual oppression and corruption had become insufferable, that external opposition from such men as Arnold of Brescia, Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague and Savonarola, aroused the minds and fixed the attention of the people upon the subject, and that the revival of classical learning which spread from Italy to Germany; enlightened the public mind and exposed the abuses of ecclesiastical power. But still there was wanting a clear historical proof of a positive influence, acting directly upon the moral elements of society with sufficient power to account not only for outward resistance and political action, but for a moral revolution so deeply religious as the reformation unquestionably was.

There are, as Ullmann remarks, in every great and permanent reformation two essential elements, the one internal, or the calm and religious contemplation of principles lying at the very foundations of popular belief, the other external, or actual resistance to the established order of things, to the ecclesiastical and political relations of society. The former, if it exist separately, may be limited to the closet, or at most, through books, exert some influence upon a particular class of readers; the latter by itself, may indeed produce events of dramatic interest, such as the imprisonment or execution of the chief actor, or an insurrectionary movement in some province; but such events generally pass away without leaving any permanent effects upon society. It is the union of these two elements that constitutes a reformation. Both of them were at work at the close of the fifteenth century. But resistance to authority, being external, very naturally attracted most attention, and the actors in those scenes which were under the public eye, are well known in history, while the silent meditations of men, who, in their retirement, penetrated the true character of the Papal hierarchy, traced it to its origin both philosophically and historically, and were led back to the Bible and to primitive Christianity, as their hope and the hope of the world, have been allowed to pass even to the present time, for the most part, unnoticed and unknown. It was not a Huss, nor a Savonarola, nor men of that class, who revolutionized the church in Germany and Switzerland. Luther and Zuingle were not made what they were by the influence of these men. Their characters were not formed, nor did their minds receive direction from the

influence of external events. It was not till the internal process had been nearly completed, that the tragical end of the men who had gone before them came to act upon their minds. It was in retirement, in meditation upon things purely spiritual, in intercourse with pious men, that the reformers received their impressions and their true calling. It is, in the biblical and practical theology of a certain class of men in Germany and the Netherlands, a theology transmitted to Luther by Staupitz, and to Zuingle by Wyttenbach, that we are to seek for the religious element of the reformation.

The general view entertained by Ullmann on this subject is the following. Germany, including Switzerland and the Netherlands, was the original and independent seat of the reformation. It is a remarkable fact that men have been misled for centuries, and been accustomed to speak of English, Bohemian, French and even Italian precursors of the reformation with scarcely a thought that there could have been such in the very country which was the theatre of action, whereas it was the men who lived along the Rhine in its whole extent, that sowed the seeds of the reformation. Did Luther, Zuingle and their associates drop down from the sky in full panoply as reformers? Did they come into existence and receive their stamp of character through the agency of foreigners who could effect at a distance and upon strangers what they could not at home and upon their intimate friends? It is impossible. The laws of historical connection require us to assume that there were intermediate links in the chain of causes, or rather that there was a direct agency of men on the very spot rendering it necessary that precisely there the scene should open. And now we are able to prove that there were, in fact, men in Germany and in the Netherlands who had an influence upon the reformers, in producing their character, which no foreigners ever had. Where, in all the writings of Luther—to give but one example—do we find any reference to an influence from abroad upon his mind to be compared with that which he attributes to the men who preceded him in his own country and in the Netherlands? He says that his literary character was formed under the influence of the writings of Johan von Wesel; that the Brethren of the Life in Common *made the beginning* in the gospel; that one might be led, by a comparison of his writings with those of Johan Wessel (not to be confounded with Johan von Wesel), that he had drawn all his doctrines from that writer; that neither in the Latin, nor in the German language could be found a more evangelical theo-

logy than Tauler's; that no one had better taught him what God, Christ, man, and all things are than the author of the *Deutsche Theologie*; and, finally, that Staupitz first kindled up the light of the gospel in his heart. Of none of his predecessors in other countries does he speak in a similar way. Such men as those above named can by no means be left unnoticed in a just account of the causes which led to the reformation. On the contrary, their lives and character must be clearly set forth, if we would explain why it was in Germany and the adjoining countries rather than anywhere else, that the tree of spiritual liberty first struck its roots.

The reformation, according to Ullmann, was the reaction of Christianity as gospel against Christianity as law. During the middle ages, Christianity gradually lost its voluntary, spiritual character, and degenerated into a rigid, inflexible, imperative system of law. Against this corruption an antinomian and pantheistic opposition sprung up, going to the opposite extreme of licentiousness. Between these two systems, that of the false letter and that of the false spirit of the gospel, was the true position of the reformation. Nowhere does this characteristic feature of the reformation appear more conspicuously than in Luther's predecessors. Goch, in particular, penetrated deeply into the doctrine of divine grace, and, in this respect, surpassed, perhaps, Luther himself. This doctrine was the centre of his theological contemplations, and it was as fully cleared up by him within a limited range as it was afterwards on a broader scale.

Religion with these men, not less than with the reformers, was made to consist in the inward moral principle rather than in the outward act. They estimated piety not by the quantity, but by the quality of its manifestations. Another peculiarity which distinguished them from the age in which they lived, was the spiritual freedom which they regarded as essential to true religion. It was not religious freedom in a civil point of view that chiefly occupied their attention, but a religious life which was spontaneous and free in a moral point of view. The grace of God, according to their belief, produced in the heart a principle of spiritual life which led men voluntarily to do what the law of God required, and to this spontaneous obedience, not forced by legal constraint, but flowing freely from a living faith and a holy love, they attached great importance.

But we will pass to a consideration of the individual character of the men whose history is portrayed in the volumes before us.

It was not so much the design of the author to write a religious biography of these men as to fill up a chasm in history, and to exhibit certain religious tendencies which existed in many minds, but which could be brought distinctly to view in the lives and sentiments of a few individuals who were respectively the most perfect representatives of these several tendencies. Particular parts of history are therefore clustered around the lives of those men who were chiefly concerned in those transactions, thus giving to the work the double charm of special detail and of historical unity. The undertaking is a very difficult one, and sometimes congenial characters and similar tendencies can be placed in juxtaposition only by sacrificing the chronological order. We will not say but that the arrangement adopted by Ullmann is the best that the case would admit; still, when, upon opening the second volume, we find ourselves carried back to an earlier period in the introductory chapters, than that of which the first volume treated, we feel that one important advantage has been surrendered in order to secure another. All writers of history in a series of biographical sketches, have this difficulty to contend with. Böttiger in his recent *History of the World in Biographies*, and Ullmann in the work before us, by resorting frequently to introductory or intervening chapters, seem to have accomplished all that the method will admit.

The first volume treats of Johan von Goch, Johan von Wesel and the men of their acquaintance. Johan Pupper (a family name but little used by him) was born near the beginning of the fifteenth century in the small village of Goch in Cleves, and was hence, according to the custom of the times, called *von Goch*. Little is known of his early history. It would appear from his writings that he received a theological education above what was common at that time. With the Scriptures, and with the Latin fathers, particularly with Jerome and Augustine he was familiar, as well as with the scholastic theology more especially that of Thomas Aquinas and of his school. He was an acute and clear-headed dialectician, and a very exact and perspicuous writer, though in elegance of style he was not above the other Latin writers of his day. He was probably educated at one of the schools of the Brethren of the Life in Common—of which a full account is given at the beginning of the second volume—and at the university of Paris. The first act by which Goch comes distinctly before us in history is that by which, when about fifty years of age, he founded a priory for nuns at Mechlin in Brabant in 1451.

Christianity was introduced into this city by St. Lambert, near the close of the seventh century, and was more firmly established there by Rumold, the patron saint, to whom the cathedral, commenced in the twelfth century and completed in the fifteenth, was dedicated. The city was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Cambray until 1559, when it became an independent archbishopric, and the celebrated cardinal Granvelle was its first archbishop. Mechlin became very naturally the residence of many priests and monks. Beside a commandary of the Teutonic Knights, one convent of Minorites, another of Carmelites, one of Augustinian Eremites, and a house of the Brethren of the Life in Common, there were the nunneries of the Valley of Lilies, of Mount Sion, of Bethany, of Muysen, not to mention the female charitable societies, such as that of the Beguins, that of the Leprous Virgins, the hospital of St. Mary, and the Black Sisters, so called from their dress. Mechlin, therefore, was preëminently a monastic city, in which von Goch had ample opportunity to watch the operations and to study the nature of this important branch of the mediæval church. His agency in respect to monasticism was two-fold, fostering it on the one hand by his external connections, and yet withering it on the other by the severity with which he probed its vital parts. By founding the Priory of Tabor and acting twenty-four years as its rector, he showed that he maintained a quiet existence nominally within the pale of the church; but by profound meditation upon the true nature of Christianity and upon the character of the church as it appeared in his age, he brought out a system all the tendencies of which were so many internal elements of a genuine reformation.

In his writings, Goch appears as a biblical theologian, striking at the root of the evils of the scholastic theology, and of the superstitions and unscriptural practices of the age. He represents the church as having fallen into the following among other fundamental errors, that of giving to Christianity the legal character of Judaism; that of a Pelagian theology and a consequent reliance upon good works; and that of tyrannically exacting countless forms of religion of which the apostolic church knew nothing. The favorite doctrine of the church during the middle ages, namely, that the precepts of Christ acting upon the spontaneous feelings of the pious heart were insufficient for the highest attainments in religion, and that the obligation of a monastic vow needed to be superadded, was elaborately refuted by this able theologian. "This," said he, "is the error of our times, an error

which shows itself to be kindred in various respects with that of Pelagianism. The latter asserts that the grace of God is not indispensably necessary to spiritual acts, that the human will is of itself sufficient to produce them; the former, though it acknowledges the necessity of grace to such spiritual acts, denies that grace is of itself sufficient. The assertion that the precepts of the gospel cannot be perfectly observed without the obligation of a vow, amounts to nothing less than saying that the grace of the gospel is insufficient for that end." In another place, he says, "It is manifest that those who need compulsion have no love for that to which they are compelled by the obligation of a vow." Such a method, he contends, does not produce conformity to the divine character. "For as God does nothing by constraint, but always acts freely according to his nature, and as intelligent creatures are distinguished from irrational brutes by their intellectual and moral freedom, it is evident that human actions are most like the divine, and most worthy of our nature, when they are spontaneous and free." It is interesting to see what language this adult and full-grown son of the church holds in regard to his spiritual mother. "The church," he observes, "is the mother of the faithful. But it often happens that the mother has more affection than judgment. Hence in many of the things done by the church we perceive more zeal than discretion.—So it is in regard to monastic vows; for though they are not adapted to strengthen the will for any spiritual act, they were established by the church under the view that they might be the occasion of good to the weak and negligent." It will be perceived that this is not a very flattering representation of the superiority of the monastic state. Goch was far from shrinking from the conclusion which must be drawn from such premises. He brings it out not only with logical clearness but with strong indignation. "Nothing can be farther from the truth than the shameless boasting of the monks, when, to exalt their order, they, to their own disgrace, call it an order of perfection. They constitute the weak and faltering part of the church, who, being unable to control their inordinate desires, need outward restraints to preserve them from sin." In such declarations he conveyed to his readers undeniable, but at the same time most unwelcome truth.

Nor did he confine his attention to this particular corruption of Christianity. His clear vision surveyed the whole field of observation presented in the existing state of the church. Especially did his eye rest upon the main pillar of the Papal hierarchy, the

distinctions introduced in the clergy. He strenuously maintained there was no office in the church higher than that of elder or presbyter. His strong and decisive language is, "Many things have, by custom and by the regulations of the church, been wrested from the presbyters, which were given to them by divine authority." When it was asserted that the bishops alone were the successors of the apostles, he replied, "True, indeed, according to the usages and rules of the church, but not according to the original institution established by Christ and his apostles."

Thus a pious monk, deeply imbued with the spirit of primitive Christianity, not only lamented the corruptions which everywhere met his eye, but in his quiet retreat, without the least outward collision, without any attempt to summon the people to external resistance, applied his powerful mind to the work of searching the subject to the bottom, and of presenting the results with an irresistible array of argument; and by that means, whether consciously or unconsciously, he prepared the way most admirably for an ultimate reformation which should extend to all the branches of ecclesiastical organization, doctrine and worship. To the legal and formal piety of the times he opposed freedom and spirituality; to a false reliance upon good works, a reliance upon the grace of God; to the imagined sanctity of a useless monastic life, the true holiness of a life of active piety; to the unscriptural assumptions of the dignitaries of the church, the labor, self-denial, simplicity, zeal and official equality of the primitive ministry. He died in 1475, eight years before the birth of Luther.

In the mean time, there were other men, who, from a somewhat different point of view, saw the alarming degeneracy of the church, and who raised a voice sometimes of lamentation, and sometimes of indignant rebuke. Of this class was Gregory of Heimburg, a distinguished scholar and statesman, who was active at the council of Baale, and was an influential member of almost every German diet. He well knew, as he said, "that it was more perilous to dispute the power of the pope than to dispute the power of God." Still he fearlessly spoke out in loud tones of remonstrance. While the pontiff professes to be invested with the plenitude of the power of Christ, he knows from Christ's own words that this pretension is false. Christ did not give his disciples secular power, but taught them expressly that his kingdom was not of this world. He himself would not be an earthly king, but was subject to rulers, as were also his apostles both in principle and in practice. For three hundred years, noth-

ing was known of the papal supremacy. The Roman bishops were called, not to dominion, but to martyrdom. They gloried, not in the purple, in milk-colored horses, in riches, splendor and power, but in being able to say, "So we have forsaken all and followed thee." Such was the tenor of his language which could be only hinted at in this connection. While Heimburg was thus exposing the arrogant pretensions of the Roman bishop, and calling upon the German nation "to arise and shake themselves from the dust, and break the yoke that had been laid upon their necks," Jacob of Jüterbock, a native of the very place where Tetzel one hundred and thirty-two years afterwards preached indulgences, was publishing his views of the church, and his doubts whether it was not already corrupt beyond the power of recovery. "If a reformation be possible," said he, "it must be effected either by the direct power of God, or through the agency of man. The former is possible, indeed, but it is not the ordinary method of Providence.—It will not be accomplished by any one man, for many have attempted it and failed of success. The papal court itself stands in greatest need of reformation, as all the recent councils have declared. If the pope cannot purify his own court, how can he reform the church?"

A far more important character is next presented to us in Johan von Wesel, so called from his native place, the small town of Wesel on the Rhine between Maintz and Coblenze. He was professor of theology in Erfurt and afterwards a distinguished preacher at Worms. About the year 1450, while at Erfurt, he wrote a treatise against indulgences, which begins thus. "We read, in the four gospels, the discourses of our Lord; in these are contained the mysteries of salvation; but we find there nothing about indulgences. Next, the apostles preached and wrote epistles to the churches; neither in these is any mention made of indulgences. Then we have the works of Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, and yet they say nothing of indulgences." We cannot follow him through his elaborate discussions in which he completely overthrows the systems proposed and defended by Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and other scholastic writers. We will only give the conclusion to which Ullmann has been brought by an examination of the treatise. "Wesel had proceeded further in his principles when he wrote against indulgences than Luther had done when he wrote on the same subject. His refutation of the doctrine was clearer, more comprehensive and founded on a better

understanding of the whole subject. It aimed more at the foundation of the entire system than did the bold and powerful, but occasional and partial assault of Luther."

As preacher at Worms, Wesel found himself surrounded by worldly and corrupt priests, and placed under a bishop who was a better warrior than preacher. Still he was not diverted from his course. In a work which he published on the Office and Authority of Pastors, he openly declared that the church had "fallen from a state of true piety into a kind of superstitious Judaism." Wherever he looked, he beheld nothing but "an ostentatious display of works, a dead faith and pharisaical pride;" "cold ceremonies, and superstitions, not to say idolatry." "The word of the Lord," he continues, "is bound by human inventions, and cannot be freely proclaimed. A tyrannical power rises up against it on all sides; it is opposed by the teachings of the bishops, to say nothing of the legends of the saints, the fraud of indulgences and the fury of the monks, whom one must exalt to heaven, if he would live comfortably." "But," he says to his brethren, "if called to preach the truth, do not stand in fear of the anathemas and curses thundered in papal bulls—which are but paper and lead—for they throw a cold and harmless bolt. For he who would excommunicate you was long ago himself excommunicated by the supreme Judge." With a prophetic spirit he says: "I see that our souls must waste away with spiritual famine, unless a star of hope shall arise.—Deliver us, O God of Israel from all these distresses."

Wesel regarded the Scriptures as the only guide of the Christian. He refused to accept even the interpretation of them at the hands of the church. The Bible must be its own interpreter. The fundamental doctrine taught in the Scriptures, he conceived to be that of salvation by grace. *Sola Dei gratia salvantur electi.* He objected to the word "catholic," in the Apostolic creed where it is said, "I believe in the holy catholic church." "For," said he, "the catholic church, that is, the whole body of the baptized, is not holy; a majority of its members are reprobates." In regard to the endless round of ceremonies with which the consciences of men were needlessly burdened, he said, "Christ ordained no fasts. As little did he require his disciples to observe festivals. He never enjoined the severe canonical hours upon priests. But now the service at mass has become so accumulated as to be an intolerable burden." Upon the system of penances he remarks, "When a man makes confession, severe penance is imposed up-

on him. He must perform a pilgrimage to Rome, or even further, must fast and repeat many prayers. Not so did Christ teach; he simply said, Go and sin no more." He rejected entirely the authority of tradition. In his preaching at Worms, he used such language as the following: "I will regard that and that only as sin which the Scriptures declare to be so." "I condemn the pope, the church and the councils, and exalt Christ." "To me their double-pointed mitres, their splendid infulas, the pearls and gold that adorn their feet are nothing. I can only smile at their high-sounding, heroical names, their miserable titles and their lofty triumphs, all of which are signs of anything rather than of a bishop." When such things were justified on the ground of their antiquity, he tersely replied, "The Babylonian empire is not therefore good, because it has stood some few centuries." "We have, then," said he to his brethren, "to demand of the pope, and the priests, as successors of Christ and the apostles, that they give us the word of God. If they will feed us with that, we will listen to them as we would to Christ himself; but if they will not, we will disregard them." He complains loudly of the spiritual adulation of the times, of the "blasphemous titles, such as 'the vicar of Christ,' 'demigod,' 'the most divine,' with which shameless flatterers wag their tails (*cauda adblandiuntur*) before the pope, so that the ass in purple is pleased with himself, and thinks himself some great one." Of the mummeries of public worship he speaks with equal contempt. "How changed is the appearance of the church! At present, it is esteemed clerical to mutter prayers coldly with the lips without understanding them. It is regarded as something grand when the deacons bray, 'Gospel!' 'Epistle.' Mutterings and stentorian voices are employed in worship without regard to its spirituality." After such declarations, nothing need be said of the resemblance between the "reformer before," and the reformer of, "the reformation." It will occur of itself to every reader's mind. We regret to add, that Wesel closed his life, under a limited recantation, in prison. In the hour of trial, which came upon him in his old age, he did not prove as firm and heroic as the monk of Wittenberg did at the diet of Worms.

In coming to the second volume, we find ourselves, as already intimated, carried back to an earlier period than that to which Goch and Wesel belonged. We might infer from the reputation of the author, as a skilful historian, that such an arrangement could not be arbitrary. The reason of this recurrence to an earlier date is obvious. The characters which are next to be repre-

sented were formed under peculiar influences. Those influences, and the institutions to which they gave rise, need to be brought distinctly to view, in order that we may fully understand the history of the individuals formed by them. Johan Wessel, of Heidelberg, was the distinguished harbinger of the reformation in whose capacious mind all the streams of religious knowledge and truth, enjoyed in that age, were united. To prepare the way for a full comprehension of his position and influence, the author occupies more than one third of the second volume in giving an elaborate and brilliant account of the Brethren of the Life in Common, and of the German mystics. Of the men connected with the former, Gerard Groot, Florentius, Zerbolt and Thomas à Kempis are particularly noticed; of those who belong to the latter, Ruysbroek, Suso, Tauler the author of the *Deutsche Theologie*, and Staupitz.

The view which Ullmann takes of the remoter causes of the reformation may be briefly given thus. There is in human nature itself a tendency to correct obvious abuses. In Christianity there is both a light which exposes ecclesiastical abuses, and a moral energy which impels men to seek and apply the proper spiritual remedy. The corruptions of the church originated in a want of practical piety, and of sound views of revealed truth. The causes which should lead to a reformation, then, must be a revival of religious feeling, and a return to an intelligent view of the spiritual nature of Christianity. The former would manifest itself in the people at large, the latter, more in men of retirement and learning. So it was in point of fact. These two causes exerted a reciprocal influence upon each other. While piety led to intelligence, intelligence strengthened piety. Connected with the revival of ancient learning was the elevation, or rather transformation of the mysticism of the middle ages.

The transition from a wild and extravagant mysticism to the sobriety, solidity and purity of the later mystics was effected by the influence of Ruysbroek. Before him, the Beghards, Beguins and Lollards, in their vague spiritualism, fell frequently into pantheistic speculations which threatened to destroy all reality in moral distinctions. This tendency predominated most in that particular class, called the Brethren of the Free Spirit; and those speculations were carried to the highest point of abstraction, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, by Master Eckart, the Hegel of the middle ages. Ruysbroek, who, after preaching till about the age of sixty, retired to a convent adjoining the battle-field of

Waterloo, while he adopted the more spiritual elements of the pantheistic mysticism, pruned off its excrescences, denied the identity of God and the universe, maintained, not a substantial, but spiritual and mystical union of the pious with God, and held firmly to the essential difference of good and evil both in the motive and in the act. He became the patriarch of the religious mystics of the Netherlands and of Germany. His peculiarities consisted chiefly in the contemplative and speculative character of his piety, a spirituality which may be represented as about midway between transcendentalism and pietism. In this *inwardness*, as it was termed, lay the ground of a radical difference which manifested itself in opposition to the ceremonial and external religion of the church. Passing over all the characteristic features of his system, we will here simply indicate his position with reference to a reform in the church.

He was severe in his castigation of the lovers of pleasure. Though in the church, they were "the world for whom Jesus would not pray." He complained that riches and splendor were the only objects of desire. "Even the popes, princes and prelates bow before mammon. The church seeks wealth, all her spiritual gifts and her public servants are for sale. The rich can procure whatever the church has to bestow—indulgences for all sins, release from purgatory, funeral chants and the tolling of the bells, burial before the altar, and the benediction of the priest." After describing the profligate lives of various classes of persons who profess peculiar sanctity—of the monks "who are nominally mendicants, but who live in revelry," and "suck the blood of all the country within fifty miles of the convent," of the nuns "to whom the convent is a prison and the world a paradise," and who, "with their silver-plated zones, leave their cells as if to serve the world and the devil;" of the priests, who "if they had the power, would sell Christ and his grace and eternal life to the wicked for cash;" who "if anything is to be gained, will run to the church as soon as the bell strikes, whereas if nothing is to be received, the bells may ring till they break before a priest will stir," he proceeds to a description of the higher clergy, whom he represents as "accessible only when their officials receive bribes and as having little to do with religious services except reading mass on high festivals." "In their visitations," he continues, "they are attended with not less than fifty horsemen and an immense troop of servants, the expense being borne not by themselves but by others. Festivals are held with great ceremony and a splendid array of

tables; but nothing is done to improve the morals either of the clergy or of the people. Only open scandal is noticed at all, and for this large sums of money must be paid, and then the sinner can go on as before. Thus all the parties concerned have what they desire,—the devil the soul; the bishops the money; and the poor dunces their pleasures.”

The two-fold influence of Ruysbroek, the mystical and the practical was divided, in part, and separately transmitted through Tauler, who propagated this pious mysticism in Germany, and Gerard Groot, the founder of the religious and literary establishment of the Brethren of the Life in Common with whom a more practical mysticism prevailed. It would be interesting to trace the history of those semi-monastic and literary fraternities, which were established by the Brethren under the name of *houses*. The celebrated schools of Deventer, Zwolle and many others, were connected with them. These fraternities were partly missionary and partly literary in their character. They held public and private meetings for religious edification, in which preaching, exhortation and prayer were held in the native language, instead of the Latin. They multiplied, by their own industry, manuscript copies of the Scriptures and other useful books. In the education of the young, where their services were unequalled, they united literature and religion. With them originated the biblical theology, and the classical learning of Germany. From their schools went out those men who, as theologians and scholars, prepared a whole generation for the influence of Luther. The university of Erfurt, then the chief seat of learning in central Germany, had among its ablest teachers, men who were educated by the Brethren, and it was in Erfurt that Staupitz and Luther studied.

Johan Wessel, of whom the second volume chiefly treats, received his early education in the school of the Brethren at Zwolle under Thomas à Kempis, and afterwards studied at Cologne, Paris and Florence. Like all the scholars of that day, he travelled from country to country, and was teacher in several places, particularly in Paris and Heidelberg. After the trial of his friend, Johan von Wesel at Worms, he left Germany and passed his old age in his native country near Gröningen, where Agricola, Hegius, Lange and others enjoyed his instructions. Agricola had before studied under him at Paris. Hegius acquired great distinction as rector of the school of the Brethren at Deventer. He was the teacher of Erasmus, Hermann von Busch and many other distinguished scholars. Lange, after studying at Deventer, visited

Italy, as did all these great classical scholars, and was long at the head of the school at Munster. Dringenberg, educated also at Deventer, and afterwards in Italy, founded the celebrated school of Schlettstadt in the south of Germany. Under him were educated Simler, the teacher of Melancthon, Sturm, Wimphiling, and many other persons of eminence.

Men of this description formed the connecting link between the Brethren of the Life in Common, and the literary friends and associates of Luther. Their spirit is well represented by the words of Lange, one of their number, who lived to see, in his old age, the theses of Luther. On that occasion he said, "The time is at hand when the darkness shall be dispelled both from the church and from the schools, when pure religion shall be restored to the church and pure Latinity to the schools." Ullmann has not entered into the literary history of these men; but a better account of them than was ever before given, has just been published by Professor Karl von Raumer, of Erlangen, in his *Geschichte der Pädagogik*. Our limits will not allow us to give even an outline of the history of the Brethren of the Life in Common, and we have only hinted at their extensive influence at the dawn of the reformation. It has been said that Ruysbroek's doctrines were transmitted partly through Groot and the men trained under him, and partly through Tauler. We must now go back and take up the thread of the history of the German mystics.

The general effect of their teaching was to transfer religion from the schools to common life, from the Latin to the German language, and from the intellect to the heart. Heinrich Suso, of Suabia, "the Minnesinger of eternal love," was the most poetical of the mystics. As a travelling preacher, he produced a great sensation among the people. He was the Bunyan of his age. With a heart that was all on fire, and an imagination that was full of the finest poetry, he united the earnestness of a martyr, and the lofty bearing of a knight. Without entering into a delineation of his character, suffice it to say, that all his influence tended to produce a silent spiritual reformation. He did not take special pains to speak according to the doctrines and practices of the church. "The popes," he said, "think more of themselves and of their personal friends than they do of the honor of God, and Christianity. The cardinals are chiefly intent upon raising themselves, by every possible means, to the pontifical chair. The bishops are forgetful of God and of their flocks. Of the priests

few would lay down their lives for the truth, and perhaps it is well that men do not know how few."

Johan Tauler, who passed his life in Cologne and Strassburg, the two principal seats of mysticism, was a man of the most ardent, but at the same time childlike piety. His was the mysticism of an all-subduing moral sentiment. He formed a connection with Ruysbroek, and came under the spiritual influence of that venerable man, though he maintained his originality and independence of character, and was, in fact, intellectually superior to his aged friend. His sermons and religious treatises are not as gorgeous as those of Suso, but "are like a sweet meadow with its fresh flowers of natural growth." His rich, flexible language was the store-house whence later mystics drew their philosophical and religious terms, and is scarcely excelled by the German of the present day, in its most cultivated form. His conceptions of our union with God were not pantheistic, or those of the mere relation of a finite to an infinite being; but his mind was filled with this one great idea, that of a union with God by a life in Christ. He viewed religion as consisting principally in "following the indigent life of Christ," which is the title of one of his most important works. By indigence, however, he did not understand poverty as an external condition, but an inward sense of spiritual things, which induces men to renounce the sensible world as a source of enjoyment, and to live, after the example of Christ, with their souls absorbed in thoughts of God and of heavenly things. "We should be like God and Christ, and seek our happiness where they find theirs, not in created things, but in their own infinite excellences." In consequence of his christian sympathy with the innocent peasants who were put under the ban, he was condemned by the pope, and his writings prohibited. He, however, maintained his ground against the pope, in a work which he published at the time, and continued his pious labors among the outlawed peasants. Luther could not fail to esteem such a character. It was not, however, so much the collision with the pope just mentioned, as the entire religious character and the pure theology of Tauler, that drew forth his encomium. In a letter to Spalatin, he says, "If it would afford you gratification to see a sound theology, in the German language, perfectly like that of ancient times, procure Johan Tauler's sermons; for I have never seen either in Latin or in German a purer theology, or one more entirely conformed to the gospel."

Of the *Deutsche Theologie*, the production of some pious, but

unknown writer of that age, a detailed account cannot here be given. It was more speculative than most of the writings of the later German mystics. It is enough for our present purpose to say that Luther himself edited it, believing it to be well adapted to promote the cause of the reformation. He remarks in the preface, "If I except the Bible and St. Augustine, no book has come to my knowledge from which I have learned more as to what God, Christ, man, and all things are than from this; and I now find there is truth in the sarcasm used by certain learned men, that we, Wittenberg theologians, pretend to have made new discoveries, as if nobody had lived before us."

Here we must pause, before reaching the middle of the second volume. The chief of "the reformers before the reformation," Johan Wessel, has not yet come before us, except incidentally. There are two reasons for the omission. The one is, that his doctrines form an extensive and complete system, to the delineation of which Ullmann has devoted no less than two hundred pages, so that an abridgement of them would be impracticable; the other is, that no mere outline would give so correct an idea of the system as the general statement that it is substantially the same that Luther taught. Not only is this apparent to every one who has taken the pains to make the comparison, but it is acknowledged by Luther himself. "Had I read Wessel's works before," he observes, "my opponents would have said, 'Luther has borrowed his ideas from Wessel,' so great is the resemblance. This greatly encourages and comforts me. I am no longer in doubt that my teaching is true, he agrees with me so perfectly in his feelings, in his views and even in his expressions." We close with one remark, suggested by these words. The main point established by Ullmann's researches is, not that Luther derived all his views directly from the writings or oral teachings of his predecessors—though they taught nearly every doctrine which he taught,—but that they had produced a powerful effect upon the people at large, that they had scattered far and wide seeds of truth which had already begun to germinate, that they opened many a secret spring which, under the magical wand of the great Reformer, burst forth and mingled in one mighty torrent. We have therefore not been careful to trace the religious influence which went forth from the Netherlands to the university of Erfurt, and which there acted upon Staupitz and Luther. The same influence was felt at Heidelberg, and elsewhere. It was not a tradition transmitted in the line of single individuals that in the hands

of one man produced the reformation ; but it was a wide-spread general influence, religious, theological and literary, acting upon many minds, and breaking out at different points, but with the most collected energy at Wittenberg—it was this that gave to the greatest man of the age a power which could not otherwise be accounted for but by a miracle.

ARTICLE II.

A VINDICATION OF LUKE CHAP. 2: 1, 2. WHEN DID THE TAXING SPOKEN OF IN THESE VERSES TAKE PLACE?

From the German, by R. D. C. Robbins, Resident Licentiate, Theol. Sem., Andover.

[The following discussion is translated from Tholuck, on the Credibility of the Evangelical History.¹ This work was called forth by Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, and very frequent allusions are made to him and his works as well as to other skeptical writers, in the volume. A part of the section upon "the proof of the credibility of the evangelical history from Luke's Gospel," was thought of sufficient interest to warrant its publication apart from the remainder of the volume. Some of the allusions of a local nature, which although important for the readers for whom the work was originally designed, are not so for an English reader, and also some things which connect this with other parts of the volume have been omitted or modified in the translation. Quotations from Latin and Greek authors, and in some cases references which in the volume are in the text, have been thrown into notes. In other respects the form of the discussion in the original has been substantially retained. Some leading points of the argument for the trust-worthiness of Luke, which immediately precedes and is closely connected with this particular discussion, are here given.

Two questions arise when we examine the credibility of an historian ; first, whether he intends to write history or fiction, and secondly, whether he is fitted by his objective relations and subjective qualities to present the truth which he professes to give.

¹ Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Evangelischen Geschichte, u. s. m., von Dr. A. Tholuck. Zweite Aufl. Hamburg, 1838.

As it respects Luke, the first question is answered by the introduction to his Gospel, chap. 1: 1—4. Josephus says in the beginning of his history of the Jewish War: ‘Since so many have related from doubtful authority concerning the war of the Romans with the Jews, things of which they were not eye-witnesses, and others have given false accounts of things which they have witnessed, from a desire to flatter the Romans or from hatred to the Jews, I, who at first fought against the Romans and was compelled to be present at what was done afterwards, have undertaken to give an account of these things.’ No one can doubt that the author intends to have it understood by this, that the events which he is about to record actually occurred. No one would accuse him of professing to write a fictitious narrative. Shall we deny to Luke what we accord to Josephus? It is true that his introduction differs in some particulars from that of the Jewish Historian. The evangelist professes to go over the same ground which many (*πολλοί*) have gone over before him, and in common with them he derives his information from those who were, from the beginning, eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, (*οἱ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γινόμενοι τοῦ λόγου*). And while others have only given accounts of different parts of the life and deeds of our Saviour, he thinks it important for the confirmation of his friends in the christian faith, having diligently (*ἀκριβῶς*) examined the facts even from the nativity of Christ (*ἀνωθεν*), to give a connected (*καθεξῆς*) relation of them. Is this any less indicative of the author’s design in writing than the declaration of Josephus? Does it not conclusively prove, that the author of the following narrative intends to give simple historical facts, without any intermingling of mythology or fable? We leave the decision with every ingenious inquirer.

But in writing history, good intentions are not all that is necessary to secure against error, and especially to prevent the introduction of that which is not founded on fact. There must also be external and internal fitness for the work. The latter, the moral fitness of the authors of the gospel history, is the oftenest assailed. They were, it is said, wonder-loving Jews, who were without the requisite culture to distinguish between fiction and fact. But the proposition that no Jewish authors were capable of writing history, needs proof. The Cretans, according to Epimenides, a poet of their own nation, “were all liars.” Shall then one of their writers, who is the most worthy of confidence of all the historians of Alexander, Nearchus, come into the category of writers of fiction, because he

was a Cretan? Besides, as far as Luke is concerned, this reproach cannot be made; for he was not of Jewish descent. Even the name *Λουκᾶς*, formed from *Lucanus*, indicates his Gentile origin; and the passage in Colossians 4: 14, 11 sq., where Luke is mentioned separately from the fellow-laborers of Paul who are of the circumcision, seems to imply the same thing. His style of writing, his knowledge in reference to the Greeks and Romans, the Introduction of his gospel in the manner of Greek writers, all seem to confirm this supposition. It is true that Jews, especially Hellenistic Jews, as Josephus and Philo, did to a considerable extent appropriate to themselves the Greek language, the Greek manner of thinking, and the knowledge expected to be possessed by native Greeks. But on this supposition, the presumption will be even more favorable for our evangelist. A higher degree of cultivation will be implied than if he were a native Greek. For we can appeal with confidence to the Acts of the apostles, and ask whether a historian, who exhibits so much correct knowledge of philology, history, geography and antiquity, is inferior in cultivation to Josephus. We would not by any means claim perfection as a piece of composition, for the Acts of the apostles. It was not the object of Luke, more than of the other evangelists, either in his Gospel or the Acts of the apostles, to write a complete piece, according to rhetorical rules. Their writings should rather be considered as memoirs, like the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon and some of the Treatises of Plato, which do not require a strictly logical arrangement or unity of plan.—The occupation of Luke as stated in Col. 4: 14, "Luke the beloved *physician*," is also a proof, that he was not so devoid of all intellectual cultivation as he has been supposed to be.¹

The birth-place of Luke, according to Eusebius and Jerome, was Antioch. It is true this assertion, as it was mentioned by no one earlier than Eusebius, has been questioned, but with no reason which does not apply to every other fact recorded by historians in other respects worthy of confidence. If then his early life had been passed in Antioch, which next to Jerusalem was the headquarters of apostolic Christianity, and between which and Palestine there was much intercourse, he would very naturally have become acquainted with many of the circumstances detailed in his Gospel, especially those which occurred in Palestine; for it appears from the Acts and from the Epistle to the Galatians that at different times, Barnabas, Agabus, Silas, Peter and others were

¹ See Tholuck, *Glaubwürdigkeit*, S. 145 seq.

in Antioch.¹ But we need not insist upon this.—We find that Luke accompanied Paul from Troas, Acts 16: 10, 11, since the narrative is continued in the first person: “Loosing from Troas we came,” etc. After a separation of some years subsequent to the close of this journey, during which time Luke remained in Philippi or made missionary excursions from thence, he again went with the apostle to Troas, Miletus, Tyre and Ptolemais, and in all these cities found brethren who had come from Palestine. Afterwards he accompanied Paul to Caesarea and Jerusalem. In Caesarea they abode with “Philip the Evangelist,” Acts 21: 8. On their way to Jerusalem they lodged with Mnason, an old disciple (*ἀρχαῖος μαθητής*), one who had probably known the Lord during his lifetime, Acts 21: 16. Immediately after their arrival at the chief city, Luke went with Paul to the house of James, the brother of Christ, and all of the elders assembled together there, Acts 21: 18. He also remained two years with the apostle in Caesarea and Jerusalem, during his captivity. — In the Epistle to the Romans 16: 7, Paul speaks of Andronicus and Junia, his kinsmen and fellow-prisoners who are of note among the apostles; who also were in Christ *before him*, and in verse 13 of the same chapter he sends greeting to Rufus, “chosen in the Lord,” who was the son of Simon the Cyrenean who bore the cross of Christ, and was undoubtedly one of his followers, Mark 15: 21. Persons like Barnabas and his nephew Mark, were everywhere met with in their travels. The conversation of such persons as have been mentioned, in these different places, with Paul, Luke must have heard, and the disputations of these disciples with gainsaying Jews and Gentiles must necessarily aid him in understanding the affairs about which he wrote. And it is by no means improbable that he not only conversed with the old disciple, and even the brother of our Lord, but also received from the mother of Jesus herself, the account of the birth and early life of the Holy Child. She would have been, if alive, at the time of Paul’s first captivity, not more than from 72 to 76 years of age, and it is known that she survived our Saviour’s death, since he commended her, when on the cross, John 19: 27, to that disciple whom he loved. Is it not altogether probable that during all these journeyings, Luke had in contemplation the composition of his Gospel, and was tracing the history (*ἱστορίαν*) to its beginning? If so, he had the counsel of Paul; and if, as it is probable, the Gospel was written before the apostle’s death, it without doubt passed directly under his eye.

¹ See Tholuck, Glaubwärdig. S. 66.

Whom would Paul sooner have counselled to engage in this work, than the pupil who had so long shared his joys and sorrows, and whom he calls in Col. 4: 14, his "beloved" friend, and in 2 Cor. 8: 18, "the brother whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches."

The proof of credibility from internal evidence, is from the nature of the case, much less abundant in the Gospel of Luke than in the Acts of the apostles. Such proof arises from the accuracy of his historical statements, care in chronological designations, and especially, from general agreement with that which is certain from other sources in reference to facts in history, geography and antiquity. But the province of the gospel is not, for the most part, included in profane writers. The events there recorded, have reference, in general, to domestic and private life, except the circumstances attending the crucifixion, which are of a more public nature. It is in the Acts of the apostles that the accurate historian is especially observed. In the constantly changing scene, in Palestine, Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, there are as many as three hundred instances, where relations, persons or circumstances which are treated of in other works, are mentioned, so that if the author were remiss in his investigations, credulous, or a retailer of traditionary fancies, he would be easily detected; but no traces of such delinquencies are discoverable. But our present inquiry has reference mainly to that which is peculiar to the Gospel. We first notice here, the manifest coincidence of its contents with the external relations of the man as given above. This is especially exhibited in the similarity of the Gospel in some points, with the teachings of Paul in his Epistles. Even the most skeptical writers before Strauss, acknowledged this. De Wette in his Introduction,¹ says, that it must be granted that the author of this Gospel was a disciple of Paul, and in proof of this, he refers to such passages as 17: 6 seq. 15: 11 seq. 18: 14, and the account of the last supper compared with 1 Cor. 11: 24, (also Luke 24: 34, compared with 1 Cor. 15: 5). To these may be added the narrative of the appearances of Christ after the resurrection, Luke 24: 34 and 1 Cor. 15: 5.—Besides, there are two cases of chronological designation which come within the province of profane history, Luke 2: 1, 2 and 3: 1, 2. The former of these, the subject of the following discussion, has been much animadverted upon by the neologists of Germany, and also by skeptics in other countries. Its importance can scarcely be magnified too much. Not only the

¹ Einleitung, S. 183.

credibility of Luke's Gospel is in a degree suspended upon it, but many of the facts in the other Gospels are exposed to suspicion, and the prophecy of Micah 5: 2: "But thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from old, from everlasting," can with much less confidence be said to have had its fulfilment, if the genuineness and credibility of this passage be not maintained.—**TR.]**

WHEN the arguments which we have previously adduced,¹ are taken into the account, we think that the assertion of Luke, at the commencement of his Gospel, that he wrote his history accurately (*ἀκριβείᾳ*) cannot be called in question. Every impartial critic must consequently hesitate in charging upon this writer, as some² have done, the grossest errors and mistakes in regard to the facts implied in chap. 2: 1, 2 of his Gospel. If the preceding inquiry has disposed us to favor, in general, the historical correctness of the evangelist, we have, at the outset, a reason for not allowing, in this particular passage, the capital error of ante-dating the rule of Quirinus³ and the taxing. From the nature of the case, it cannot well be supposed, that any one who knew in general of the taxing, should not also be aware of the occasion of it. The condition of its existence was the change of Judea into a Roman province. It was accordingly the immediate cause of an attempt at insurrection by zealots who were unwilling to submit to the Romans.

The taking of a Roman census, even in Gentile lands, was an event of a most important kind, and in like manner also accompanied by rebellion. Thus Tacitus says: "The Clitae, subject to Archelaus the Cappadocian, made a secession into the mountains of Taurus, because they were compelled to make a census in our manner, and submit to a tribute."⁴ In confirmation of the same fact, the speech of Claudius Caesar to the Roman senate, may be adduced. In this speech he praises the Gauls for not having resisted the Romans, not even in reference to the "census which

¹ See also Tholuck, *Glaubwürdigkeit*, § 3. S. 370—394.

² See Strauss upon Luke 2: 1, 2.

³ Cyrenius.

⁴ "Clitarum natio, Cappadoci Archaelao subjecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in juga Tauri montis abcessit."—*Annales* 6. 41.

was then for the first time made among the Gauls; a work whose difficulty among us, even when nothing more is required than that our substance be publicly registered, we have proved by an exceedingly disastrous experiment."¹

We should expect that such a fact could least of all escape the knowledge of Luke. Now the passage in the Acts of the apostles, chap. 6: 37—"And after this man, rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished; and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed," shows us, that Luke was actually well acquainted with the occurrences attending the taxing (*ἀπογραφή*). He does not merely mention it as "the taxing," as if only a particular one could be meant, but also speaks of the attempt at insurrection which it occasioned, and seems to have accurate knowledge in reference to the nature of this seditious movement. He has, for example, mentioned five characteristics of the zealot, Judas, and these are entirely accordant with the account of Josephus. First, he calls him the Galilean (*ὁ Γαλιλαῖος*). This name gives occasion to remark how cautious the critic has need to be in his animadversions. In the passage² in which Josephus speaks the most at length of this mutineer, he calls him, not the Galilean (*ὁ Γαλιλαῖος*), but the Gaulonite (*ὁ Γαυλωνίτης*), and says definitely, that he was a native of Gamala, a city in Lower Gaulonitis. The critics have, accordingly, without further examination, concluded that Luke has here made a mistake. And if a hypothetical case is adduced to reconcile the two passages, and an appeal to the possibility that the man had two surnames, the one from his birth-place and the other from his place of abode; as, for example, Apollonius, the author of the *Argonautica*, was called from his birth-place the Egyptian, and from his dwelling-place the Rhodian, the objector³ meets this hypothesis with the declaration: "It wants proof;" "it is without the least foundation." But in this case, history comes in to confirm conjecture; for in two other passages⁴ the Jewish historian calls the mutineer the Galilean (*ὁ Γαλιλαῖος*). Secondly, we are told that he rose up

¹ "Census, novum tunc et inadsuetum Gallis opus: quod opus, quam arduum sit nobis, nunc cum maxime, quamvis nihil ultra, quam ut publice notae sint facultates nostrae, exquiratur, nimis magno experimento cognoscimus."

² B. 18. 1. 1.

³ See Strauss upon this passage.

⁴ Antiquities B. XX. 5. 2. and De Bello Jud. B. II. 8. 1. He also speaks of him in Bello Jud. B. II. c. 17. 8; and in the first case above, 20. 5. 2, adds: "as I have signified in a former book," etc. showing that it was the same per-

in the days of the taxing, and Josephus relates that this was the direct occasion of his insurrection. Thirdly, Luke says, that he drew out a great multitude after him, and this statement is entirely corroborated by Josephus. Fourthly, the evangelist relates that he perished; which circumstance Josephus does not, so far as we know, expressly mention. Fifthly, Luke does not say of his followers, as of those of Theudas, verse 36, that they came to nought, but merely that they were scattered; and this agrees accurately with history; for afterwards his sect several times collected together. In fine, if our historian shows himself well informed in reference to the events of the taxing, and especially if he warrants the inference that the occasion of it by the transferring of Judea into a Roman province is well known to him, is it possible that he has made a mistake, and placed it in the time of Herod? We can adduce a parallel case from modern times. A historian represents one of his heroes as saying, in a warning voice: "You know what befel Murat, when he took arms, called Italy to independence, and at first gathered a great crowd around him; but afterwards, forsaken by a great part of his followers, was obliged to return to Naples." This is precisely parallel to the account which Luke gives of Judas the Galilean. Who will think it credible that the historian has dated this call to independence back to the time when Italy was under the dominion of Napoleon? Who will not rather infer, that he had accurate knowledge of the dethronement of Napoleon, his return, and Murat's secret understanding with him?

Preliminary inquiries of this kind, every impartial critic will feel obliged to make before he comes to a decided conclusion upon *any* single passage of his author; how much more when, upon such a conclusion, so important consequences are founded, as in the present case. Our impression from all the data here given, is so strongly in favor of the author, that even if we were obliged to acknowledge that we are not able to answer all the objections which arise, we could not impute to the writer such palpable errors as have been charged upon him. However, we believe that we can solve them all satisfactorily. When we say *satisfactorily*, we cannot, of course, mean that we can do it so that the passage can be quoted with so much confidence as another perfectly plain passage; were there indeed nothing peculiar here, in the use of

son that he had before mentioned, and seeming to imply that he had previously called him a Galilean.—See Whiston's Josephus, p. 438, note. Baltimore, 1841.—Ta.

the language, how could scholars so often have taken offence at it? Only this do we mean: an interpretation can be given, which cannot be denied to be admissible.

We proceed to an examination of the passage itself. The first question is, whether ἀπογράφεσθαι should be translated *to make an enrolment*, i. e. a registry of persons and property, (enrolment = *capitulum*, from *capita*, not of individuals merely, but of all taxable property,) or to *impose a tax*? Even among the ancient Greeks the word was sometimes used in the sense of a mere registering, (answering to the Latin *profiteri*, to enrol one's self,) and sometimes it was taken in a more extended sense, so that confiscation of property was considered as implied. This word becomes the same in meaning as προγράφειν, *proscribere*;—many have also erroneously wished to give this significance to the active form ἀπογράφειν¹—it means “to register goods and advertise for sale,” and indeed to confiscate them. Concerning the ἀπογραφὴ in Athens, compare Meier and Schömann, *Attic Process*.² The taxing, (ἀπογραφὴ,) in its full sense, means the same as ἀποτίμησις, δασμολογία. Whether now Caesar Augustus ordered the one or the other of these, history alone must decide; of this we shall speak in the sequel. In the meantime, in respect to Palestine, it is evident without argument, since Herod yet lived, that the theory of a mere enrolment is the more probable one.

This brings us to a second question, whether πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη is put for the Roman empire or Judea. That the latter is entirely improbable, should not be so unconditionally affirmed, as some authors have done; for the Greeks and Romans respectively named their country *ἡ οἰκουμένη*; why might not also the Jews who wrote in Greek have done the same? Besides, in many passages, as in the Acts of the apostles 11: 28, it cannot be affirmed with certainty whether the phrase may not have this import. However, as it is granted that no *certain* examples of this meaning can be adduced, we consider πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη as a designation of the Roman empire.

The *second* verse is parenthetical, (and accordingly has been enclosed in parentheses even by Griesbach and Knapp,) and comprises an incidental remark upon the ἀπογραφὴ. On account of the historical difficulties many, (as first Beza, among the more ancient commentators, and Capellus, and more recently Olshausen,) have considered it an erroneous *gloss*; and consequently the evangelist is not accountable for it. The objector, in such an

¹ See Fabricius upon Dio Cassius L. 38. p. 150 ed. Reim.

² S. 253.

opinion, can see nothing but a proof of boldness, once exhibited, in breaking in upon the completeness of the literary character of Luke—he calls it courage; alas for the completeness which appears in our ancient historians, when the necessity for the adoption of the opinion that a passage is an erroneous gloss, is made a sufficient reason for considering it as such! It is acknowledged that glosses are often found in ancient authors, especially in chronological designations, inasmuch as it was entirely natural that the reader, who supposed he had an accurate knowledge of the facts, should write parallel expressions in the margin. Even in the *Old Testament* Codex, where from the scrupulousness of the copyists, (at least after the exile,) glosses are still less to be expected, there are passages containing chronological designations, which the critics suppose cannot be explained except by the acknowledgment of an erroneous gloss. So Eichhorn and Gesenius in reference to the sixty-five years in Isa. 7: 8. If the demands for the supposition of a gloss in this passage is considered, together with the positive reasons which prohibit us from believing that Luke has made an important mistake in a matter of history, the impartial historian, in case no other means of escape offers, will be obliged to adopt the former rather than the latter expedient. The taxing (*ἀπογραφή*) under Quirinus was well known; a decree of Augustus for making a census of the Roman empire, was unknown; how natural it was, then, that a Jewish reader of Luke, who was less familiar with the history than his author, should confound the account of the decree of Augustus with that of the well-known taxing of Quirinus, and append his idea of the meaning to the text.

But we are by no means driven to that expedient. On the other hand the text, if correctly translated, is perfectly clear and every difficulty vanishes. This correct translation is the following: the superlative *πρώτη* stands instead of the comparative *πρετέρα*, and the Part. *ἡγεμονεύοντος* is dependent on the comparative; so that the sense is: "This taxing took place *before* Quirinus was governor of Syria," and the parenthesis is added merely for the sake of those who would accuse the evangelist of a historical blunder; compare a similar parenthesis in the New Testament, introduced to avoid misapprehension, in John 14: 22, *λέγει Ἰούδας (οὐχ ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης)*. If in this way, not only every difficulty vanishes, but the passage itself becomes a witness for the accuracy (*ἀκρίβεια*) of Luke, which he claims for himself in chap. 1: 3, it may well be asked: Why then is not this interpretation

the one generally received? Why has De Wette, even in the second edition of his Translation, retained the error which Luther avoided, by rendering: "*This first* enrolment took place at the time," etc., which translation would necessarily require the article with πρώτη. It is granted that the explanation which we have given, is exposed to the objection: First, that Luke, if *this* is his meaning, has expressed himself ambiguously; secondly, that the grammatical construction instead of the participle requires the genitive of the Infinitive: πρώτου ἡγεμονεύειν, κ. τ. λ. The first objection is of no weight so soon as the second is removed; for what historian has no ambiguous expression! Yet a *third* objection has been brought against this passage, which however is acknowledged to be futile. It has been said, that the employment of πρώτη for πρώτη is contrary to the simplicity of the style of Luke; and reliance might have been placed upon the fact that even the learned Wyttenbach remarked upon Plutarch's Sept. Sap. Cons.: "I affirm that it is contrary to the manner not only of prose writing, but also of all correct style, that the superlative should be used so directly for the comparative."¹ But that this distinguished scholar for once forgot himself, can be shown by quotations from classical authors, which even d'Orville² has collected. Even the most simple style³ of John allows this construction, John's Gospel 1: 15, 30.

In answer to the second objection it may be remarked, that, on account of the very frequent employment of the participial construction with prepositions in designations of time: ἐπὶ Κύρου βασιλεύοντος, μετὰ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γινόμενον,⁴ the more inaccurate writers would very naturally construct adverbs of time in the same manner. An example which is entirely parallel is found in the Septuagint, Jer. 29: 2, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι τῆς βίβλου, οὗς ἀπέστειλεν Ἰερεμίας . . . ὕστερον ἐξελθόντος Ἰεχονίου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, i. e. "after Jechonias had departed," etc. instead of ὕστερον τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν. Moreover, the additional requirement of Winer in his Grammar,⁵ and of Meyer upon Luke 2: 2, that the article should stand before ἡγεμονεύοντος, is founded on a

¹ Certe superlativum ita simpliciter pro comparativo adhiberi, abhorrens dicam esse a ratione non modo prosae orationis, sed omnino accuratae scriptionis —p. 945.

² Ad Chariton, p. 457.—Compare Sturz, Lex. Xenoph. s. h. v. and Jacobs ad Aeliani Anim. II. p. 38.

³ Simplicissima Joannes Oratio.

⁴ Herodotus 6. 132.

⁵ Fourth Ed. §. 222.

misunderstanding of the construction; for the participle is here used not as an adjective but strictly as a verb.

We have finished this our main inquiry. Luke has not only not confounded the two taxings, but has, by means of the parenthesis, obviated the difficulty of those who might have accused him of such an interchange. We will not, however, conclude this discussion here. The objector is so hastily in despair upon our passage, that we feel ourselves impelled to show that other ways will be open to those who are not willing to accept the translation offered by us. Indeed, several other interpretations have been given by learned men, over which neological critics, like Strauss, have passed far too hastily. We will exhibit one of them; not, however, in the precise form in which others have presented it, but in a peculiar phase, by which it will be still better sustained.

If we retain the construction commonly put upon the parenthetical clause, we must connect *πρώτη* with the verb *ἐγένετο*, and it stands according to a principle of the Greek language, instead of the adverb. The translation will then be: "This (at this time ordered) taxing was put into execution *for the first time* (or not until), under the government of Quirinus;" for even the signification of the Latin *denum* is included in *πρώτως* or *πρώτον*, if it is allowed that the latter comprehends in it the idea of *first*, or *for the first time*; *νῦν πρῶτον οἶδα*, like *nunc primum novi*, "now for the first time I know;" *Romani nullos illo tempore habebant annales, primus enim Fabius Pictor scripsit historiam Romanam*, i. e. *Fabius Pictor first wrote Roman history*. Thus the parenthetical clause shows incidentally, that this decree of Augustus first went into effect under Quirinus, and that this was the *first* taxing of the Jews. But it may be asked, does not the course of the narrative show that the taxing was carried into execution? This depends upon whether *ἀπογραφεσθαι* signifies merely the adoption of the measure of registry; if this is the case, then it is clear, that the evangelist considers this as an uncompleted *ἀπογραφή*—the *ἀποτίμησις* was first carried into execution under Quirinus. This word, it may be added, is used by Josephus, when he speaks of the taxing under Quirinus, interchangeably with *ἀπογραφή*. This *ἀπογραφή* of Augustus is then similar to that which he caused to be made in Italy the year before his death, and of which Dio Cassius speaks, L. 58, c. 28. Since indeed the senate showed itself unwilling longer to submit to the duty of the *εἰκοστή*, therefore Augustus threatened a tax upon houses and lands, and caused an *ἀπογραφή* to be instituted, without imme-

diately connecting a specific tax with it. *Παρακρήμνι*, it is said in Dio Cassius, *μηδὲν εἰπὼν, μή θ' ὅσον μή θ' ὅπως αὐτὸ δάσσοιςιν, ἔπεμψεν ἄλλους ἄλλη, τὰ τε τῶν ιδιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραφόμενους*. This passage was employed even by Beza as explanatory of the one now under consideration.

Gersdorf and Paulus have arrived at a similar view of the sense of our passage. Both these scholars have indeed supposed, that instead of *αὐτῇ*, *αὐτή* should be read, and have accordingly translated: "In the time of Herod, the command was issued by Augustus, to make an enrolment of persons and property,—this same enrolment was first made when Quirinus was ruler of Syria." Thus then the meaning given by us is made still stronger. Gersdorf has in his work on the Characteristics of the Language of the New Testament,¹ added a philological reason, why the rough breathing is to be changed; for example, Luke, as a matter of course, follows the custom of placing the demonstrative, not before the noun concerned, but after, so that, therefore, in accordance with his use of language, he must say, *ἡ ἀπογραφὴ αὐτῇ*. This reason has, however, no more satisfactory evidence than similar grammatical criticisms of Gersdorf upon our author's literary peculiarities. It is true, that this position of the demonstrative is found in 126 passages of the Gospel and Acts of the apostles, yet even Gersdorf himself, numbers about thirty passages where the pronoun precedes, and he has not by any means quoted all which belong to this class; see Bornemann, *Scholia in Lucam*, c. 9: 49. 18: 11. Since even by the explanation before given, the sense is the same without a change of the breathing, there is the less necessity for having recourse to this expedient. But the manner in which this change, with the sense consequent upon it, is rejected by some critics is also not admissible. It is said² by Strauss, for example, that by this small change, the main difficulty in the passage is "most easily" removed; but as if it were unwelcome to him to be rid of all labor and difficulty at so easy a rate, he despatches it with these words: "Opposed to such arbitrary changes of the text are those efforts for a higher standard of criticism, whose object is, to arrive at the right way of interpretation without such means." With this remark, he hastens quickly to the explanations given by Storr and Wetstein; for he supposes it easier to make these conform to his purposes. Of an arbitrary change of the text also, the objector should not here have spoken. Even granting that there is occasion for the change,

¹ S. 213.² Th. I. S. 204.

why does he proceed as if it were an entirely unheard of thing, to change the text, in order to make a writer consistent with himself, or to free him from objections. Since the objector is ignorant of those things which are best known, and always proceeds upon the supposition, that only in the New Testament the extreme of rashness can come in to aid in such circumstances, we must repeat even things well known. We open at random Oberlin's edition of Tacitus, and even upon the first page,¹ we find two passages of this nature. Instead of *fatentur*, Ernesti proposes *fatebantur*, since the people of whom the author is speaking, "are no longer in existence;" and instead of "*compositam et oblitteratam mansuetudinem*," Lipsius reads the ablative, "because it is not otherwise congruous with the history in the context." On the preceding page, it is said by Ernesti, upon the words *vocato senatu*: "these words seem to me of doubtful authority, because a few lines before, Nero is said to have convoked the senate. If any other convocation of the senate is here meant, which I will not deny, still I cannot believe that this is the language of an elegant writer; for such a writer would have added *again*, or some similar qualifying word."² We will here waive the question, whether the evangelist deserves the reputation of being a true historian; but should he deserve it, the change of the text in a single passage in his favor, is so entirely in accordance with the usual practice in historical writings, that even when in a passage the name Saturninus is substituted for the name Quirinus, there is no reason for objecting to it as if it were something strange or unheard of. Livy, B. 6, c. 9, names Quintius as prefect of the city legions in opposition to c. 6; and in B. 7, c. 15, he speaks of the celebration of games, which Furius had vowed³ in opposition to c. 11, where Servilius is represented as vowing⁴ games. There can be no just complaint of violence to the text, in these cases, when Heusinger and Lachmann in the one passage propose to substitute for Quintius, and in the other, for Furius, the name Servilius. However, an alteration of the text does not here come into consideration. A change in the current *spiritus* can no more be considered a change

¹ Bd. I. S. 1014, Annales 15, 73.

² *Hæc verba mihi suspecta sunt, quia jam paucis versiculis ante senatum Nero vocasse dicitur. Si de alio conventu senatus hic sermo, quod non abnuam, tamen non credibile mihi, hæc verba esse ab elegante scriptore, saltem addidisset iterum, aut aliud quid.*

³ "Ludi votivi quos M. Furius dictator voverat," etc.

⁴ P. Servilius . . . si prospere id bellum evenisset, ludes magnos vovit.

of the text, than a deviation from the accents found in our editions can be so named. It is well known, that with the exception of a single codex, D. Claromontanus, our Uncial Codices are written without accents, and even in this codex, those skilled in such things, decide that the accents in the greatest number of passages, are added by those who lived at a later date.¹ It is also known that not only *ἀντή* and *ἀντη*, but also *ἀντες* and *ἀντός*, in the New Testament, are often used for each other. For examples, see Gersdorf,² and Winer's Grammar.³ We think that even in this manner of explaining these words, the difficulties are obviated without violence to the text. Now if not one only, but *several* methods of explanation offer themselves without force to the passage, critics who are free from prejudice and not hostile to the biblical writers, will have the less occasion for discouragement, the more thoroughly they examine the subject.

We have given an interpretation of the passage under consideration, in which the main objection, that the evangelist must have erroneously transferred the taxing of Quirinus to the reign of Augustus disappears. Several other objections, however, yet remain. First of all the question arises: even if *πᾶσα ἡ οὐκράνη* is understood to designate Palestine merely, how can the author of the Gospel speak of a Roman taxing at a time when Herod was yet king in the land, although the *reges socii* themselves levied the taxes in their own dominions? But our author represents this taxing as extending over the whole Roman empire, "a mistake," says the objector, "must therefore certainly be acknowledged here, since our evangelist, or his voucher treats an event important within the circuit of his view, which is limited to one province, as if it concerned a whole world; and further, therefore, designates the taxing which was *first* for Judea only, as if it were the first (*πρώτη*) for the whole Roman empire." The error, is still more glaring, for the evangelist represents this Roman tribute as levied according to *Jewish* customs, and yet, contradicting himself in the same breath, he allows the wife to accompany in the journey for this purpose, contrary to the practice of Jews, inasmuch as the registering in their view, had respect only to the men.

We will give these objections a separate examination. We first answer the objection, that the taxing which has reference merely to Palestine, and which was the first there, is represented as the first in the whole Roman empire. Here, as often, the author has been viewed by his critic through a microscope which is

¹ Griesbach, Symb. Crit. II. p. 82.² S. 114.³ Fourth Ed. S. 143.

entirely too powerful, so that he is left in utter darkness. In the translation which we have adopted, there is still less ground for this objection than in the current one. But we admit, for the time, the correctness of the common translation. Even then, does not the clause, "it was the first, and indeed took place under the dominion of Quirinus," positively prove that this *first* has immediate reference to that part of Palestine, pertaining directly to the dominion of Syria? If in the history of the Irish Catholics, it were said: In the year 1829, an election to Parliament took place—it took place for the first time when Lord N. N. was Lieutenant in Ireland,"—could any one suppose that this was the first election to Parliament over the whole English nation?

The second objection is, the levying of a Roman tax according to Jewish customs. An event of this kind is thought to be wholly impossible, since, "the Romans did not trouble themselves with such minor things." We may here very properly, for once, put to the objector the question which he has so often asked of others: How does the man know that? We have received information upon the subject under discussion, from a source where it strictly was not to have been expected; from inquiries pursued with an entirely different object from ours, by v. Savigny, in a *Treatise upon the Roman System of Taxation*,¹ and we are under great obligation for this information. In respect of the objection which has been mentioned, the following facts may be gleaned from that treatise: First, that our knowledge of the condition of taxation and the manner of levying taxes under the Roman emperors is deficient; so that confident assertions cannot be made in reference to this matter. Secondly, that elsewhere, e. g. in Gaul, a system of taxation peculiar to the province was adopted. Thirdly, in the author above mentioned,² an expression is found which is, in no small degree, at variance with the confident assertion of the opposer of Luke's Gospel. The obligation to pay taxes, it is there said, was a generally-acknowledged principle; but the manner and extent of the taxing was different, partly from the different circumstances in the subjugation, and partly because it was found convenient and advantageous to retain "the most, often even the whole of the system of taxation found in existence." We shall be under no necessity of referring to other witnesses on this point, but yet still other supporting circumstances will be spoken of in the sequel. Further, if Michaelis,

¹ Zeitschrift für Geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft, Bd. VI. Zweit. Ausg.

² S. 348.

Olshausen, and others, in order to account for the journey of Mary to Bethlehem, consider her as an heiress, which it is acknowledged cannot be proved in black and white, this is discarded by our critic—in reference to whom, let it be remembered, that proof in black and white, on other occasions, is not made so important—as “an hypothesis entirely without foundation.” However, he, to whom the *Jewish* execution of the taxing was so powerful a reason of doubt, will necessarily find a strong ground for confidence in the fact that it can be shown that the accompanying of Mary, according to the Roman form of the census, was inadmissible; see Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. L. 4. c. 15.

We pass to the yet more important objection, that Augustus caused a tax to be levied in the land even while Herod yet ruled. This has been supposed to be extremely improbable. Let us consider this point also a little more minutely. It is true that the Roman policy at first allowed the Jewish kingdom to exist under a native regent as a wall of protection against the Parthians; but under a regent of less independence than that even which the brothers of Napoleon possessed in their kingdoms. Still the Roman emperor always considered the land as belonging to himself, and disposed of it as seemed good to him. Thus e. g. Antony gave to Cleopatra, who had asked for all of Palestine as a present for herself, if not the whole at least a small part of it, enough to furnish her a tribute of two hundred talents. To the oath which the subjects gave to their native kings was joined the promise of fidelity to the Roman king. Even in family management, the princes (*reguli*) must obtain from Rome the will of the emperor; as e. g. Herod, when he would punish his sons for disorderly conduct, was obliged first to apply to Augustus for permission.¹ According to Appian,² Herod was allowed to levy taxes for his own revenue, but it was necessary also that a tribute to the emperor should be given. Hence circumstances were such, that it must at least be allowed, that the raising of taxes for the treasury of the emperor was not so entirely improbable as has been represented. But we have already seen that *ἀπογραφή* has not the significance of taxing only; but it has been shown, that it first and literally signifies a bare designation of persons and property, a census, for the purpose of taxation, should it be required. It is perfectly clear, then, that such a census might take place under the reign of Herod, in accordance with the relation of the emperor to him.

¹ Josephus, Ant. B. XXII. 11.

² De Bello civile 5. 75.

According to Suetonius,¹ Tacitus,² and Dio Cassius, Augustus left "a summary" or "schedule of Roman authority," in four volumes, the third of which contained that which pertained to the soldiery, to the revenues, and public expenditures.³ Even the *reges socii* were obliged to furnish auxiliary forces, which served as a separate corps, under the Romans. For this purpose, it was necessary for Augustus to know the number of the people who were subject to them; and in order to do this, he might have ordered a census of the people in these countries.

But, besides, special relations of the Caesars to Palestine can be pointed out, which might contribute to the procurement of such a registering. Thus, for example, there are many indications that the design of the emperor was, if circumstances favored, to make Judea a Roman province after Herod's death. The events which occurred soon after his decease, as related by Josephus, are an evidence of this fact. A Jewish embassy went to Rome, which expressly requested of Augustus to make Palestine a Roman province, under the same regulations with Syria. On the other hand, Archelaus claimed royal dignity. The emperor took several days for consideration. At the end of that time he decided to make Archelaus, not indeed king, but ethnarch, yet only on condition of good management; and when this condition was not fulfilled, Judea became a Roman province. The fact that the emperor took time for consideration, shows that the request for a change of the kingdom into a Roman province, was an affair of special interest to the people, and the granting of the request, a weighty matter with the king.⁴ The thoughts which then occupied Augustus may be seen from the threat which he wrote to the aged Herod, irritated on account of a war which the latter was carrying on with Arabia: "Whereas of old he had treated him as his friend, (i. e. *rex socius*,) now he should treat him as his subject."

So then a Roman census in a Jewish land has been not only shown to be possible, but circumstances have been pointed out in which the enactment of such a census is probable. It may be added, that the circumstances implied agree most accurately with history in several particulars: 1st, If indeed the testimony we have adduced makes a taxing for the Roman emperor, in a Jew-

¹ Octav. c. 28. 101.

² Annal. 1. 11.

³ "A brevium or rationarium imperii Romani in four voluminibus, of which the third complectebatur, quae ad milites, quaeque ad redditus sumptusque publicos pertinebant."

⁴ Antiq. B. XVI. 9.

ish form less exposed to suspicion, all suspicion vanishes when we consider that it was a mere census. If the presence of Roman nobility was necessary for the collecting of a tax, as e. g. Quirinus with Coponius, a man of the equestrian order, was sent from Rome expressly for this object, a mere enrolment of men and property such as Herod himself probably made for his own special benefit, might be carried into execution by Jewish magistrates. Thus it is also explained, secondly, why Josephus does not mention this event. If Augustus sent the order to Herod himself, as must be supposed, and left Herod to execute it by means of his own people, then the circumstance that the emperor had any part in it might very naturally never have been generally known. And thus also, in the third place, we understand why this enrolment did not cause such a commotion as the later taxing under Quirinus.

But our Evangelist speaks, according to the explanation of *αἰσχροπρεπὴς* adopted by us, not only of an enrolment in Palestine, but of an edict which had reference to the whole Roman empire as it then existed. Accordingly then, the sacred historian appears in this particular at least, to be in an error. But even allowing that we had no data for the confutation of this aspersion, ought not the fragmentary character of our authorities for this time to cause us to hesitate in pronouncing such an opinion with positiveness? Who is there among the authors that we possess in whom we could hope to find information on this point? Suetonius comprises in the whole small compass of his Life of Octavian a period extending over fifty-seven years. The Annals of Tacitus begin with Tiberius, and mention only some scattering events of the reign of Augustus. In Dio Cassius the five years before and five after Christ's birth, from the consuls Antistius and Balbus, to Messala and Cinna are wanting. Thus then, as far as positive evidence is concerned, we have only some scattered hints in earlier authors, and assertions by later writers to whom more sources were open than to us; and these of course are our main reliance for authority. We have previously seen how severely the pretended error of the Evangelist was censured, who from his limited point of view represents the census which had reference only to Judea as extending over the whole Roman Empire; we are now in a condition to shew that in this case also this circumscribed point of view is not found in the Evangelist, that he rather could turn the accusation upon his critics. The treatise of von Savigny which has been mentioned, although it strictly refers

only to the time of the later emperors, affirms that even under Augustus, enrolments were made in different parts of the empire. For example, it is said on page 360: "In the very beginning of the rule of the emperors there was an attempt to carry into operation a uniform system of taxation in the provinces, by making the land-tax general, and, on the other hand, abolishing those taxes which were variable. The accounts of great enrolments, in the time of Augustus indicate this, since they could have been made only for the purpose of a tax upon property." The following comment is made upon this passage: "Here belongs the census of the Gauls in the year 727, which is expressly designated in the speech of Claudius Caesar as something entirely new.¹ A renewal of this census in the year 767 is mentioned, Taciti Annal. l. 31. Here belongs, also, the *Census of Palestine at the time of the birth of Christ*, Luke chap. ii. Finally, Isidorus speaks entirely in a general way: *Era singulorum annorum constituta est a Caesare Augusto, quando primum censum exegit ac Romanum orbem descripsit.*"² This first appeared among the treatises of the Berlin Academy for 1822, 1823; and the objector to the credibility of Luke's Gospel ought to have been acquainted with it, for it is found quoted even in Winer's 'Realwörterbuch' under the word *Abgaben*.³ That which in this treatise appears rather as a conjecture, has since that time passed into history as a fact. "As a preparation for taxation," it is said in the Handbook of Roman History of one of our most esteemed jurists, Walter,⁴ "an enrolment of persons and property, served as a preparation for taxation, under the emperors, and this enrolment, according to the regulation of Octavius was repeated from time to time. The learned author also refers⁵ to a fragment of a commentary of Balbus to this effect, and considers Luke 2: 1, 2 as an account of that enrolment. Further, it is worth while to compare what one of our most distinguished historians, Manso, my ever remembered teacher, says in his history of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths:⁶ "That a land-tax was paid throughout the wide extent of the Roman empire under the emperors and even earlier, admits of no doubt, especially after the recent learned and discriminating investigations of von Savigny. The passages adduced by him are entirely decisive, but I can myself quote a passage which is not without importance: 'Augusti siquidem

¹ Compare also Livii Epist. Lib. 134. Dio Cassius, LIII. 22.

² Orig. V. 36.

³ S. 7.

⁴ Th. I. S. 323. Bonn, 1834.

⁵ In der Ausgabe der Agrimensoren von Goes, S. 142—147.

⁶ S. 334.

temponibus,' writes Cassiodorus,¹ 'orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda,' consequently that each one might know definitely what taxes he had to pay." The following remark is added: "At least it (the passage of Cassiodorus) confirms the declaration of the Evangelist Luke, chap. 2: 1." The declaration of Cassiodorus is exactly parallel with that in our Gospel. The facts contained in the Gospel of Luke have been discarded because its author is an uncultivated man who "when he will make a show of learning" does it at the greatest pains; allowing it to be so, a writer will surely be trusted, who was five times called to one of the highest offices, the pretorian prefecture, imbued with all political wisdom, and as a historian and scholar was worthy of the following testimony:² "Cassiodorus shows himself to be a man who, it might be said, united in himself all the divine and human wisdom which was current in his time, and could take his position, without question, with the most learned Romans." Among the scholars who have written upon this subject, there is yet remaining one important witness among the ancients, who speaks of the ἀπογραφαῖς under Augustus, and indeed directly of a money-tax which is called the first. We refer to the passage in Suidas under the word ἀπογραφή. If the detail of this account should not prove to be wholly correct, still it is confirmatory of other information with regard to a general ἀπογραφή under Augustus. The passage is as follows: 'Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ Αὐγουστος ὁ μοναρχήσας εἰκοσὶν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενος, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐξέπεμψε, δι' ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐσιῶν, αὐτάρχῃ τινα προστάξας τῷ δημοσίῳ μοῖραν ἐκ τούτων εἰσφέρεισθαι. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοῖς κεκτημένοις τι μὴ ἀφαιρουμένων, ὡς εἶναι τοῖς ἐνπόροις δημόσιον ἐγκλημα πλοῦτον.

We have finished our inquiry upon this controverted passage of Luke's Gospel. We will further only mention two scholars, namely, the investigator of christian antiquity, Winer, and the Jewish historian, Jost, who accord with our results, and who cannot be reproached with having been led into error, in the discussion of this question, from prepossession in favor of the doctrines of the Bible. The former gives his assent to our view, in the article quoted above upon the taxing, where he says: for which purpose, (i. e. the levying of a poll and land tax in Judea,) even as early as the reign of Augustus, a census was instituted and

¹ III. 52.² Manso, S. 86.

enrolments were made. The latter, in an Appendix to the first Part of his Jewish History, "upon the financial condition of the Jews under the Romans," has shown that his countrymen were not at that time literally tributary to the Romans. That, however, does not prevent him from considering a Roman enrolment as admissible under the government of Herod. In page 291 of Part first, where he speaks of the taxing under Quirinus, he says: Already once had Augustus, when he ordered a tax upon all his lands, even in Syria, and probably also at the same time, in some parts of Judea, under king Herod, perhaps two years before this king's death, caused an account to be made of the state of his revenues, of all kinds of property, and of the number of inhabitants. This was not considered as a general measure, and perhaps was carried into effect by the prudence of Herod so silently, that it excited no attention. After all that has been said, it is evident, how much reliance should be placed on the opinion of K. Chr. L. Schmidt, that "by the attempt to bring the declaration of Luke concerning the ἀπογραφὴ into harmony with chronology, far too much confidence is placed in this author; he wished to transfer Mary to Bethlehem, and for this purpose, he was under the necessity of supplying the fitting time according to his own inclination."

ARTICLE III.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF MONASTICISM;—FROM THE ORIGINAL SOURCES.

Continued from No. 2; p. 331. By Prof. Emerson.

LIFE OF ST. ANTONY, TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

Preliminary Remarks.

It has already been suggested that a prime object in this account of the rise of monasticism, is the just exhibition of an important feature of the church at that period. And for this purpose, we must know, not only what monasticism was, but also how it was then regarded by the church, and especially by her

most distinguished leaders. We must know, not only what the monks did, or pretended to do, and how they lived, but what such men as Athanasius, and Augustine, and Basil, and the Gregories thought of their pretensions and their mode of living, and what they have left us in regard to the popular opinion on these topics. Some information of this kind will be found embodied in occasional extracts from the fathers which will be adduced chiefly for other purposes; and for this purpose, some of the extracts may be given a little more at large than would be needful for their more immediate object.

It is obvious that the question respecting the genuineness of this life of Antony, is one of no small moment. If written by Athanasius, it is, directly or impliedly, a continuous expression of his estimate of the monasticism and of the monks of his period: but if it is to be regarded as the supposititious production of some unknown hand, it at once loses more than half its value. But, before proceeding to this question of its genuineness, it seems needful, for the same general reason, to give some account of Athanasius himself.

Notices of Athanasius.

We have space for only the more prominent facts in his history. "Athanasius was born towards the end of the third or at the beginning of the fourth century, at Alexandria, the capital of Egypt. Of his family, nothing is known. His juvenile years were spent in study and ascetic exercises. He cultivated the ancient Grecian literature to some extent, and his works testify to his extensive reading. But the study of the Scriptures and of the earlier fathers, was his chief delight. With his studies he connected the most rigid life of an ascetic. Although we have no traces of his having left Alexandria and retired into solitude, it is still not improbable that he sometimes visited Antony in his desert. Such is the darkness in which the early history of this great man is involved."

"In the year 319, we find Athanasius already a deacon in the church at Alexandria, having rapidly passed through the inferior grades of clerical office. Though but a deacon, and scarcely twenty years of age, he had speedily eclipsed all his colleagues, and soon became the confidant and counsellor of his bishop, Alexander."¹

¹ Fr. Böhlinger's *Kirchengeschichte in Biographien*, B. I. Abt. II. S. 8.

In the Arian controversy which commenced about this time, Athanasius was the guide and the animating soul of the whole orthodox party. According to Eusebius of Nicomedia, and other Arians, Athanasius not only supported his bishop in the excommunication of Arius, but even composed the letters which Alexander issued against him. And when the matter was investigated by the council of Nice, which was called for this purpose in 325, Athanasius, though still so young, and only a deacon amid the 318 bishops who there represented "the church universal," was the most distinguished antagonist to Arianism. Hence the relentless animosity which the Arians ever afterwards bore him, and the atrocity with which they persecuted him. And well indeed might they dread his influence. For had it not been for him, who can tell which way this council would have decided the great question, or what would have been the shape or the support which orthodoxy would have received.

Within about five months after the closing of this council, Alexander died; and this young deacon, though sorely against his will, was compelled, by the popular voice and finally by a sense of duty, to accept the vacant but perilous chair.

He was now placed in a situation of the utmost importance as well as danger. From the relation which Alexandria had long borne to the rest of the world and especially to the church, as a thoroughfare between the east and the west, as a source and a resort of learned men, and a central point of influence, and now the focus of the Arian contest, his new position must have been one of the greatest importance. And for him so to conduct himself, in this exalted station, as still to be the idol of the people and to retain the confidence of the better part of the church, amid all the turmoils that ensued and the false but weighty accusations brought against him, is a conclusive proof at once of his talents and his great moral worth.

Scarcely was he installed as metropolitan of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, when the Arians began to machinate against him at the imperial court. But we have here no space for recounting the base means they employed, or the success of their intrigues, under Constantine and the subsequent emperors. Suffice it to say, that four times Athanasius was either directly banished by imperial authority or compelled to flee and hide himself in the deserts or elsewhere. On some of these occasions, as when Julian sought his life, he was secreted among the monks.

Under the Arian emperors, he was persecuted avowedly for the

part he bore in the religious contest against Arianism; but at other times, though the motive was the same, some false pretext was adduced, like the charge of preventing the supply of corn from Egypt to Constantinople, and even that of murder. At one time, so great and general was the opposition excited against him, as to give occasion to the proverb, "All the world against Athanasius, and Athanasius against all the world." Even the emperor Julian, who pretended to afford toleration to all religions and all sects, broke out in great wrath against Athanasius, incited, as Milner rationally supposes, by his inward hatred to so good a man and so powerful a defender of the faith. At that period, as we shall see in this work, the heathen and the Arians, like Herod and Pilate, united most cordially in the work of persecution.

Still, amid the buffetings of every tempest, Athanasius stood unmoved, with his feet on the Rock of Ages, refusing to recant a word he had uttered in support of the true divinity of his Lord.

From such a man, we are to expect,—if not invariably the truth in every statement of doctrine or of fact,—yet nothing but what he most conscientiously *believed* to be the truth. He who would not retract a syllable of his creed to save his life when so many around him were retracting, would not be very likely to palm known lies on the world in honor of his departed friend Antony.

Though himself perhaps sometimes guilty, in the days of his power, of undue severity towards his enemies, he most triumphantly vindicated his character against all their calumnies,—the facts coming to light in some cases, almost miraculously, as when he produced before the tribunal the very man he was accused of having murdered. As a proof of the completeness of such vindication, and of the unimpaired esteem of those who best knew him, it should be added that, at each return from exile, he was hailed with fresh joy by his flock. Indeed, so firmly established had his character and influence become, that Valens, that last and most persecuting of the Arian emperors, deemed it not prudent greatly to molest him; and the venerable bishop was permitted to discharge the duties of his office in comparative tranquility, for the last ten years of his life. He continued active to the last, and died in the year 373.

Though small of stature, his personal appearance is said to have been such as to arrest the attention and command the respect of Constantine, and of all who saw him. Böhlinger, in his admirable *Life of Athanasius*, already mentioned, draws an interesting parallel between him and the great Reformer, John Calvin,

and closes by saying, that "each of them was the religious hero of his period."

This religious hero of his period was the very man to give us a work which should itself be a mirror to reflect most exactly the strong features of that period. And especially was he the man to give us the ascetic feature—that strongest of the stern group—himself personally so well acquainted with the monks and monastic life, and at the same time, so thoroughly conversant with men of all other classes and with the religious systems and habits of the age, and likewise so veracious a witness. And in what work could he so well present this feature as in the life of his old friend Antony, the man whom he had probably seen in the desert, the man who came to Alexandria and aided him by his oracular voice against the Arians, the man who even wrote to the emperor Constantine to recall him from his first banishment in Gaul.

Still the important question remains whether Athanasius was in fact the author of the *Life* now before us. It is a question which was disputed more than two hundred years ago, by the learned Hospinian and other Protestants, on the one side, and by the Papists on the other. The Protestants then had a motive for denying, so far as they could, the authority of Athanasius in support of monasticism; and hence some of them were perhaps biased in their judgments and induced to support the negative side of this question. This motive can have but little weight, at the present moment, with enlightened and genuine Protestants who fear not the authority of the fathers of the fourth century on any such question, and who are anxious mainly to know the exact state of the church at that important period. We proceed, then, to the proofs of the

Genuineness of Athanasius's Life of Antony.

1. The whole structure and execution of the work is in favor of its genuineness. It bears marks of having been written at Alexandria, by an able hand, and in the time of Athanasius. See, for instance, the manner in which the author describes Antony's visit to that city.

2. Evagrius translated this work into Latin soon after it was written, and most probably during the life-time of Athanasius. The original is supposed to have been written in the year 366, soon after the return of Athanasius from his last exile in Gaul, and this translation to have been made before the year 368. In

its brief prologue, the translation is addressed by "Evagrius the presbyter to Innocent, his dear son in the Lord," at whose request it had been made. Now as this Innocent probably died about 369, and as Evagrius was also made bishop in 368, and would therefore no longer subscribe himself a presbyter, there is a two-fold reason for supposing the translation made before the death of Athanasius which occurred in 378.

But if made at this early period and published, then or soon after, as a translation of a Greek work by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, as it purports to be, it is incredible that the fraud should not be detected, if the work was supposititious.

3. Jerome affords us further proof both as to the translation and the original. "Evagrius, bishop of Antioch, of an acute and ardent mind, while yet a presbyter, read to me treatises on diverse hypotheses which he has not yet published. He also translated into our language the life of the blessed Antony from the Greek of Athanasius." *De Script. Ecc.* c. 125. And, in c. 88 of the same work, he speaks of "Antony the monk, whose life Athanasius bishop of the city of Alexandria, has described in an excellent work."

4. Gregory Nazianzen says, "He [Athanasius] has written the life of the divine Antony and given the laws of monastic life in the form of narrative." *Orat.* 21.

5. Chrysostom, near the close of his homily on Matthew, says, "If any one has not yet entered those tabernacles, let him think of the man who to this time is in the mouths of all, the great and blessed Antony, whom Egypt produced inferior only to the apostles. And let him consider, that he lived in the same region where Pharaoh was, and yet received no detriment, but was even counted worthy of divine visions. And he led such a life as the laws of Christ demand. And one may very accurately learn this by reading the book which contains the history of his life, in which he will see much of prophecy, and also respecting the affairs of the Arians."

From the brief notices in this extract, we may well suppose Chrysostom to be commending the same work we now have under the name of Athanasius. It is supposed by some that Athanasius indeed wrote a life of Antony, but that the genuine work has since been lost and another substituted in its place, and that the genuine work did not contain such accounts about prophesying, etc., as are here alluded to. On this question the Benedictine editors of the works of Athanasius, have also produced a pas-

sage from St. Ephraim, a contemporary of Athanasius, which gives a more extended account of Antony as described by Athanasius, and some of it in the same language now found in this *Life*. It is, however, too long for insertion here. Nor does it seem needful, as we can hardly suppose that a work so widely diffused as that of Athanasius, and so popular, would be entirely superceded by any spurious life of the great monk. Indeed, the translation so early made by Evagrius,—and being just what he forewarns his reader he will find it, a loose translation,—seems decisively to prove, that there can have been neither a substitution, nor even any material alteration in the work.

6. Rufinus, who lived from 330 to 410, says, “The small book which was written by Athanasius and has also been published in Latin, has prevented me from writing some things, as I had intended, in regard to the virtues of Antony and his habits and sobriety of mind, as how, by spending his life in solitude, he enjoyed only the society of beasts, and by gaining frequent victories over the devils, he, above all mortals, pleased God; and how he has left for the monks, to this day, the most illustrious examples of his institution.” *Ec. Hist.* I c. 8.

7. Paulinus, in his prologue to the life of Ambrose, says, “You exhort, venerable father Augustine, that, as those blessed men, bishop Athanasius and presbyter Jerome, wrote the lives of the holy Paulus and Antony who lived in the desert,—so I, in my own style, should write the life of Ambrose.” From this, it would seem, that both Augustine and Paulinus were acquainted with the biographies of those two monks, and that they considered them as written by the men to whom they are ascribed.

But we have also passages of deep interest from Augustine himself in regard both to this biography of Antony, and likewise to his estimate of the man. In the thrilling scene of his own conversion, as depicted in his *Confessions*, he describes the powerful effect which the story of Antony's conversion and life, produced on his own heart, in deepening his convictions and impelling him to a like self-consecration. After stating what his friend Pontianus then told him of Antony, he adds, addressing himself to God, “I was astonished as I heard of thy most well-authenticated wonders, in the correct faith and catholic church, of so recent a date and almost in our own times. We all admired; I, because they were so great; and he, that I had never heard of them before.” *Conf.* VIII. 14. Here Augustine gives his matured opinion as held when writing his book, in regard to the authenticity of the

wonders, *testissima mirabilia*.—Antony's *Life* must then have been generally diffused, or Pontianus could not have wondered at Augustine's ignorance of it.

I omit other passages from the same work, which might be adduced to show that Augustine had the same *Life of Antony* which we now have, and will only add one from his treatise *de Doctrina Christiana*, prologue, c. 4, in which he speaks of "Antony, the Egyptian monk, a holy and perfect man, who, without any knowledge of letters, is said to have committed the Scriptures to memory by hearing them, and by wise reflection to have understood them."

From a remark of Augustine's in the connection of this last passage, it has been argued that he did not believe the story, and therefore that he could not have supposed Athanasius the author of the biography which contains this account. But, as I see nothing in the remark which warrants such a conclusion, I shall only refer the reader, for its ample refutation, to the Benedictine editors of this work.

8. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, says, "What sort of a man the monk Antony was, in those times, in the desert of Egypt, who fought openly with the devils, detecting their wiles and stratagems, and that he wrought many wonders, it were superfluous for me to state; for Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, has written an entire book on his life." I. 21. "Antony, who lived at the same time, saw the soul of this Ammon, after death, borne away by angels, as Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, relates in his life of the former." IV. 23.

9. Sozomen, I. 13, gives a compendium of the life of Antony, much of which appears to be drawn from this work, and some sentences to be quoted entire. That he also adds additional matter, is not strange, since Athanasius here declares that he gives only a small part of the facts.

Other authorities might be adduced, but they seem needless. For, as it has been well remarked, "if this work—supported by the authority of so many fathers, and many of them his contemporaries,—be considered spurious, what work of Athanasius can be proved genuine?"

10. I will only add, that the internal evidences of genuineness, arising from the style and spirit of the work, must strongly impress the intelligent reader who has perused the other works of Athanasius. Not to insist on his perpetual commendations of the monastic life, I will only allude to the peculiar zest and confidence

with which he speaks of characters and events with which we know him to have been conversant, and in which he was personally interested. Witness, for instance, his glowing zeal and even acrimony, wherever he speaks of his old antagonists, the Arians, or the Miletians, and how prominently and frequently he presents Antony's testimony against them.

The reader may now wish to be informed of the objections urged against the genuineness of the work. The following are the only points I have seen that appear worthy of notice.

1. It is said that such a man as Athanasius would not record so many false and foolish things. He did, however, record many such prodigies in his other works, and especially in his epistle to the monks of Egypt and Lybia. But it may just as well be said, that the whole body of grave and learned ecclesiastics of his and of succeeding ages, could not have *believed* such things. But, as we have seen, they did believe and most highly applaud them; and many of them also wrote the like things. No Protestant Athanasius or Augustine or Jerome could, indeed, either write or believe such a book; but it is not so easy a matter to decide what a semi-papal father of the fourth century, though the greatest and best of them all, could not write. If we are to judge of the genuineness of their works from what such men among us could write, we shall condemn as spurious a great portion of all they have left us. Believing, as they did, that miraculous gifts were to be perpetual in the church, their excessive credulity is, after all, no more unaccountable than the impositions on this credulity which sprung from their baleful but prolific doctrine of pious frauds.

2. It is said, by Hospinian and others, that Antony was a lawyer, and therefore not the illiterate man depicted in this work. But the fact of his having been a lawyer, appears to rest on the authority of the lexicographer Suidas, (of perhaps the tenth century), or rather ultimately upon that of the heathen philosopher Damascius, of the sixth century, as quoted by Photius and called by him "a superlatively irreligious" man, and from whom Suidas is said, by his learned editor Kuster, to have borrowed his brief notice of Antony. Of course but little reliance can be placed on such an authority compared with what we have from earlier and better sources. And moreover, Suidas himself says, that Antony was extremely deficient in learning, though so devoted to piety that he made Gaza a much more religious place than it was before. But his short account is so different, in several respects,

from the accounts generally given of Antony by the earlier christian writers, that it would seem rather probable that this very wicked heathen philosopher, if he designed to tell the truth, has confounded together some facts in regard to Hilarion, and perhaps some other monks, with facts in the life of Anteny. See Suidae Lexicon, art. Antonius.

3. It is objected that, according to this work, Antony, when dying, ordered the cloak which Athanasius gave him to be returned to the giver; whereas Jerome, in his life of Paulus, represents Antony as having buried Paulus in that cloak. But this burial was some fifteen years before, and perhaps Athanasius afterwards gave him another cloak. Or, if here is really a contradiction, it is hardly enough to discredit the genuineness of such uninspired works as these. Indeed, just as well may we pronounce all the early histories spurious, for their manifold contradictions of each other.

The following translation is from the Greek text, as found in the Benedictine edition of the works of Athanasius, printed at Paris, 1598. The version is designed to be literal.

In the title, prefixed to the work, which is considerably different in different manuscripts, we must suppose the words, *our father in God*, inserted by another hand. Most if not all the rest of the title, was probably by Athanasius himself. "The monks in foreign lands," to whom he addresses the work, were beyond the sea, and are supposed to have been those of Europe, where monasticism had recently begun to flourish, and whose establishments he had himself probably visited while in exile.

LIFE OF ANTONY.

The life and discipline (πολιτεία) of our holy father Antony, written and sent to the monks in foreign lands, by our father in God, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.

Preface.

You have entered upon a good contest with the monks of Egypt, resolved to equal or even to surpass them in your ascetic efforts for virtue:¹ for at length there are monasteries even

¹ τῇ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑμῶν ἀσκήσει. *your efforts for virtue*, would be too vague a rendering of this clause. It means that species of systematic efforts to which the monks were devoted. The term ἀσκησις, (from *monēō* to practise, to exercise one's self, as in wrestling or in efforts for virtue), is of frequent occurrence

among you, and the name of monk has become famous. Well, therefore, may one commend this purpose; and may God, through your prayers, accomplish it.

And as you have inquired of me respecting the blessed Antony's manner of life, with a desire to learn how he began his ascetic course, what he was before, and how he died, and whether the things reported of him are true, and this in order that you may emulate him, with great alacrity have I undertaken to execute your commands. For even to speak of Antony is of great benefit to myself also. And after hearing the account and admiring the man, I know you will desire to emulate his example: for the life of Antony is a fit type to monks for the ascetic life. Do not therefore doubt of what you have heard from those who speak of him, but rather conclude that you have heard only a small part from them, for scarcely have they fully related so many things, since even I, at your solicitation, however many things I may note in this epistle, shall mention but a few of his deeds. Nor should you cease to inquire of those who sail to your region. For probably, as each one separately tells what he knows, the account will hardly be worthy of the man. And for this reason, on receiving your letter, I was desirous of sending for some of the monks, especially of those who had been most frequently with him, in order to learn something more to send you; but as the period of navigation was closing and the bearer was urgent, I have hastened to write you whatever I know of him, (for I often saw him), and what I was able to learn from him while following him for no short time and pouring water on his hands.¹ Everywhere I have been very careful for the truth, in order that no one by either hearing more should disbelieve, or by learning less than is requisite should despise the man.

His early life.—Commences his Monastic Career.

Antony was by birth an Egyptian.² His parents were noble,

in this work, and is often so difficult to be rendered in good English as sorely to tempt a translator to coin the term *ascetics* for the special occasion, or to use the term *asceticism* as meaning the practice of the ascetic system. The latter I may occasionally do.

¹ Several manuscripts afford a different reading, to this effect: "what I was able to learn from one who followed him," etc. It is therefore by no means certain that Athanasius spent much time with Antony; and if not, his credibility may have been more easily imposed on in regard to the miracles he relates.

² He was born in the year 251, as is manifest from his age and the time of his death, noticed at the close of his biography. Coma, a village near Heraclea, in

and sufficiently wealthy ; and, being Christians, brought up their son in their own faith. During his early childhood, he was kept at home, seeing nothing but his parents and their house. In his boyhood and as he grew up, he would not go to school, because he wished to avoid associating with other boys. His sole desire was to be, as is said of Jacob, a plain man, dwelling in his own house. He used to attend church with his parents ; and when there, he was not listless while a boy, nor disdainful when a young man ; but he was obedient to his parents, and attentive to the reading, and careful to treasure up the instruction in his breast. Again, though his parents were in easy circumstances, he never importuned them for different and dainty food, nor sought pleasure in such gratifications, but was content with what he found, and asked for nothing more.

When he was about eighteen or twenty years of age, his parents died, leaving to his care their house and his only sister, who was yet very small. Not six months after the death of his parents, he was going to church, as usual, and his thoughts dwelt upon the apostles' leaving all and following the Saviour, and those mentioned in the Acts, who sold their possessions, and brought the price and laid it at the apostles' feet, to be distributed among the poor, and upon the hopes laid up for them in heaven. In the midst of these reflections he entered the church, just as that passage in the gospels was read where the Lord says to the rich man, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come and follow me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven. Antony considered his recollections of the saints as from God and the reading as addressed to himself, and immediately left the church and made over his patrimony, consisting of three hundred *arurae* [more than a hundred acres] of fertile and pleasant land, to the people of his village, to prevent them from molesting at all either himself or his sister. His personal property he sold for a large sum of money, which he gave to the poor, reserving only a little for his sister.

Entering the church again, he heard our Lord saying, in the gospel, Take no thought for the morrow. He could stay no longer, but went out and distributed the remainder of his property to the poor. Having entrusted his sister to some known and faithful virgins, to be brought up in a nunnery, he devoted himself, with circumspection and firmness, to an ascetic life before

Upper Egypt or Thebais, is regarded as the place of his birth. See Sozomen, l. 13. and Nicephorus.

his own house ; for monasteries were not then common in Egypt, nor had any monk at all known the great desert ; but every one who wished to devote himself to his own spiritual welfare, performed his exercises alone, not far from his own village.

Now there was at that time, in a neighboring village, an old man who had lived a monastic life from his youth. Antony saw him and was filled with pious emulation. At first he took up his abode in places in the vicinity of the village ; and if he heard of any one remarkable for christian attainments, he would go and seek him out, like the wise bee, and he never returned until he had seen him and obtained from him some provisions to support him on the way to virtue. Therefore, remaining here at first, he established his mind so as not to turn again toward his patrimony, nor remember his relatives, but to have all his desires and zeal for rigor in his asceticism. Accordingly, he labored with his hands ; for he had heard, If any will not work, neither shall he eat. Part of the proceeds of his labor he spent for bread, and gave the remainder to the poor. And he prayed constantly, having learned, that he ought to pray without ceasing in secret. And he was so attentive to the reading that nothing of the Scriptures fell from him to the ground, but he retained all ; so that at last his memory served him instead of books. Conducting himself thus, Antony was beloved by all. To the devout men to whom he went, he paid the utmost deference, and learned the peculiar excellences of character and practice in each, as the gentleness of one, the prayerfulness of another, the meekness of another, the philanthropy or the vigils or the studious habits of another. He would admire another's endurance of suffering and fasting and sleeping upon the ground, or observe another's mildness and long-suffering ; while he marked the piety toward Christ and love for each other which all displayed. Thus he would return richly laden to his own cell, and labor to make his own all the several graces which he had found. He had no contest with those of his own age, except only not to seem second to them in virtue ; and this he did so as to grieve no one, but to cause all to rejoice in him ; and the villagers and the pious men with whom he had conversed, seeing him such, called him The friend of God, and they loved him, some as a son, others as a brother.

His conflicts with the Devil.

But the devil, the envier and enemy of all good, could not bear to see such a purpose in so young a man, and accordingly tried

his old arts upon him. At first he assayed to turn him aside from his ascetic life by suggesting recollections of his estate, or care for his sister, and his rank, and the love of money and of glory, and the various gratifications of the appetites, and other delights of life; and he added the hardship and toil attendant upon virtue, and the feebleness of his body, and the long life before him. In fine, he raised a great dust of thoughts in his mind, aiming to turn him from his holy purpose. But the adversary found that, so far from being able to shake Antony's resolution, he was himself defeated by his constancy, vanquished by his strong faith, and falling before his ceaseless prayers. His next reliance was upon "the force which is in the navel of his belly;" (Job 40: 16.) and in this he greatly confided. He assailed him, as he is wont first to assail the young, harassing him by night, and so besetting him by day that any one who saw him might perceive the conflict which was going on between them; the one suggesting impure imaginations, the other repelling them by prayer; the one inciting the passions, the other blushing and defending himself by faith and prayer and fasting. The wretched devil would assume, by night, the form and imitate the deportment of a woman, to tempt Antony; but he would put out the coal of his temptation by reflecting upon Christ, and the nobility which he gives, and the spirituality of the soul. Again, the adversary would suggest the sweetness of pleasure, to which Antony, like one grieved and enraged, opposed the threat of the fire and the worm, and thus came off unharmed. So that all these attempts resulted in the confusion of the adversary. For he who thought to be like unto God, was baffled by a youth; and he who gloried over flesh and blood, was overthrown by a man in the flesh: for he had the aid of the Lord who took the flesh for us, and hath given to the flesh the victory over the devil; so that every true soldier of his may say, Not I, but the grace of God that is with me.

At last, failing in this assault upon Antony, and finding himself thrust out of his heart, the dragon gnashed with his teeth, as it is written; and, as if beside himself, assumed the form of a boy as black as his own nature, and falling before him he no more assailed him with imaginations; for the deceiver had been cast out. But using a human voice, he said, I have deceived and overcome multitudes, but I find the temptations which prevailed with them too weak for thee. Antony asked, Who art thou that sayest this to me? He replied, in a woful voice, I am the friend of fornication. My charge is to tempt and incite the young to

this sin, and I am called the spirit of fornication. How many who wished to live correctly, have I led astray; and how many who struggled to keep the body in subjection, have I overcome by my enticements! It was on my account that the prophet rebukes those who had fallen, saying, The spirit of whoredoms hath caused them to err; for by me were they caused to stumble. I am he that hath so often assailed thee; and so many times been foiled by thee. Then Antony gave thanks to the Lord and took courage and said to the demon, Thou art most worthy of contempt; for thou art black in soul, and weak as a child. I have no more care for thee, for the Lord is my helper and I will rejoice over my enemies. Hearing this, the black one fled, in terror at his words, not daring longer to be near the man.

This was Antony's first victory over the devil, or rather the glorious work, in Antony, of that Saviour, who condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit. Still, Antony did not conclude that the demon was vanquished and relax his watchfulness, nor did the adversary desist from his machinations. For he prowled about like a lion seeking some occasion against him. But Antony had learned from Scripture that many are the wiles of the devil, and he was zealous in his practice of the ascetic life, considering that though the devil had failed to lead his heart astray by sensual pleasure, he would constantly be laying new snares in his way; for the devil loves sin. Accordingly, he reduced and subjected his body more and more, lest having prevailed over some temptations he should yield to others. He resolved to adopt a more rigorous life. Many were astonished at him, but he bore the labor easily, for the ardor of his soul, enduring for a long time, had wrought in him such an excellent temper that a little incitement from others produced great zeal in him. Such were his vigils that he often passed the whole night without sleep; this he did, not merely once, but so frequently as to be an object of astonishment. He used to eat but once in the day, after sunset, and often he would fast for two and even four days. His food was bread and salt, and his drink water only. But we need not speak of meat and wine, for nothing of the kind is found among other ascetics. His bed was a small rush mat, but he usually slept upon the bare ground. He would not be anointed with oil, because, he said, that young monks should be in earnest in their asceticism; instead of seeking emollients for the body, they should train it to hardship, remembering the words of the

apostle, When I am weak then am I strong. For he used to say, that the powers of the mind were most vigorous when the pleasures of the body were most under restraint. Another admirable maxim was, that the way of duty and our progress in it were to be estimated, not by time, but by the sincerity and earnestness of our purposes. He did not think of the time past but daily, as at the beginning of his course, undertook some new and greater labor, constantly repeating to himself the words of Paul, Forgetting those things that are behind and reaching forward to those which are before, and remembering the saying of the prophet Elias, The Lord liveth before whose face I stand this day; for he observed that in saying to-day he takes no account of past time. But as if every day making a beginning, he strove to show himself such as he ought to appear before God, pure in heart and ready to do his will and nothing else. He said to himself that the ascetic ought, from the polity of the great Elias, always to contemplate his own life as in a mirror.

Thus constrained [by the example of Elias], Antony retired to some tombs at a distance from the village, and, having directed one of his friends to bring him bread, at long intervals, he entered one of the tombs, which was closed by his friend, and he was left alone. This was more than the adversary could bear. He was afraid that by degrees Antony would fill the desert with asceticism. He came upon him, one night, with a host of demons, and beat him until he lay upon the ground speechless from his sufferings. His tortures, as he said afterwards, were such as no blows by men could inflict. But by the providence of God, for the Lord never overlooks those who trust in Him, his friend came the next day to bring his bread; and upon opening the entrance, and finding him lying upon the ground as if dead, he took him up, and carried him to the church in the village, and laid him on the ground. Many of Antony's relatives and the people of the village, sat down by him as if he were dead. But about midnight he came to himself; and being aroused and finding all asleep except his friend, he beckoned him to come to him, and requested him to carry him back to the tombs without awaking any one.

He was accordingly carried back by the man, and the door closed as usual, and he left alone again. Finding himself unable to stand, on account of the blows, he lay down and prayed; and after the prayer he cried out, Here am I Antony. I flee not your blows. And should you even inflict more, nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ. Then he sang, Though a host should

encamp against me, my heart shall not fear. Thus thought and said our ascetic. But the enemy of all righteousness, astonished at Antony's daring to come, after his flagellation, called his dogs together and said, You see that we have not been able to stop this man, either by the spirit of lust or by flagellation; but he is bold against us. We must vary our mode of attack. For it is easy for the devil to assume different shapes for his wicked purposes. Then in the night, they made such a din that the whole place seemed to be shaken, and the demons appeared to break the four walls, and rush in upon all sides in the shapes of wild beasts and reptiles; and in a moment, the place was full of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, serpents, asps, scorpions and wolves, all acting according to their several natures,—the lion roaring and striving to come upon him,—the bull thrusting at him with his horns,—the serpent creeping about but unable to reach him, and the wolf being held back in the act of springing upon him. In fine, the noises of all the shapes were dreadful and their rage terrific. Under these assaults and tortures, Antony suffered cruel pains of body, but his soul was fearless and vigilant. And as he lay groaning from his corporeal tortures, he would deride the fiends, crying, If ye had any power, it would be enough for one alone of you to come upon me; but now that the Lord hath made you weak, ye think to terrify me by your numbers. Your assuming the forms of brutes is proof enough of your feebleness. And again he would confidently exclaim, If ye are strong, if ye have received any power against me, come upon me at once. But if powerless, why do ye attempt in vain to alarm me? For our trust in the Lord is a seal and wall of protection. After many assaults, the demons gnashed their teeth at him, being themselves more imposed upon than he.

And the Lord did not forget the conflict of Antony, but came to his relief. Raising his eyes, he saw as it were the roof opened, and a ray of light coming down upon him. Instantly the demons vanished; his bodily pain left him; and his habitation was whole again. Antony, feeling the relief, breathing again, and free from pain, thus addressed the vision: Where wast thou? Why didst thou not appear at first to deliver me from my agony? A voice replied: I was not away but was here, Antony, a witness of thy conflict; and since thou hast endured and not yielded, I will always be thy helper, and will make thy name known everywhere. Hearing this, he rose up and prayed, and found himself even stronger in body than before. He was at this time nearly thirty-five years of age.

The next day he went out, yet more full of pious zeal, and coming to the old man whom we have already mentioned, he asked permission to live with him in the desert. Rejected here, on account of his youth and the novelty of his request, he went at once to the mountain. But again the adversary, seeing his zeal, sought to ensnare him by putting in his way the appearance of a great silver plate. Antony saw the artifice of the wicked one, and stood, and looking at the plate, exposed the demon that was in it thus: Whence a plate in the desert? This is no beaten road; there is not a traveller's footstep here. Besides, the plate is too large to fall without being observed, and if any one had lost it, he would have turned back and found it without fail, in such a desert place. This is an artifice of the devil. But thou shalt not thus catch me, thou devil. This go with thee to perdition. As Antony said this, it vanished like smoke before the fire.

Antony in the Deserted Castle.

Afterward, as he went on, he saw not apparent but real gold lying in the way. Whether the adversary had placed it there, or some better spirit, aiming to exercise the athlete, and to show the devil that he did not care for real money, he did not himself say, nor do we know further than that it was gold which appeared. Antony was astonished at the abundance of it, but stepped over it, as if it were fire, and pursued his way without looking back, but running on so as to lose the place out of sight. Pressing on in his purpose more and more, he came to the mountain. Finding, on the other side of the river, a castle which had been so long deserted that it was full of reptiles, he crossed, and took up his habitation there. At his coming the reptiles immediately fled, as if some one drove them. He then closed the entrance, having provided bread for six months as the Thebans do (for their bread will last a whole year without injury), and finding water within, he went down into the innermost parts of the castle, and remained there alone, never going out nor seeing any one that came. Thus he followed the ascetic life for a long time, receiving his bread twice a year through the upper part of the building.

Those of his friends who visited his retreat, not finding admittance, frequently spent days and nights outside, listening to sounds from within as of the tumult and din of hosts, uttering piteous exclamations and crying, Leave our retreats! What have you to do in the desert? You shall not withstand our assaults.

At first those without thought that men were fighting with him, who had come in by means of ladders. But upon looking through a hole, they saw no one, and concluded that his antagonists were demons, and called to him in great terror. But he paid more attention to the fears of his friends than to the demons, and coming near the door urged the men to go away and not fear; for, said he, The demons make such alarms for the timid; do you therefore cross yourselves and go away boldly, and leave them to make fools of themselves. They then went away armed with the sign of the cross, and he remained nothing harmed by them, nor even wearied by his contests. For the increase of visions from on high and the feebleness of his adversaries greatly lightened his labors and enhanced his ardor. For his friends were constantly coming, expecting to find his dead body, and they heard him singing, Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered; let them also that hate him flee before him. As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God. And again, All nations compassed me about, but in the name of the Lord will I be avenged upon them.

Thus he lived a solitary ascetic life for nearly twenty years, never going out and rarely seen by any one. At last, as many were anxious to imitate his practice, his friends came and threw down and broke through the door, and Antony came forth like an initiated and inspired man from some sacred recess. Now, for the first time, he was seen out of the castle by those who came to him; and they who saw him were astonished to find his condition of body the same as before. He had neither grown corpulent from inactivity, nor become emaciated by fastings and combats with demons. He was just as they had known him before his withdrawal. The state of his mind also was perfect; for he was neither depressed by sorrow nor unduly excited by joy; not inclined to laughter, nor to sadness. He was not embarrassed at the sight of the crowd, nor elated by the honors they paid him. He was always the same, his whole deportment regulated by reason and natural propriety. Therefore the Lord healed through him many who were suffering from diseases of the body, and delivered others from demons. The Lord, too, gave him grace in speaking, and thus he consoled many who were in sorrow, and reconciled others who were at variance, charging all to prefer none of the things of this world before love to Christ. As he discoursed upon and enjoined the remembrance of good things to come and

the love of God towards us, who spared not His own Son, but gave him up for us all, many were induced to assume the ascetic life; so that from that time, there were monasteries among the mountains, and the desert was peopled with monks, who left their all and enrolled themselves as citizens of the heavenly community.

His visitation of the brethren made it necessary for him to cross the canal of Arsinoë, which was full of crocodiles. Defended only by prayer, he and all with him entered and passed it in safety. On his return to the monastery, he resumed his former observances. By frequent conversations, he increased the zeal of those who were already monks, and led many others to love the monastic life; and in a short time, by his persuasions, many monasteries were established, over all of which he presided as a father.

Antony's Discourse to the Monks.

All the monks once came to him, as he was proceeding, and requested to hear a discourse from him; and he addressed them in the Egyptian language, as follows. "The Scriptures are sufficient for instruction. Still it is well to exhort and comfort each other in the faith. You then, as children, should tell your father what you have learned, and I, as your elder in years, will share with you the fruits of my knowledge and experience.

And, first, let it be the aim of us all, having begun, not to yield nor to be disheartened in our labors, not to say we have spent a long time in this monastic life; but rather, as beginning anew from day to day, let us add to our ardor. For the whole life of man is exceedingly brief, compared with the ages to come. All our time here is as nothing to the eternal life. In this world, everything is sold for its value, and one gives equal for equal; but the promise of eternal life is purchased at a trifling expense. For it is written, The days of our years are threescore years and ten, and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow. If, then, we persevere in the ascetic life for the whole fourscore years or even an hundred, our reign shall not be just an hundred years, but for the hundred we shall reign for ages of ages. And for our conflicts upon earth, we shall receive our promised inheritance, not on earth, but in the heavens. And again, for this corruptible body which we lay aside, we shall receive an incorruptible.

Therefore, my sons, let us not be weary, nor think the time long,

nor the labor great, for the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. Nor let us look upon this world and think that we have given up much, for this whole world is little indeed, compared with all heaven. If we had been lords of the whole earth and renounced it all, that were no price to pay for the kingdom of heaven; for like one who should disregard a single brass drachma, to obtain an hundred of gold, so he who should be lord of all the earth, and give it up, would give up a trifle and receive an hundred fold. But if even the whole earth is not worth heaven, he who has given up a few acres—nothing as it were—even if he has left a house and a large property—ought neither to boast nor become remiss. And on the other hand, we should reflect that if we do not give up these things for righteousness' sake, we must die at length, and leave them, and often to heirs whom we would not, as the Preacher warns us, [Eccl. 4: 8]. Why, then, should we not give them up for righteousness' sake, and gain the inheritance of the kingdom? Let none of us then harbor a desire for wealth; for what gain is it, to acquire that which we cannot take with us? Why not rather acquire those things which we may take with us, which are, prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude, wisdom, love, benevolence to the poor, faith in Christ, pity, hospitality. If we have these virtues, we shall find them there in person, affording us hospitality in the land of the meek.

With such considerations let each arm himself against remissness, especially reflecting that he is the Lord's servant, and owes a duty to his master. As the servant, then, dares not say, I will not labor to-day because I labored yesterday, as he does not measure the time past and rest for the future, but daily, as saith the gospel, displays the same diligence to please his Master and to avoid punishment, so let us be diligent in our religious life, knowing that, if we neglect a single day, our Master will not pardon it in consideration of our former life, but will be angry with us for the neglect. So writes Ezekiel; and so Judas, in a single night, lost the labor of his life.

Let us then, my sons, apply ourselves unceasingly to our ascetic duties. For in these we have the Lord as a co-worker, as it is written, With every one that chooseth the good, God worketh together for good. But to guard us against negligence, it is well to reflect upon the words of the apostle, I die daily. For if we live as dying daily, we shall not sin. The meaning is that, when we rise in the morning, we are not to think we shall live till eve.

ning ; and as we lie down again, we must not think we shall rise ; for our life is by nature uncertain, and Providence measures it out day by day. If such be our state of mind, if we live thus by the day, we shall not fail in duty, nor be covetous, nor angry with any, nor lay up our treasure upon the earth ; but, as daily expecting to die, we shall be poor, and shall forgive all their trespasses. Fleshly lusts and base desires shall have no dominion over us, but we shall repel them as intruders, we constantly fighting and looking forward to the day of judgment. For the fear of torment will destroy the seductive sweetness of pleasure, and fix the wavering soul.

Having, then, began and entered upon the way of virtue, let us reach forward to those things which are before, and let none turn back like Lot's wife, especially when our Lord has said, No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven. To look back is nothing else than to repent and again to think of the world. Be not startled at the mention of virtue, nor think it a strange word, for it is not something existing far away and out of ourselves, but it is a work in us, and an easy work, if we be only willing. The Greeks leave their country and cross the seas to gain learning. But we need not leave our country to gain the kingdom of heaven, nor pass seas in quest of virtue. For the Lord has said, The kingdom of heaven is within you. Virtue, then, requires for its attainment only our will, for it is in us and proceeds from us. For where the soul has the intellect according to its nature—*ψυχῆς τὸ πρὸς αὐτὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης*—there is virtue. And it is according to its nature, when it remains as it was made ; and it was made exceedingly fair and good. Accordingly Joshua, the son of Nun, says in his address to the people, Make straight your heart towards the Lord God of Israel ; and John, Make your paths straight. For the soul to be straight, is for its intellect to be according to nature, as it was created, but when it turns from this and departs from its nature, then it is called wickedness of soul. It is therefore by no means a difficult thing ; for if we remain as we were created, we shall be virtuous ; but if we bestow our thoughts upon worthless objects, we shall be condemned as wicked. If it were something to be brought from without, it were indeed hard ; but if it be within ourselves, let us guard ourselves against grovelling thoughts ; and, regarding our souls as a treasure entrusted to our care, let us keep them for the Lord, so that he may recognize his work as being still such as he made it.

Let us strive that anger and lust may not have dominion over us. For it is written, The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. When lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin, and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death. Having laid down such rules let us follow them stedfastly and, as it is written, keep our heart with all diligence. For we have formidable and crafty foes in the evil spirits. And with them we wrestle, as saith the Apostle, Not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in the heavenly places. Great is the number of them in the air about us, and they are not far from us, and there is a great difference among them. But the discussion of their nature and diversity, would be tedious, and belongs to others who are greater than I. What is now pressing and needful for us, is merely to know their machinations against us.

And first, we are to know, that the demons were not by creation what we call demons. For God made nothing bad. Even they were created good, but falling from the heavenly wisdom, they have since wandered about the earth, leading the Greeks astray by their *phantasias* [deceptive exhibitions]; and in their envy they move all things to hinder us Christians in our way to heaven, that we may not ascend to the abode whence they have fallen. Therefore we have need of much prayer and diligence, that we may receive from the Spirit the gift of discerning spirits, by which we may know respecting them, which of them are less wicked and which more wicked, what is the employment of each and how each may be baffled and cast out. For many are their wiles and their attempts to ensnare us. This the blessed apostle and his associates understood when they said, For we are not ignorant of his devices. We ought to tell, for the instruction of each other, whatever we have learned with regard to them from our own experience; and, as I have had some trial of them, I will tell it as if to my sons.

Whenever, then, they see any Christians, but more especially monks, laborious and advancing, they assail and tempt them by throwing stumbling-blocks in their way. Their stumbling-blocks are evil thoughts. But we need not be afraid of their devices. For by prayer and fasting and faith in the Lord, they fall at once. But though they fall they do not cease their assaults, but come upon us again with all their wickedness and guile. If they fail in their open attempts to lead our hearts astray by sensual plea-

tures, they renew the attack in another form, and endeavor to strike terror by phantoms, changing their forms and appearing as women, or wild beasts, or reptiles, or huge beings, or hosts of soldiers. Neither here are we to fear their phantoms. For they are nothing, and quickly vanish, if one guard himself well with faith and the sign of the cross. But they are bold and exceedingly insolent; for if repulsed here, they make still a new assault, by pretending to the gift of divination and fortelling future events, making themselves tall enough to reach the roof, and large in proportion. By such *phantasias*, they try to force away those whom they could not seduce by their suggestions. If they find the soul, at this point also, fortified by faith and hope and discretion, they next bring their prince.

And he said that they often appeared such as the Lord described the devil to Job, saying, His eyes are like the appearance of the morning star; out of his mouth go burning lamps and sparks of fire leap forth. From his mouth goeth the smoke of a furnace burning with a fire of coals; his breath is coals and a flame goeth out of his mouth. When the guileful prince of devils appears in this shape, he strikes terror by his great swelling words, as again the Lord explained to Job in these words: For he esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood, and he esteemeth the abyss of hell as a pot of ointment, and he regardeth the abyss as a path; and by the prophet: The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake; and again by another: The whole earth will I seize in my hand like a nest and as eggs that are left will I take it. Thus, to lead astray God's worshippers, they vaunt and proclaim what they will do. But neither here is there any occasion for us who are faithful, to fear his phantoms or to regard his words. For he lies, and speaks no truth at all. Though he speaks and boasts so much and so boldly, he was drawn as a dragon with a hook by the Saviour, and as a beast of burden he suffered a halter upon his nose, and as a run-away he was bound with a ring in his nostrils, and his lips were pierced with a chain, and he has been tied by the Lord like a sparrow, to be sported with by us. He and his fellow demons are placed to be trodden under foot by us Christians, like scorpions and serpents. A proof of this we find in our following our loyal pursuits in spite of him. For he, who boasted of wiping away the seas, and seizing upon the land, cannot interfere with your ascetic life, nor even with what I am saying of him. Let us not, then, heed what he may say, for he lies, nor fear his phantoms which are all false; for it is not true light

which shines in them, but rather the prelude and the image which they bear with them of the fire prepared for them; and with that in which themselves are doomed to burn, they essay to terrify men. Certainly they appear, and vanish at once, injuring none of the faithful, but bearing with themselves the image of the fire which shall receive them. Therefore we should not fear them under this aspect. For all their machinations come to nought through the grace of Christ.

But they are wily and ready to assume any aspect or form. Often they seem to sing, invisibly, reciting words from Scripture. Again, as we are reading, they will immediately repeat the words like an echo. As we lie down to sleep they will rouse us to prayer; and this they do incessantly, so as hardly to allow us any rest. Sometimes they assume the appearance of monks, and pretend to talk like holy men, in order to entice us away by their disguise and then to drag their dupes wherever they will. But we ought not to listen to them even if they call us to prayer, or urge us to strict fasting, or accuse and rebuke us for faults which they know in us. For they do this, not for the sake of piety and truth, but in order to drive the weak to despair, and to pronounce the ascetic life a profitless one, and to make the monastic life seem burdensome and tedious to men, and to fetter those who are pursuing this life.

The prophet sent from the Lord pronounced a wo upon such, in these words, Wo unto him that giveth his neighbor to drink a dismal overthrow; for such actions and designs subvert the way leading to virtue. Our Lord, when in the body, stopped the mouths of demons and forbade them to speak even the truth, (for they were speaking the truth, "Thou art the Son of God,") lest they should mingle their vileness with the truth, and in order to teach us never to give heed to them even when they appear to speak the truth. For it were absurd that we, who have the holy Scriptures, and the freedom which the Saviour gives, should be taught of the devil, who continued not in his own station, but changed his views.¹ Therefore he forbids him using the words of Scrip-

¹ *Ἀλλ' ἔρεπα ἀνθ' ἑτέραν προφήσαντος.* However impotent the conclusion of this sentence, in our view, it might not be so regarded by Antony, who, like the Pelagians after him, was disposed to place the origin and source of sin so much in the intellect. For the devil to "change his views," was the same thing as for him to rebel against God; or rather, it was the very source of his rebellion. Such were Antony's metaphysics, if not also those of his biographer, as is manifest from many of his remarks. I may also add, that the theology of the early monks was generally of the same cast.

ture, saying, But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant into thy mouth? For they do and say and excite and dissemble and agitate everything, in order to delude the simple. And they create a din¹, and laugh boisterously, and hiss; but if no one pays attention to them, then they wail and lament as if vanquished.

The Lord, then, as God, shut the mouths of the demons. And it becomes us who have learned of the saints, to do as they did and to imitate their manfulness. For they, when they saw the demons, said, While the wicked was before me, I was dumb and was humbled and held my peace from good; and again, But I, as a deaf man, heard not, and I was as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth, and I was as a man that heareth not. Let us then refuse to hear them, as strangers to us; let us not listen to them even if they call us to prayer, or tell us of fasting; but let us attend to our course of ascetic exercises, rather than to them, and not be led astray by their endless devices. We need not fear them, if they do seem to come upon us, and even if they threaten us with death; for they are weak and can do nothing but threaten.

Thus far I have spoken briefly on this point, but now I shall not hesitate to speak more fully of them, for the instruction will be salutary to you. When the Lord is with us, the adversary falls, and his powers are weak; still, like a tyrant, though fallen he is not quiet but continues to threaten, though it be only in words. Let each of us consider this, and he may despise the demons. If they were clothed with bodies like ours, they might say, that men had hidden so that they could not find them, but if they were to find them they would hurt them. We might then remain concealed from them by shutting the doors against them. But if it is not so—if they can enter when the doors are shut, and are in all the air, they and their prince, the devil,—and if they are malignant, and ready to do us harm (as our Saviour said of their father, the devil, “He is a murderer from the beginning,”)—and still we are alive now and waging war with them—it is clear that they are powerless. For it is not the place that frustrates their designs, nor do they esteem us as friends, whom they would conciliate, nor are they such lovers of the good as to lead us in the right way. On the

¹ *Κρότος*, “a loud noise caused by striking, clapping, knocking, or stamping.”—*Donnagan*. From the frequent recurrence of this expressive but untranslatable term, we may suppose the demons, (or the rude men who may have imposed upon Antony's credulity), quite addicted to these terrific stampings, knockings, etc.

other hand, they are depraved, and they care for nothing so much as to harm the virtuous and the pious. But they accomplish nothing because they can do nothing except to threaten. For if they were able, they would not wait, but would do their mischief at once, for they have the will already to do harm, especially to us. You see that we now come together and speak against them, and they know that their power is diminished by our progress. If now they had the power, they would suffer none of us Christians to live. For piety towards God is an abhorrence to the sinner. And, when able to accomplish none of their threats, they even wound themselves. And it is necessary to note this, in order that we may not fear them; for, if possessed of power, they would not come by multitudes, nor produce their *phantasias*, nor would they assault in changed forms, but it would be enough for one to come alone and do what he should be able and disposed to accomplish; as any one who has power, does not raise phantoms, nor terrify by multitudes, but forthwith employs his power as he pleases. But, as the demons are powerless, they play as upon a stage, changing their forms and frightening boys by the show of a multitude and by their actions. Hence they ought rather to be despised as imbecile. For a real angel, when sent by the Lord against the Assyrians, needed not to employ a multitude, or external phantoms, or the din of stamping and clapping, but quietly put forth his power, and instantly destroyed an hundred and eighty and five thousand. But the demons, powerless as they are, at least attempt to terrify by their phantoms.

But should any one adduce the case of Job and say, How then could the devil come forth and accomplish what he did against him, and strip him of his possessions, and slay his children, and smite him with a grievous ulcer? Let such an one know, that it was not the devil that had this power, but that God gave Job into his hands to be tempted. It was doubtless because he had no power of his own, that he asked and obtained power of God. So that even from this is the adversary's impotence the more manifest; for, though willing it, he had no power over one just man; for, if he had possessed the power, he would not have asked it; but, as he did ask it once and again, he is evidently weak and powerless. Nor is it strange that he had no power over Job, when destruction would not have come even on his cattle, had not God permitted it. He has not even power over swine; for, as it is written in the gospel, They besought the Lord, saying, Suffer us to go away into the swine. If they have not power over swine,

much less have they any over men that are made in the image of God.

God only, then, is to be feared; but these to be despised, and not in the least to be dreaded. But the more they do these things, the more zealous let us be in ascetic discipline. For, a great weapon against them is a steadfast life and faith toward God. They fear the fasting of ascetics, their vigils, prayers, meekness, and gentleness, their freedom from avarice and the love of vain-glory, their humility, love of the poor, and almsgiving, their freedom from wrath, and, above all, their piety towards Christ. For the devils do all, that they may have none to tread them under foot. For they know the grace given to the faithful against them by the Saviour, who said, Behold I give unto you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.

If they offer to foretell the future, let no one heed them. For often, some days before their arrival, they tell of brethren who are coming to us; and they come. But the devils do this, not from regard to those who hear them, but in order to gain their confidence; and then, having them in their hands, they destroy them. Therefore we ought not to give heed to them, but to drive them away even while speaking, for we have no need of them. For what wonder is it if, having lighter bodies than men, and seeing men setting out on a journey, they outstrip them and announce their approach, just as one on horseback may outstrip those on foot and predict their arrival. So that even in this we need not wonder at them, for they foreknow none of the things which are not; but it is God only who knows anything before it takes place. But they, like spies, running before, announce what they have seen. And even now, while we are together and conversing about them, to how many do they communicate what we are doing, before any one of us has gone away to tell it. But this also any nimble-footed boy can do by anticipating the more tardy. To illustrate my meaning: if one sets out on a journey from the Thebais or any other region, they do not know beforehand that he will go, but seeing him on his way, they run before him and predict his arrival. And it accordingly happens that after a while the brethren come. But as those on a journey often turn back, the devils then prove false prophets.

And so they sometimes prate about the water of the river. For seeing great rains in Ethiopia, and knowing that from these re-

sults the overflowing of the river, they hasten forward and predict it before the water reaches Egypt. But men could tell the same, if they could run as fast. And as David's watchman, by ascending to a high place, could see one coming better than those could who remained below, and the first messenger himself told, before the rest, not what had not taken place, but things which had taken place and the news of which was already on its way, so the devils willingly take pains to convey information to others, for the sole purpose of imposing upon men. But should Providence interpose, as it may, in regard to the waters or the travellers, the devils prove false, and those who give heed to them are deceived.

In this way arose the oracles of the heathen, by which the devils used to delude them. But now this delusion has ceased; for the Lord has come, who has brought to nought both them and their imposture. For they know nothing of themselves, but what as spies they see among others, they communicate; and they are rather conjecturers than prophets. If, then, their predictions are sometimes verified, none need wonder at it. For physicians who are familiar with diseases, can often, when they see the disease in diverse persons, predict its result by knowing its ordinary course. And again; pilots and husbandmen, by habitually observing the state of the atmosphere, can predict a storm, or fair weather. Still, one would not say that they predict these by divine inspiration, but from experience. If, then, the devils make the like conjectures, let none wonder nor give heed to them. For of what use is it to those who hear them, to know, a few days beforehand, what shall take place? or why should we be eager to know such things, even if we may know them truly? For this is not productive of virtue, nor is it any mark of a good character; for none of us is condemned for not knowing, nor pronounced blessed for having learned and known; but each one is judged according as he has kept the faith and truly observed the commandments.

Therefore we should not regard these things as of much importance; nor should we labor and pursue the ascetic life, in order to foreknow things, but to please God by holy living. And we are to pray, not for the purpose of gaining foreknowledge, nor to ask this knowledge as the reward of an ascetic life, but that the Lord may be our helper in gaining the victory over the devil. But if we have any desire to know the future, let us be pure in mind; for I believe that a soul entirely pure, and abiding according to

nature,¹ will become clear-sighted, and be able to see more and further than the devils, having the Lord to make revelations to it. Such was the soul of Elisha who saw what Gehazi did, and beheld the hosts standing about himself.

When, now, they come to you by night and wish to tell of the future, and say, We are angels; heed them not, for they lie. And if they praise your ascetic life and pronounce you blessed, neither listen nor attend to them at all; but cross yourselves and your house, and pray, and you shall see them vanish; for they are cowards and are exceedingly afraid of the sign of the Lord's cross, since by that the Saviour spoiled them, making a show of them openly. But if they show themselves more insolent, dancing about and assuming all sorts of shapes, be not alarmed nor affrighted, nor attend to them as though they were good. For, by God's aid, it is easy to distinguish between the good and the bad; for the aspect of the holy is not frightful, (for he shall not strive nor cry, nor shall any one hear his voice); but so mild and gentle is it, that joy and rejoicing and courage immediately spring up in the soul, (for the Lord is with them, who is our joy and the power of God the Father), and its reflections remain unruffled and peaceful. And so being itself illuminated, the soul spontaneously contemplates the vision. A longing for divine and future realities possesses it, and it desires to be perfectly united to them; and to go away with them. But if some, as is natural to man, fear the vision of these glorious beings, they at once remove the fear by love, as Gabriel did from Zacharias, and the angel who appeared in the divine sepulchre to the women, and the angel who said to the shepherds, Fear not. For the fear of them is not terror of soul, but awe as in the presence of superior beings. Such is the apparition of the holy.

But the approach and the *phantasia* of the bad, are with tumultuous din and cries, like the uproar of rude youths or pirates;

¹ We have here a further specimen of the monkish anthropology of those times. Evagrius thus renders the clause: *quia credo animam Deo servientem, si in eâ perseveraverit integritate quâ nata est*, etc. This expresses a little more decidedly than the original, the doctrine of man's native purity. But in either case, we have a sufficient indication of the Pelagian doctrine of human perfection. Indeed, the monks of that period seem generally to have been thoroughgoing perfectionists. One of them, Isidore of Egypt, said, that "it was forty years since he was sensible of sin in his mind, and that he never consented to either lust or anger." Socrates, Ec. Hist. IV. 23. This purity was to be attained by monastic rigors; and when obtained, was to give them such clearness of vision as Antony is said often to have exercised.

whence immediately arise terror of soul, agitation and confusion of thought, dejection, hatred of the ascetics, negligence, grief, the recollections of kindred, and the fear of death, and finally, the lust of evil things, neglect of virtue, and disordered habits. When, therefore, you are affrighted at the sight of any one, if fear is immediately removed and ineffable joy succeeds, and cheerfulness and confidence and self-possession and tranquillity and whatever else I have mentioned, manliness also and love to God, then take courage and pray: for joy and this recovered state of the soul, indicate the holiness of the being that is present. Thus Abraham rejoiced when he saw the Lord; and John leaped for joy at the voice of Mary the mother of God.¹ But if, on the occurrence of apparitions, there is tumult, and a din abroad, and a secular display, and a menace of death, and whatever I have mentioned before, then know that the evil ones are come.

Let this, then, be your criterion. When the soul remains fearful, the enemy is present. For the devils do not remove the fear of such things, as did the great archangel Gabriel, from Mary and Zacharias, and the one that appeared in the sepulchre from the women; but rather, when they see men in fear, they increase their *phantasias*, in order to strike deeper terror; and then they assail and deride them, saying, Fall down and worship. Thus they deluded the Greeks, and so became their false gods. But the Lord has not suffered us to be led astray by the devil, since, when making such exhibitions, he rebuked him, saying, Get thee behind me, satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. More and more, then, let the worker of all evil be despised by us for these things. For what the Lord said, he has done for us; so that the devils, when they hear such words from us, are overthrown through the Lord who rebuked them in the same words.

We ought not to boast of casting out devils, nor to be elated on account of cures, nor to admire him only who casts out devils, while we lightly esteem him who does not. But let each one study the ascetic discipline of each, and either imitate and emulate or improve upon it. For the working of miracles is not of us but of the Saviour; for he said to his disciples, Rejoice not that

¹ *Θεοδόνον*. This is nearly if not quite the earliest occurrence of a theological term which occasioned such contests in the church in the fifth century, and which expressed the real heresy into which the church was falling, while the rejection of it by Nestorius and his adherents, caused them to be branded and persecuted as heretics. The word is found in this passage in all the manuscripts except the second of Colbert, which has *εὐπορόνον*.

the spirits are subject unto you, but that your names are written in heaven. For that our names are written in heaven, is a witness of our virtue and life; but the casting out of devils, is the gift of the Saviour. Hence, to those who boast of miracles and not of virtue, and say, Lord, have we not cast out devils in thy name, and in thy name done many wonderful works, he will answer, Verily I say unto you, I know you not. For the Lord knoweth not the way of the wicked. But by all means should we pray, as I have already said, that we may receive the gift of the discerning of spirits; that, as it is written, we may not believe every spirit.

And here, content with what I have said, would I gladly be silent, and say nothing of myself. But that ye may not suppose me to have spoken these things inconsiderately, but may believe that I have exhibited them from fact and experience, I will relate what I have seen of the ways of the devils; and although I become as a fool, yet the Lord, who hears me, knows the purity of my conscience, and that it is not for myself, but from love to you and for your encouragement that I do it. How often have they praised me; and I cursed them in the name of the Lord! How often have they predicted concerning the water of the river; and I replied, What is that to you? At one time they came in a hostile manner and surrounded me as soldiers in full armor. And at another, they filled the house with horses and wild beasts and serpents; and I sung—Some in chariots and some on horses, but we will glory in the name of the Lord our God. And by these prayers, they were put to flight before the Lord. Once they came in the dark, having the appearance of light, and said, Antony, we have come to give thee light. But I shut my eyes and prayed, and immediately the light of the evil ones was put out. A few months after, they came as if playing on harps, and repeating words of Scripture. But I as a deaf man heard not. Once, they shook the monastery; but, remaining unmoved in mind, I prayed. Afterwards they came again, beating and whistling and dancing. But when I prayed and lay down singing to myself, immediately they began to lament and weep, as if enfeebled. But I gave glory to the Lord, who had repressed and exposed to scorn their audacity and madness.

Once there appeared a demon, exceedingly tall and with great display, and dared to say, I am the power of God and I am Providence. What wilt thou that I should do for thee? But I puffed at him the more, repeating the name of Christ and attempting to

strike him; and I seemed to strike him. And immediately, great as he was, he vanished, with all his demons, at the name of Christ. And once, when I was fasting, the deceiver came in the guise of a monk, having what seemed to be bread, and counselled me, saying, eat and rest from thy many exercises. If thou also art a man, thou wilt be sick. But, perceiving his craft, I rose up to pray. He could not bear it; for he vanished; and something like smoke appeared to go out at the door. How often, in the desert, has he showed what appeared to be gold, that I might only take it and look at it. But I sung at him, and it melted away. Often they have beaten me with blows; and I have said, Nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ. And after that, they would beat each other. But it was not I that baffled them, but the Lord, who has said, I beheld satan, as lightning, fall from heaven. But I, children, remembering the saying of the apostle, have transferred these things to myself, that ye might learn not to be disheartened in the ascetic life, nor fear the fantastic shows of the devil and his demons.

And since I have become a fool in expounding these things, receive also this for your safety and intrepidity, and believe me, for I lie not. Once, some one in the monastery knocked at my door. And going out I saw one who appeared large and tall. When I inquired, Who art thou? he replied, I am satan. So I said, What, then, are you here for? He said, Why do the monks and all the other Christians falsely accuse me? Why do they curse me every hour? But I said, Why, then, do you molest them? It is not I that trouble them, said he, but they trouble themselves; for I am become weak. Have they not read, that the spears of the enemy utterly fail, and thou hast destroyed cities? No longer have I a place, a weapon, a city. Everywhere they have become Christians. And finally, even the desert is filled with monks. Let them look to themselves, and not curse me without cause. Then admired I the grace of the Lord, and said to the devil, Although you are always a liar and never speak the truth, yet for this once, though not willingly, you have uttered the truth. For Christ has come and made you weak, and prostrated and stripped you. On hearing the name of the Saviour, and not being able to abide its burning, he vanished.

If, then, the devil himself confesses that he has no power, well may we despise both him and his demons. Hence the enemy, with his dogs, employs so many devices; but, after learning their weakness, we can despise them. Let us not, then, waver in mind,

nor meditate on terrors, nor conjure up fears within us by saying, The devil may assault and overthrow me; or he may carry me off and throw me down; or may suddenly assail and terrify me. Let us not think of such things at all, nor grieve as though ruined, but rather be courageous and always rejoicing, as those who are saved. Let us consider that the Lord is with us, who has defeated and debilitated them. And let us forever bear in mind, that while the Lord is with us, the enemy can do nothing to us. For when they come, whatever they find us, such do they become to us, and shape their appearances according to the mind they find in us. If they find us frightened and agitated, they rush upon us like robbers upon a place they find unguarded; and whatever apprehension we have, they foster and increase. If they see us fearful and terrified, they greatly increase the terror by their threats and the appearances they assume, and the wretched soul is punished in those very things. But if they find us rejoicing in the Lord, and thinking of good things to come, and meditating on the things of the Lord, and thinking that all things are in the hand of the Lord, and that a demon has no power against a Christian, nor any at all against any one, seeing the soul fortified by such meditations, they depart ashamed. 'Thus the enemy found Job fenced about, and departed from him. But finding Judas destitute of these, he led him captive. So, if we wish to despise the enemy, let us ever dwell on the things of the Lord, and let the soul always rejoice in hope, and we may look upon the tricks of the demons as smoke, and themselves as rather fleeing than pursuing. For they are, as I have said, great cowards, always looking forward to the fire which is prepared for them.

And proof that you need not fear them, may be obtained from themselves, in this way: when an apparition occurs, do not shrink in terror; but whatever it is, first boldly ask, Who art thou? and whence? And if it is a vision of the holy, they will assure you of it, and will turn your fear into joy. But if it be of the devil, immediately it is enfeebled by seeing your heart strong. For it is a proof of self-possession to ask, Who and whence art thou? So the Son of Man asked and learned. And the enemy, when interrogated, could not deceive Daniel."

Monks become numerous.—Their Habits.

Thus spake Antony; and all were delighted. And in some, the love of virtue was increased, and the sluggishness of some

was removed, while the former opinion of others was changed; and all were led to despise diabolical machinations, and wonder at the gift of discerning spirits which was conferred by the Lord upon Antony. Then were the monasteries¹ in the mountains, as tabernacles, filled with holy choirs, singing, studying the word, fasting, praying, exulting in the hope of things to come, and laboring for the purpose of giving alms, and living in love and harmony with each other. And, in truth, it was, to look upon, as a secluded region of godliness and honesty. For there was there neither the unjust nor the injured, nor any complaint of the tax-gatherer. There was a multitude of ascetics, but their desire for virtue was one. So that whoever saw the monasteries and such order among the monks, might exclaim, How goodly are thy dwellings, O Jacob, thy tabernacles, O Israel; like shady vallies, and like a garden by the river side, and like tents which the Lord hath pitched, and like cedars by the waters.

Retiring by himself in his own monastery, Antony vigorously pursued the ascetic life, and groaned daily, while reflecting on the heavenly mansions, and desiring them, and contemplating the fleeting life of man. And indeed, in view of the intellectual nature of the soul, he blushed when about to eat, or to sleep, or to attend to the other necessities of the body. Often, therefore, when about to eat with many other monks, at the recollection of spiritual food he would excuse himself and retire far from them, thinking it a shame to be seen eating with others. He ate, however, by himself, for the necessity of his body; and often also with the brethren, being ashamed indeed before them, but yet assuming confidence for the purpose of profitable discourse. And he taught, that all care should be bestowed on the soul rather than the body. A little time, indeed, is necessarily to be devoted to the body; but the whole of our leisure, to the soul and to seeking its benefit, that it may not be drawn away by the pleasures of the body, but rather that of the body may be brought into subjection to it. For the Saviour said, Be not anxious for

¹ Any cottage, or cave, or other habitation, which was occupied by one or more monks, was then called a monastery. As Antony's fame drew multitudes around him, the desert was soon filled with these dwellings. The rearing of large buildings for the accommodation of monastic fraternities, was a subsequent result of this movement.

The prolixity and diffuseness of style observable in Antony's long discourse, when contrasted with the general style of this work, affords strong presumptive evidence that the discourse was not written by Athanasius. Probably he had obtained it from some of Antony's delighted hearers.

your life, what ye shall eat, nor for the body, what ye shall put on; and seek ye not what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, and be not in anxious suspense: for after all these things do the Gentiles seek; and your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first his kingdom, and all these things shall be added unto you.

Antony seeking martyrdom in Alexandria.—His return.

After this, the persecution of the church under Maximin took place. And when the holy martyrs were taken to Alexandria, he left his monastery and followed them, saying, Let us also go, that we may contend if called to it, or may see them in the conflict.¹ He had, indeed, a strong desire to be a martyr; but not wishing voluntarily to surrender himself, he ministered to the confessors in the mines and prisons. He was also very active at the tribunal, encouraging to boldness those who were on trial, and receiving the martyrs and accompanying them till their end. The judge, therefore, when he saw the fearlessness and zeal of Antony and his companions, commanded that none of the monks should appear at the tribunal or even remain in the city. Accordingly, all the rest thought it best to hide themselves that day; but Antony, on the contrary, only took care to wash his cloak, and the next day, to stand in an elevated situation and appear conspicuous to the prefect. While all wondered at this, and the judge saw him as he passed by with his guard, Antony stood unagitated, showing the boldness of us Christians; for, as I have said, he longed to become a martyr. He seemed grieved, therefore, at not being martyred; but the Lord preserved him for the benefit of us and of others, that he might be to many a teacher in the ascetic life which he had learned from the Scriptures; for many, simply by seeing his example, hastened to follow his system. Again he now ministered as usual to the confessors and, as though bound with them, was incessant in kind offices.

But when the persecution had finally ceased and the blessed bishop Peter had suffered martyrdom, Antony departed and again retired to his monastery, and was there daily a martyr to his conscience, and fighting the battles of faith. He even increased the severity of his ascetic practices; for he fasted continually, and had

¹ This persecution took place about the year 310, and was extremely cruel. By *contending*, in such cases, the early Christians meant only "the great fight of afflictions" in meeting wild beasts, or other kinds of suffering.

his inner garment of hair cloth, and his outer of leather, which he kept till his death. He never washed his body with water to cleanse it from filth, nor his feet; and even abstained from putting them in water, except from necessity.¹ But no one ever saw him unclothed; nor did any one ever see the naked body of Antony till at his burial after death.

After he had retired and determined to pass his time without either going abroad or admitting any body, one Martian, a commander of soldiers, came and occasioned some disturbance to Antony. For he had a daughter possessed of a devil; and as he remained a long time knocking at the door and entreating him to come and pray for the child, though he would not open the door he bent down from above and said, O man, why dost thou cry to me? I also am a man as thou art. But if thou believest on Christ whom I serve, go and pray as thou believest, and it shall be done. And immediately he believed, and called upon Christ, and departed, with his daughter cleansed of the devil. And many other things were performed through him by the Lord, who has said, Ask and it shall be done unto you; for many of the suffering, as he would not open the door, slept without the monastery, and believing and praying sincerely, were cleansed.

Antony Retires to a Mountain in the Desert.

But as he saw himself thronged by a multitude and not left to the retirement he desired, and apprehensive lest, from what the Lord was doing by him, either himself should become elated or some one else should think of him above what he was, after deliberation he started to go into Upper Thebais, among those who were ignorant of him. And having received some bread of the brethren, he sat down on the bank of the river, looking out, if some vessel should pass along, to go on board and ascend with them. But while contemplating these things, a voice from above said to him, Antony, whither art thou going? and wherefore? But listening unmoved, (as he had often been thus addressed), he answered, saying, As the multitudes will not allow me to be quiet, I desire to go into Thebais, because of the many interruptions I suffer from those here, and especially because they demand of me what is above my power. But the voice said to him, Shouldst thou go up to the Thebais, or even go to the herds of cattle, as thou art thinking to do, thou wouldst have to endure

¹ Except necessity compelled him to pass through the water—says Evagrius.

more and twice as severe labor. But if thou wouldst be truly quiet, retire now into the interior of the desert. And when Antony said, And who will show me the way? for I am not acquainted with it; he immediately pointed out to him some Saracens who were about to travel that way. Antony accordingly went to them, and requested that he might accompany them into the desert. As though by the command of Providence, they readily received him. And after journeying three days and three nights with them, he came to a very high mountain. And under the mountain, there was most transparent water, sweet, and very cold; and a plain around, and a few neglected palm-trees.

Antony therefore, as if moved by God, loved the place. For it was the one indicated by him that had spoken to him on the bank of the river. Having therefore, received some bread from his fellow-travellers, he remained alone in the mountain, with no other one there; for, regarding it as his proper home, he took permanent possession of the place. And the Saracens, seeing Antony's resoluteness, purposely passed that way and gladly brought him bread. He also then derived some little and meagre solace from the palm-trees. But afterwards, the brethren, learning of the place, as children mindful of a father, were careful to send to him. But when Antony saw that some were fatigued with toil in bringing him bread, he considered with himself how he might spare the monks this labor, and desired some of those who came to him, to bring him a mattock and an axe and a little wheat. And having received these, he surveyed the region around the mountain, and found a very small fit place, and having ample means for irrigation, he cultivated and sowed it. And doing this year by year, he thence derived his bread, rejoicing that he should thus be troublesome to no one, and that he kept himself from being a burden in any respect. But afterwards, seeing that some still came, he cultivated a very few vegetables [cabbages perhaps], that the visitant might have some little refreshment from the fatigues of the hard journey. At first, the wild beasts of the desert, coming for water, often injured his crop and his ground. But he, gently taking one of the beasts, said to them all, Why do you injure me, when I have not injured you? Depart, and, in the name of the Lord, come not near this place again. And from that time, as if fearing the injunction, they approached the place no more.

His Conflicts with the Devils, and his Visit to the Monks.

He was therefore alone in the interior mountain,¹ devoted to prayer and the ascetic life. But the brethren who ministered to him, entreated that they might come once a month and bring him olives, pulse, and oil; for he was now old. From those who visited him while there engaged, we learn what wrestlings he sustained, as it is written, Not with flesh and blood, but with hostile demons. For there they heard tumults, and many voices, and the clashing of arms. And by night, they saw the mountain full of wild beasts. And they saw him as if fighting against visible beings, and praying against them. While he encouraged those that came to him, he fought, bowing his knees and praying to the Lord. And it was truly wonderful that, alone in such a desert, he should neither be terrified by assailing demons nor fear the ferocity of so many wild beasts and reptiles. But truly, as it is written, trusting in the Lord he was as mount Zion, having his mind calm and unagitated, so that the devils rather fled and the wild beasts of the field, as it is written, were at peace with him.

But the devil, as says David, observed Antony, and gnashed upon him with his teeth. But Antony, imploring aid from the Saviour, continued safe from his wiles and manifold artifices. He sent wild beasts against him, while at his nightly vigils; and almost all the hyenas of the desert, coming out of their lairs, surrounded him, all threatening, with open mouths, to devour him. Perceiving the art of the adversary, he said to them all: If you have power against me, I am ready to be devoured by you; but

¹ *Ἐν τῷ ἑσω ὄρει*. From the manner in which this place and the surrounding region are frequently spoken of in the sequel, it would seem that this was a mountain of very difficult access, and environed by others which were called the exterior mountain or mountains, and which were more easily approached. Du Pin briefly speaks of this place as "Mount Colsim, about a day's journey from the Red Sea." If he is correct in this, we may suppose it about three quarters of the distance from Antony's former residence on the Nile, to the Red Sea, as he travelled three days with the company of Saracens before reaching it. This place, as we shall see further on, was thirty days' journey from Nitria, which lies on the Mediterranean, and just west of the mouths of the Nile. A Jewish day's journey is a little more than thirty-three miles. By this computation, he must have been about thirty miles from the Red Sea, and about a thousand from Alexandria. But probably an Egyptian day's journey, as then reckoned, was not just the same as the Jewish, nor indeed any fixed measure of distance, but one which varied according to the facilities of travelling.

if you have been sent by demons, stay not, but depart; for I am the servant of Christ. And as Antony said this, they fled, as if driven by the lash of his words.

A few days after, as he was at work, for he thought it good to labor, some one standing at the door pulled the cord of his work, for he was making baskets, which he gave to those who came to him, in exchange for what they brought him.¹ Rising up, he saw

¹ The monks of Nitria, and probably in other places, were accustomed to make baskets for sale, and sometimes to carry them to market themselves. The following notice of St. Paul the Simple, will show the manner in which Antony trained his pupils in other respects as well as in basket-making.—From his ignorance of secular learning and his extraordinary humility, Paul was surnamed the Simple. After leading a devout life, in toil and poverty, to the age of sixty, he was induced, partly by the incontinence of his wife, to devote himself to the monastic life. For this purpose “he went eight days’ journey into the desert, to the holy patriarch, and begged that he would admit him among his disciples.” Antony at first refused him, as being too old to endure the ascetic austerities, and bade him return to his former labors. But Paul refused to depart; and after remaining four days before the door, fasting and praying, Antony admitted him on trial, and instructed him in the ascetic duties of fasting, etc.

Among the examples of his perfect obedience, it is stated, that “when Paul had wrought with great diligence, in making mats and hurdles, praying at the same time without intermission, St. Antony disliked his work, and bade him undo it and make it over again. Paul did so, without any dejection in his countenance, or making the least reply, or even asking to eat a morsel of bread, though he had already passed seven days without taking any refreshment. After this, Antony ordered him to moisten in water four loaves of six ounces each; for their bread in the deserts was exceeding hard and dry. When their refectory was prepared, instead of eating, he bade Paul sing psalms with him, then to sit down by the loaves, and at night, after praying together, to take his rest. He called him up at midnight to pray with him. This exercise the old man continued with great cheerfulness till three o’clock in the afternoon of the following day. After sunset, each ate one loaf, and Antony asked Paul if he would take another. Yes, if you do, said Paul. I am a monk, said Antony. And I desire to be one, replied the disciple. Whereupon they arose, sung twelve psalms, and recited twelve other prayers. After a short repose, they both arose again to prayer at midnight. The experienced director exercised his obedience by frequent trials, bidding him, one day, when many monks were come to visit him to receive his spiritual advice, to spill a vessel of honey, and then to gather it up, without any dust. At other times, he ordered him to draw water a whole day, and pour it out again; to make baskets, and pull them to pieces; to sew and unsew his garments, etc.”

“When Paul had been sufficiently exercised, and instructed in the duties of a monastic life, Antony placed him in a cell, three miles from his own, where he visited him from time to time. He usually preferred his virtue to that of all his other disciples, and proposed him to them as a model. He frequently sent to Paul sick persons, or those possessed by the devil, whom he was not

a beast resembling a man as far as the thighs, but it had legs and feet like an ass. Antony only crossed himself and said: I am the servant of Christ. If you were sent against me, see, I am here. But the beast with his demons fled so fast that he fell down and died. But the death of the beast was the fall of the demons. They employed every means to induce him to leave the desert, and they could not.

Being once asked by the monks to come down and visit them and their abode for a while, he went with the monks who came to him. A camel carried their bread and water, for the whole of that desert is dry and there is no potable water at all, except in that mountain in which was his retreat, and from whence they procured water. The water failing while on their journey, and the heat being intense, they were all in danger. For wandering about in those places, they were unable either to find water or to proceed further, but they lay upon the ground, in despair for themselves, and permitted the camel to go loose. But the old man, seeing them all in danger, greatly sorrowing and groaning, going a little way from them, bending his knees and stretching out his hands, prayed; and immediately the Lord caused water to come forth where he had been praying. And thus all drank and were refreshed; and filling the skins, they sought the camel and found him, for the halter happening to get wound around a stone, he was thus detained. After leading him to drink, they placed the skins upon him and proceeded uninjured. When he came to the outer monasteries, all, as if beholding their father, embraced him. He, as though he had brought supplies to them from the mountain, entertained them with words, and imparted what was useful. And on the other hand, there was joy in the mountains, and a zeal for progress, and consolation from their mutual faith. He therefore also rejoiced as he beheld the alacrity of the monks, and his sister now old and still a virgin, and presiding over other virgins.

Antony in his Mountain.

After some days, he again went into the mountain; and many, at length came to him; and some who had infirmities ventured to go in. On all the monks who came, he was continually pressing the injunction to trust in the Lord, and love him, and to keep

able to cure,—and by the disciple's prayers, they never failed of a cure. Paul died some time after 330." See *Lives of the Saints*, I. 414. Also Palladius, Rufinus, and Sozomen, abridged by Tillemont, VII. 144.

themselves from sordid views and carnal pleasures, and, as it is written in the Proverbs, not to be beguiled in satiating the appetite; likewise, to flee vain glory, and to pray alway; to sing both before and after sleep, and to repeat over the precepts in the Scriptures; and to reflect on the deeds of holy men, in order that the soul, reminded of the commandments, might be attuned to their zeal. And especially did he urge them continually to regard that saying of the apostle, Let not the sun go down upon your wrath, and to consider it as spoken in common of all the commands, so that neither upon your wrath nor upon any other sin should the sun go down; for it is proper and necessary that neither the sun should accuse us of wickedness by day, nor the moon of sin by night, or even of an improper desire. And that this may be secured, you may well listen to the apostle where he says, Judge yourselves, and prove your own selves. Daily, therefore, let each one give an account to himself of his acts by day and by night; and if he has sinned, let him cease; but if he has not sinned, let him not boast, but persevere in good, and not become negligent, nor condemn his neighbor, nor justify himself, as says the blessed apostle Paul, until the Lord come who searcheth the secret things. For often we are ignorant of ourselves in what we do; and we know not, but the Lord understandeth all. Leaving therefore the decision with him, let us compassionate one another and bear one another's burdens, judging indeed ourselves and striving earnestly to supply what is lacking. And, as a safeguard against sin, let this practice be observed, for each of us to notice and write down his actions and emotions of heart, as if to relate them to each other; and, rely upon it, being utterly ashamed to have it known, we shall cease from sin, and finally from even thinking anything bad. For who is willing to be seen sinning? Or who that has sinned does not rather lie, in order to conceal it? As therefore we would not commit fornication in the sight of each other, so if we write our thoughts as if to tell to each other, we shall rather keep ourselves from vile thoughts through the shame of having them known. Let the writing therefore be to us instead of the eyes of the ascetics, so that, blushing to write as we should to be seen, we may utterly cease to think evil things. Thus managing ourselves, we shall be able to bring the body into subjection, and both please the Lord and tread under foot the artifices of the adversary.

These things he said to those who came to him. But with the afflicted he sympathized and prayed; and frequently the Lord

heard him in many things. And neither did he glory when heard, nor murmur when not heard, but always gave thanks to the Lord. But he exhorted the afflicted to be patient and to know, that healing was neither of him nor of men at all, but of God only, who works when and for whom he will. The sufferers therefore received the old man's words as a medicine, and learned equanimity instead of impatience; and those who were healed learned to give thanks, not to Antony, but to God only.

A man called Fronto, belonging to Palatium, afflicted with a sad disorder, (for he devoured his own tongue and was in danger of injuring his eyes), came into the mountain and entreated Antony to pray for him. And when he had prayed, he said to Fronto, Depart, and thou shalt be healed. But as he obstinately remained there for days, Antony continued to say, Thou canst not be healed while remaining here; depart, and as thou comest into Egypt, thou shalt see a sign wrought in thee. He believed and departed. And as soon as he came in sight of Egypt, his disorder ceased, and the man was well, according to the word of Antony which he had learned of the Saviour in prayer.

Likewise a certain virgin, from Busiris of Tripolis, had a sore and very loathsome disease; for her tears, and the mucus from her nose, and the moisture from her ears, falling on the ground, immediately became worms. She was also paralytic, and her eyes were unnatural. Her parents, hearing of some monks who were going to Antony, and believing on the Lord who healed one of the bloody flux, asked leave to accompany them with their daughter. But they refused; and the parents remained with their child out of the mountain, with Paphnusius the confessor and monk. The monks entered; and as they were about to speak of the virgin, Antony anticipated them, and described both the disease of the child and how she journeyed with them. Then they requested that the parents and child might be allowed to come. This, indeed, he would not permit, but said, Go, and, if she is not dead, you shall find her healed; for this achievement is not mine, that she should come to me, a pitiable man, but the healing is of the Saviour, who exhibits his mercy in every place towards those who call upon him. The Lord has therefore granted her prayer, and his kindness has shown me that he will heal the virgin's disease where she is. The miracle accordingly took place; and going forth, they found the parents rejoicing, and the maid healed.

As two brethren were coming, water failed them on the way,

and one of them died and the other, unable to proceed further, lay upon the ground awaiting death. But Antony, sitting in the mountain, called two monks who happened to be there, and urgently said, Take a vessel of water and run on the way towards Egypt, for one of two who were coming, is dead, and the other will die unless you hasten; for this is just now shown to me in prayer. The monks therefore went and found one lying dead, and buried him; and the other they restored by the water, and brought to the old man, for it was at the distance of a day's journey. And if any one ask why this was not told before the other was dead, he does not inquire wisely; for the decision of death did not belong to Antony but to God, who thus decided concerning the former and revealed concerning the latter. But this is the only wonder in regard to Antony, that, sitting in the mountain, he had both the vigilant heart, and the Lord to show him things afar off.

For again, at a certain time, while in the mountain, and looking up, he saw one borne upward in the air, and great joy excited among those who met him. Whereupon, admiring and extolling such a choir, he begged to learn what it might be: and immediately a voice came to him, that this was the soul of Ammon the monk at Nitria. He had always remained an ascetic even to old age; and the distance from Nitria to the mountain where Antony was, is thirty days' journey. They who were with Antony, as they perceived the old man astonished, inquired the cause, and learnt that Ammon had just died; for he was known by having been often there, and many miracles had likewise been performed by him, of which the following is one. It being necessary for him, at a certain time, to cross the river Lycus when its waters were high, he requested Theodore, who was with him, to retire to a distance from him, that they might not see each other naked while swimming across the water. So Theodore retired; and yet he was ashamed even to see himself naked. But while thus ashamed and anxious, he was suddenly transported to the other side. Theodore therefore, himself a pious man, as he approached and saw that he had passed over first, and was not at all wet by the water, inquired in what manner he had passed. And as he saw he was not willing to tell, he seized his feet and declared he should not go till he learnt it of him. Seeing the resolution of Theodore, especially from what he said, Ammon demanded that he should speak of it to no one till after his death; and then he stated that he was borne and placed on the other side, and that he did not walk on the water,

nor was this at all possible for men, the Lord only excepted and those to whom he might give the power, as he had given to the great apostle Peter. Theodore therefore, after the death of Ammon, related the affair.—The monks, to whom Antony announced the death of Ammon, noted down the day; and brethren coming from Nitria thirty days after, they inquired, and found that Ammon died on the very day and hour in which the old man saw his soul borne away. And those likewise greatly admired the purity of Antony's soul, how it immediately learned what took place at the distance of thirty days' journey, and saw the soul borne upward!

And Archelatus likewise, who was once a Comes,¹ finding him in the exterior mountain, entreated him only to pray for Polycratia, a remarkably devout virgin at Laodicea; for she suffered exceedingly by pain in the stomach and side, from her extremely ascetic life, and was totally debilitated in body. Antony accordingly prayed; and the Comes marked the day on which the prayer was made; and on going to Laodicea, he found the virgin well. And while inquiring on what day she was relieved of her infirmity, he produced the paper in which he had noted the time of the prayer; and on learning the fact, he immediately showed the writing on the paper: and all were astonished to find, that the Lord relieved her of her troubles at the very time when Antony was praying and entreating the mercy of the Lord for her.

Frequently, some days beforehand, and sometimes a month before, he would predict concerning those who would come to him, and the cause of their coming; for some came merely to see him, and others because of infirmities, and others because suffering from demons. And none regarded the toil of the journey as a hardship or a loss, for every one returned consciously benefited. But while saying and seeing such things, he entreated that no one would admire him in this, but rather the Lord, because he has given to us, men, to know himself according to our capacity.

At another time, having come down to the exterior monasteries, and being requested to go on board a vessel and pray with some monks [who were departing, *Evagrius*], he alone perceived a very fetid and pungent smell. Those on board said, that there were fish and salt meat in the vessel, and the odor was from them. He said it was a different stench. But while he was speaking, a youth possessed by a devil, who had first come on board and

¹ The title of Comes—whence our word Count—was given to various classes of inferior officers, and especially to the attendants of a provincial governor.

hid himself in the vessel, immediately cried out. The devil being then rebuked in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, came out, and the man was made whole; and all knew, that the stench was from the devil.

Also another, a person of distinction, possessed of a devil, came to him. And the devil was so furious that the possessed did not know that he came to Antony; and he would eat the superfluities of his own body. Those therefore who brought him, entreated Antony to pray for him. Compassionating the young man, Antony prayed and watched the whole night with him. And, about day-break, the youth rushed upon Antony and pushed him. Those about him were indignant: but Antony said, Do not be angry with the youth; for it is not he but the demon in him, who, being rebuked and commanded to depart into the dry places, raved, and has done these things. Therefore praise the Lord; for his raving so against me is a sign to you of the exit of the devil. When Antony had said these things, the young man was immediately restored; and coming to his right mind, he perceived where he was, and embraced Antony's knees, giving thanks to God.

Many other such things a multitude of the monks have harmoniously testified to have been done by him. And still these things do not appear so astonishing as some others. For, once, when about to eat, and having risen to pray, about the ninth hour, he perceived himself wrapt in spirit; and, what is strange, while standing, he saw himself as it were out of himself, and as if conducted away in the air by some beings; and then some odious and frightful ones, standing in the air and wishing to prevent his passing through. But as his conductors opposed them, they asked, if he was not amenable to them. And as they wished to take an account from his birth, Antony's conductors prohibited it, saying to them, The things from his birth the Lord hath expunged; but from the time he became a monk and consecrated himself to God, it is proper to take the account. And when they had made accusations and could not prove them, the way became free and unobstructed to him. And immediately he saw himself as it were coming and standing in himself, and he was again Antony entire.¹ Then, forgetting to eat, he remained the rest of the day

¹ Should any ask why Athanasius regarded these wild vagaries of the imagination as the most marvellous of Antony's wonders, they have only to reflect on the superior estimate which this eager theologian of the fourth century would place on such miracles as had a bearing on doctrine, and especially such

and the whole night groaning and praying. For he was amazed as he saw against how many we have to wrestle, and by what labors one has to pass through the air: and he remembered that to this belongs what the apostle said, Against the prince of the power of the air. For in this the enemy has power, in fighting and attempting to prevent those who are passing through. And therefore he especially admonishes, Take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, that the enemy may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you. But, having learned these things, let us remember the saying of the apostle, Whether in the body I know not, or out of the body I know not; God knoweth. Paul, however, was caught up to the third heaven, and, having heard unspeakable words, descended; but Antony saw himself go up to the air and contend until he appeared free.

He enjoyed likewise this blessing, that, being alone in the mountain, if he was at any time in doubt about what he was seeking to know, it was revealed to him by Providence in answer to prayer; and he was, as it is written, Blessed, being taught of the Lord. Accordingly, after these things, having had a discussion with some who came to him, in regard to the transition of the soul after death, and what kind of a place it will have, on the following night one called to him from above and said, Antony, arise and come forth and see. So he arose, (for he knew to whom he should give ear); and looking up, he saw one, tall, ugly, and terrific, standing and reaching to the clouds; and some ascending and having as it were wings; and he saw him stretching forth his hands; and some hindered by him, and others flying above, and finally passing through, and borne upward free of care. At such, therefore, the huge one gnashed his teeth; but over the fallen, he rejoiced. And immediately the voice came to Antony, Understand what thou hast seen. And his understanding being opened, he perceived it to be the transit of souls; and the huge one standing there, to be the enemy, who envies the faithful, and seizes such as are accountable to him and prevents them from passing through, but is not able to detain those who have not confided in him, and who pass above him. Having again seen this, and being as it were reminded, he daily strove the more to attain to the things that are before.

These things, however, he did not willingly relate; but as he

as directly sanctioned the doctrines then cherished in regard to purgatory for imperfect Christians, the powers of evil spirits, and the importance of the monastic institute.

remained long in prayer and wonder with himself, those present inquired and pressed him, and he was compelled to declare them, as a father that could not hide them from his children. He considered also his own consciousness clear, and that the recital would be profitable to them, as they would perceive the fruit of the ascetic life to be good, and visions to be often the solace of labors.

In regard to his disposition, he was patient of evil and humble in spirit. And being so, he respected extremely the canon of the church, and wished every clergyman to take precedence of himself in honor. For he was not ashamed to bow his head to the bishops and presbyters; and if a deacon came to him in order to be benefited, he discoursed indeed on what was profitable, but conceded to him in regard to prayer, not blushing himself to learn. And often, he made inquiries, and desired to hear from those present; and confessed himself benefited, if one said anything profitable. His countenance, likewise, possessed a great and wonderful charm; and this gift he also derived from the Saviour. For if he was present in a multitude of monks, and any one not acquainted with him before, wished to see him, he would pass by the rest and run immediately to him, as though drawn by his looks. Not, however, that he excelled others in height or breadth, but in the placidity of his features and the purity of his soul. For, his soul being calm, the organs of his external senses were tranquil, as from the joy of the soul the countenance is cheerful, and from the motions of the body the state of the soul is perceived, according to what is written, When the heart rejoices the countenance blooms; but when in sorrow, it is gloomy.¹ Thus Jacob perceived that Laban was meditating a plot against him, and said to his wives, Your father's countenance is not as it was yesterday and the day before. Thus Samuel recognized David, for his eyes were charming and his teeth white as milk. So, too, was Antony known; for, his soul being serene, he was never ruffled; and his mind being joyful, his countenance was never gloomy.

He was also very wonderful in regard to faith and piety. For he never communed with those schismatics the Miletians, having known their perversity and apostasy from the beginning. Nor did he have familiar intercourse with the Manichaeans or any other heretics, except so far as to admonish them to turn to god-

¹ Quotations from the Scriptures must of course be translated as Athanasius has given them, however difficult it may be to verify them either by our text, or the Septuagint.

liness, thinking and declaring their friendship and familiarity to be injurious and ruinous to the soul. So likewise did he abhor the heresy of the Arians, and warned all neither to go nigh them nor hold their corrupt doctrine. Accordingly, when some of the Ariomaniacs came to him, on examining and finding them impious, he drove them from the mountain, saying, their words were worse than the poison of serpents.

Antony called to Alexandria to oppose the Arians.

And when the Arians, at one time, falsely asserted, that he thought with them, he was grieved and indignant at them. Whereupon, being requested by the bishops and all the brethren, he came down from the mountain, and entering Alexandria he publicly denounced the Arians, pronouncing this the last heresy and the precursor of antichrist.¹ He taught the people that the Son of God was not a creature, nor made out of nothing [*ἐκ οὐκ ὄντος γεγενῆσθαι*, a favorite phrase with Arius]; but that the Word and Wisdom of the Father's essence is eternal. And therefore, it is impious to say, There was a time when he was not; for the Word was always coëxistent with the Father. Therefore have no communion with the most impious Arians; for light hath no communion with darkness. For you who worship aright are Christians; but they, as they call him a creature who is from the Father and is the Word and Wisdom of God, differ nothing from the heathen who worship the creature rather than God the Creator. But believe, that even the whole creation is indignant at them, because the Creator and Lord of all, in whom all things exist, him they reckon among things created.

All the people therefore rejoiced, as they heard the heresy that is hostile to Christ, anathematized by such a man, [the pillar of the church, says Evagrius]. And all belonging to the city, ran together to see Antony. The heathen, too, and even those whom they call their priests, came to the church, saying, We wish to see the man of God, for so was he called by all. For then and there the Lord, through him, cleansed many from devils, and heal-

¹ It was a very common opinion of the ancient fathers that the day of judgment was near; and they supposed the successive heresies that arose, to be indications of its approach. So Irenaeus and Cyprian. Athanasius often calls the Arians the precursors of antichrist,—not dreaming that the day would come when both himself and his brethren would be regarded in the same light—the precursors of the papal antichrist!

ed such as were injured in mind. Many of the heathen also requested though only to touch the aged man, believing they should be benefited. And positively, in those few days, as many became Christians as one might see converted in a year.¹ And when some, supposing him annoyed by the multitudes, were turning all away from him, he, undisturbed, said, There are not more of them than the devils with whom I contend in the mountain.

His Return, and his Interviews with Philosophers.

And when he was departing, and we were escorting him, as we came to the gate, a woman from behind cried out, Wait, O man of God! my daughter is sorely vexed with a devil; wait, I pray thee, lest I be in danger by running. The aged man hearing her, and being entreated by us, willingly remained. And as the woman approached, the child was thrown upon the ground. But, upon Antony's praying and calling upon Christ, the child arose cured, the unclean devil having gone out. The mother praised God, and all gave thanks. And Antony rejoiced in departing to the mountain, as to his own home.

Antony was very intelligent; and, what is wonderful, seeing he was unacquainted with letters, he was a sagacious and ready-witted man. For, at a certain time, while in the exterior mountain,

¹ Here is a most interesting fact, occurring under the eye of Athanasius himself, and asserted by him with unwonted positiveness. Antony was but a few days in Alexandria. His main business there was to rebuke the Arians, and the conversion of the heathen was only an incidental result of his presence and his miracles. If, then, in those few days and without making it his special object, Antony could convert as many heathen as Athanasius and all his coadjutors could convert in a year, why, we ask with grief and amazement, did not Athanasius and the whole church lay violent hands on such men as Antony and compel them to be missionaries to the heathen, instead of exhorting them to the monastic life! Alas, it was not so true that Antony and his anchorites 'befooled and triumphed over the devil and all his demons,' as that the devil led captive both him and the whole church, in this their blind and suicidal rage for monkery. To divert the most energetic minds of the age from their proper object, and to make them in fact the precursors of such an apostasy and heresy as popery became, must have been the master-piece of his policy,—if, indeed, we can suppose the devil possessed of the sagacity and the power for so comprehensive a purpose. Well might the arch fiend and his legions afford to be cast out of the bodies of men, if thereby they could exalt the credit of such a deceived deceiver as "the mighty Antony." Their retreat and their wailings were but a feint, to draw the whole church into a fatal ambuscade!—At least, so may those view the matter who can believe in the reality of those possessions and exorcisms.

two Greek philosophers came to him, thinking themselves able to tempt him. Knowing the men by their countenance, he went out to them and said, by an interpreter, Why, O philosophers, have you been at so much pains to come to a fool? And upon their replying, that he was no fool, but very wise, he said to them, If you have come to a fool, your labor is useless; but, if you think me wise, be as I am, for it is proper to imitate what is good; and if I had gone to you, I would have imitated you. But as you have come to me, be like me; for I am a Christian. But they, astonished, departed; for they saw that even the devils stood in fear of Antony.

Again, when others of the same sort came to him, in the exterior mountain, thinking to make sport of him because he had not learned letters, Antony said to them, But what say ye? which is first, mind or letters? and which is the cause of the other, the mind of letters, or letters of the mind? And upon their replying, that the mind was first, and the inventor of letters, Antony said, To one, then, who has a sound mind, letters are not necessary. This struck with surprise both them and those that were present. So they departed, astonished at having seen such sagacity in an illiterate man. For though he had lived and grown old in the mountain, his manners were not rude but graceful and polite. His discourse, too, was seasoned with divine salt, so that no one would envy, but all who came would rather rejoice in him.

And again, others came, who were esteemed wise among the Greeks, and requested of him an account of our faith in Christ; and undertook to reason about the preaching of the divine cross, intending to ridicule it. After waiting a little, and compassionating them for their ignorance, Antony said, through an interpreter who translated his language adroitly, Which is the more excellent, to profess the cross, or to ascribe adultery and the corruption of children to those you call gods? For our profession is a proof of courage and a sign of contempt of death; but yours, of lustful passions. And then, which is better, to say that the Word of God did not change, but remaining the same, assumed, for the salvation and benefit of men, a human body, so that, partaking in human birth, he might make men partakers of the divine and intellectual (*νοεῖας*) nature,—or to liken the Deity to irrational animals, and, from this, to worship quadrupeds and reptiles and images of men? for these are the objects worshipped by you wise men. And how dare you ridicule us for saying, that Christ was manifested as a man, when you, taking the soul from heaven, say that it has wan-

dered and fallen from the arch of the heavens into the body? And would to God that it had only descended and fallen into man, and not into four-footed beasts and creeping things! Our faith asserts, indeed, the coming of Christ for the salvation of men; but you wander, as pointing out the pathway for an uncreated soul. We hold to what is possible for Providence and beneficial to men, for even this is not impossible with God; but you make the soul an image of the mind, and attribute to it lapses, and imagine it mutable, and finally, through the soul, make the mind itself mutable; for as was the image, such of necessity is that of which it is the image. But when you hold such things concerning the mind, you should remember that you blaspheme the Father of the mind himself.

But in respect to the cross, which of the two would you pronounce the more noble, to endure the cross through the machinations of vile men, and not to shrink from death, whenever or however indicted, or to relate fables about the wanderings of Isis and Osiris, and the plots of Typhon, and the flight of Saturn, and the devouring of children, and concerning parricides? for this is your wisdom! But why do not you who ridicule the cross, admire the resurrection? for these who mention the one, have described also the other. Or why, having mentioned the cross, are you silent about the dead raised to life, and the blind restored to sight, and the paralytics healed, and the lepers cleansed, and the walking on the sea, and the other signs and wonders, which show Christ to have been no longer man but God? Plainly you seem to me unjust to yourselves, and not ingenuously to have read our Scriptures. But read ye, and see that the things which Christ did, prove him to be God coming for the salvation of men.

But relate now, for yourselves, your own principles. But what would you mention of brutes, except their ferocity and want of reason? But if, as I hear, you would affirm that these things are said by you mythically, and you explain the rape of Proserpine as allegorically signifying the earth; and the limping of Vulcan, fire; and Juno, the air; and Apollo, the sun; and Diana, the moon; and Neptune, the sea; nevertheless you do not worship God, but serve the creature rather than God the Creator of all. But if you have fabricated such things because creation is beautiful, you should have been content with admiring without deifying the things made, that you might not give the honor of the Creator to things created. You transfer the honor of the architect to the house he has made, or that of the general to the army. What,

now, do you say to these things? that we may know if the cross has anything deserving of ridicule.

But as they hesitated and turned this way and that, Antony smiled, and again spoke by his interpreter: 'These things, from the appearance, have indeed found their refutation. But as you rely rather upon demonstrative arguments, and possess this art, and wish us not to worship God without a demonstration in language, do you first tell us how things, and especially the knowledge of God, are accurately discerned; is it by the demonstration of words, or by the operation of faith? And which is the oldest, faith by internal operation, or demonstration by arguments? They replied, Faith by operation is oldest, and this is accurate knowledge. You have answered well, said Antony: for faith comes from the disposition of the soul; but logic, from the art of authors. To such, therefore, as have the operation of faith, demonstration by words is not necessary, and may be even superfluous. For what we know by faith, you endeavor to demonstrate by words; and often, what we know, you are not able to prove by arguments. Hence the operation by faith is better and more to be relied on than your sophistic syllogisms.

We Christians, therefore, have not the mystery by the wisdom of Grecian learning, but by the power of the faith imparted to us from God by Jesus Christ. And as a proof that this account is true; behold we, who have never learned letters, believe on God, knowing, by the things made, a providence in all. And that our faith is effective, behold we rely on faith which is in Christ, but you on sophistic logomachies, and the phantoms of your idols are neglected, and our faith is everywhere extended. And you, by your syllogisms and sophisms, have converted no one from Christianity to Paganism; while we, by teaching the faith in Christ, strip you of your superstitions, all being brought to know that Christ is God and the Son of God. You, by your fine diction, do not impede the doctrine of Christ; but we, by mentioning Christ crucified, put to flight all the demons whom you fear as gods. And where the sign of the cross is made, magic is powerless and poisons have no effect.

Say, then, where are now your oracles? where the incantations of the Egyptians? where the *phantasias* of the magicians? When have all these ceased and lost their power, unless at the appearance of the cross of Christ? Is that therefore worthy of derision? or rather those things which are brought into neglect by it and proved weak? This also is remarkable, that your system was

never persecuted, but is honored by men throughout the cities; but the Christians are persecuted; and yet our cause flourishes and prospers rather than yours. Yours, extolled and protected, is going to ruin; but the faith and doctrine of Christ, though contemned by you and often persecuted by princes, have filled the world. For, when did the knowledge of God so shine forth? Or when did temperance and the virtue of virginity thus appear? Or when was death thus despised, unless when the cross of Christ was manifested? No one doubts this who sees the martyrs despise death for Christ, and sees the virgins of the church keeping their bodies pure and uncorrupted for Christ's sake.

These signs are enough to show that the faith in Christ is the only true one for piety. Behold, now, you disbelieve and seek formal reasoning. But, as says our teacher, we do not expound in persuasive words of Grecian wisdom, but rely upon faith, which clearly precedes a nice arrangement of proofs.—Behold! here are persons vexed with devils; for some were coming to him who were troubled by demons. And conducting them into the midst, he said, Now, by your syllogisms and by whatever art you please, even magic, do you, calling upon your idols, either cleanse these men, or else, if you cannot do it, give up your contest with us, and witness the power of the cross of Christ. Having said this, he called upon Christ, and sealed, twice or three times, the sufferers with the sign of the cross. And immediately the men stood whole, and in their right mind, and also praising God. And the so-called philosophers wondered and were truly amazed at the sagacity of the man and at the miracle wrought. But Antony said, Why wonder at this? It is not we who did it, but Christ, who does such things by those who believe on him. Believe, therefore, also yourselves, and you shall see that ours is not the art of words, but faith which works by love in Christ; which, if you shall have, you will no longer seek demonstrations by words, but will regard faith in Christ enough for you.—These were the words of Antony. But they, wondering at this, departed, having embraced him and confessed themselves benefited by him.

Constantine writes to Antony.

A report concerning Antony even reached the kings. For Constantine the Augustus, and his sons Constantius and Constans the Augusti, learning these things, wrote to him as to a father, and begged to receive answers from him. But he neither placed

much value on the writings nor was delighted with the letters, but was the same as before the kings wrote to him. But when the letters were brought to him, he called the monks, and said, Wonder not if the king writes to us, for he is a man; but rather wonder that God has written his law to men, and has spoken to us by his Son. He therefore wished not to receive the letters, saying, that he knew not how to reply to such letters. But being urged by the monks, because the kings are Christians, and that they might not be offended by such a neglect, he consented to the reading; and wrote back, commending them for worshipping Christ, and counselled them respecting salvation, and not to regard present things as great, but rather to remember the judgment to come, and to know that Christ is the only true and eternal king. He also entreated them to be humane and mindful of justice and of the poor. And they rejoiced on receiving his letter. Thus was he dear to all, and all wished to regard him as a father.

His Vision of the Mules.

Being thus known, and having thus answered those who came to him, he returned again to the inner mountain, and followed his accustomed ascetic life. Often, when sitting or walking with those who came to him, he was struck dumb, as it is written of Daniel. And an hour after, he would converse with the brethren present on connected subjects, and they would perceive that he had seen a vision. And indeed he often saw, in the mountain, things which were taking place in Egypt, and related them to bishop Sarapion, when he was present and saw Antony occupied by a vision.

Once, when sitting at work, he fell as it were into a trance, and kept groaning in his vision. After a while, turning to those present, he groaned, and trembling exceedingly, he prayed, and kneeling down, remained a long time. When he rose, the aged man wept. Whereupon, those present, trembling and in great fear, begged to know the matter, and pressed him much, till he was forced to tell it. With many groans, he said, O children, it were better to die before this vision be accomplished! And again they inquired. Weeping, he said, Wrath is about to come down upon the church, and she is to be given up to men who are like the stupid cattle. For I saw the table of the Lord's house, and mules standing in a circle around it on all sides and kicking what

was within, like the kicking of beasts in their disorderly gambols. And you all saw how I groaned, said he; for I heard a voice, saying, My altar shall be abhorred. These things the old man saw. And two years after, [in 341], the present assault of the Arians began, and the plundering of the churches, when by violence they seized the vessels and caused them to be carried by the pagans, and when they constrained the pagans from their work-shops to unite with them, and being present, they did as they pleased at table.¹ Then we all knew that the kicking of the mules signified beforehand, to Antony, the things which the Arians, as stupidly as brutes, now perpetrate. And when he had seen the vision, he comforted those present, saying, Be not dejected, children; for as the Lord is angry, so will he again heal. And the church shall again shortly recover her ornaments and shine forth as before; and you shall see the persecuted reinstated, and impiety again retiring into its own dens, and the pious faith everywhere speaking forth with all freedom;—only defile not yourselves with the Arians. For this doctrine is not of the apostles, but of the demons and of their father the devil; and is, like irrational mules, barren and without reason or a right mind.

His Interview with the Judges and Criminals.—He predicts the Death of Balacius.

Such were the deeds of Antony. We need not doubt whether so great wonders were wrought by a man. For this is the promise of the Saviour, who said, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, say to this mountain, Depart hence, and it shall depart; and nothing shall be impossible unto you. And again: Verily, verily, I say unto you, if ye shall ask anything in my name, he shall give it you. Ask and ye shall receive. And he it is that says to his disciples and to all that believe on him, Heal the sick, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give.

Antony, therefore, performed cures, not by commanding, but by praying and mentioning the name of Christ; so that it became manifest to all that it was not he that did it, but the Lord who, through Antony, compassionated and healed the suffering. To Antony belonged only prayer and the ascetic life, by which, in the mountain, he enjoyed indeed the vision of divine things, but was

¹ For a glowing description of these and many other acts of violence, perpetrated at Alexandria, A. D. 341, by the Arians, pagans and Jews united, see Athanasius's Encyclical Letter to the bishops.

disturbed in being thronged by multitudes and drawn into the exterior mountain. For even all the judges entreated that he would come down from the mountain, as it was not possible for them to go in there, because of those among the accused who accompanied them, [and because of the roughness of the way and the horrid solitude, *Ekagrus*]. They begged that he would come, and that they might just see him. He was averse, and deprecated the journey to them. But they still persevered, and even sent some of the accused, under a guard of soldiers, hoping he might yet be induced to come down by their representations. Impelled then, by necessity, as himself saw them wailing, he came to the exterior mountain. And again his toil was not useless; for his coming was a benefit to many. He likewise benefited the judges by counselling them to prefer justice above all things, and to fear God, and to know, that with what judgment they judge, they shall be judged.

Still, he loved, above all, his residence in the mountain. Therefore when, through the compulsion of those who had need of him and the entreaty of the commander, by many, for him to come down, he had come and had given some exhortations respecting salvation, and in behalf of those in need, [the accused], he was in haste to return. The *dux* as he is called, [commander—thus showing the party to be Latins], entreated him to tarry. He said he could not spend time with them; and this he enforced by a lively illustration, saying, As the fishes will die if they remain on dry land, so the monks will be enervated by tarrying with you. As the fish must hasten into the sea, so we to the mountain, lest by staying we forget what is within. The commander, hearing these and many other things, was surprised, and said, Truly this is a servant of God, for whence such intelligence in an illiterate man, were he not beloved of God?

A certain military leader, named Balacius, was bitterly persecuting us Christians, in his zeal for the abominable Arians. And as he was so savage as even to beat virgins, and to strip monks naked, and to scourge them, Antony sent to him, and wrote a letter containing a sentiment like the following: I see wrath coming upon you. Therefore cease persecuting the Christians, lest the wrath overtake you, for it is just ready to come upon you. But Balacius laughed, and flung the letter on the ground, and spit upon it, and abused the bearers, and ordered them to say to Antony, As you are anxious about the monks, I will presently come after you. And five days had not passed, when the wrath over-

took him. For as this Balacius and Nestorius the praelect of Egypt, went out to the first mansion of Alexandria, called Cereu, they were both on horseback; and the horses belonged to Balacius, and were the most gentle of all he had reared. But before reaching the place, they began to play with each other, as they were wont to do; and suddenly the most gentle, on which Nestorius rode, by a bite threw Balacius on the ground, and rushed upon him, and so lacerated his thigh with his teeth, that he was immediately carried back into the city, and died in three days. All were astonished, that what Antony had predicted was soon fulfilled.¹

Thus did he admonish the most bitter; while others who came to him he so corrected and instructed that they immediately forgot the pronouncing of judicial decisions, and declared those blessed who retire from this world. And he would become so much interested for the injured as to consider, not others, but himself to be the sufferer. And again; so apt was he for doing good to all, that many soldiers, and men of large possessions, put off the burdens of life and became monks. And, in fine, he was as it were the physician given of God to Egypt. For who went to him sorrowful, and did not return rejoicing? Who came bewailing the loss of friends, and did not immediately lay aside his grief? Who came in anger, and was not transformed to friendship? What poor man met with him, and heard and saw him; without despising wealth and being consoled in poverty? What remiss monk came to him, and did not become more strenuous? What youth coming into the mountain and beholding Antony, did not quickly renounce pleasures and love temperance? Who came to him tempted by a demon, and was not relieved? Who came agitated in his thoughts, and did not become serene in mind?

For this, moreover, was an important result of Antony's asce-

¹ In his History of the Arians, addressed to the monks, Athanasius presents us with a briefer notice of this affair, and one from which some have argued that both productions cannot have come from his pen. Speaking of Gregory, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, he says, "He caused Balacius, the general, to spit on the letter which Antony wrote, and to throw it away. But the divine vengeance did not overlook it. For not long after, as the said general was on horseback, and going to the first mansion, the horse turned and bit him in the thigh and threw him down; and he died in three days." Opp. I. 352.—The real discrepancies here are certainly not enough to disprove the genuineness of either work, especially as Athanasius may have gained more accurate information in the interval of their composition.

the life that, as I have said before, having the gift of discerning spirits, he readily understood their movements, and perceived the disposition and propensity of each of them. And not only was he not himself imposed upon by them, but, while encouraging such as were harassed in their thoughts, he also taught them, by disclosing the weaknesses and the wiles of the besetting demons, how they, too, might subvert their snares. Consequently, each one, as though anointed by him, departed boldly to oppose the purposes of the devil and his demons. And how many virgins who had suitors, and only saw Antony from a distance, remained virgins to Christ. And some came to him from foreign regions, who, after obtaining relief in addition to all else from him, returned as though sent forth from a father. And when he was dead, all, as though bereft of a father, consoled themselves with the remembrance of him, retaining his admonitions and exhortations.

His last Address to the Monks.—His death.

It is proper both for me to relate and for you, who greatly desire it, to hear how Antony closed his life; for in this also is he worthy of zealous imitation. On his customary visit of inspection to the monks in the exterior mountain, being premonished by Providence of his death, he said to the brethren, I am now making my last examination of you, and I marvel whether we shall again see each other in this life. It is time for me to go hence, for I am nearly an hundred and five years old. On hearing this, they wept, and clasped and kissed the aged man. But he, as though departing from a foreign to his own city, conversed joyfully, and admonished them not to be dilatory in their labors nor discouraged in the ascetic life, but to live as though dying daily; and, as I have said before, to strive earnestly to guard the soul from impure thoughts, and to have zeal for holy men, but not to go near the schismatic Miletians, for you know their evil and unhallowed purpose, nor to have any communion with the Arians, for their impiety is manifest to all; neither be terrified, [said he], if you see the judges favoring them, for their vain show shall cease, and is mortal and of short duration. Therefore rather keep yourselves, and hold to the tradition of the fathers and above all to the pious faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, which you have learned from the Scriptures, and have often been reminded of by me.

And as the brethren would constrain him to remain with them, and die there, he refused, for many reasons which he silently in-

dictated, and especially because the Egyptians, though accustomed to perform funeral rites and to wrap in linen the bodies of the pious dead, and especially those of the holy martyrs, yet do not hide them under ground but place them on couches and keep them in their houses with themselves, thinking by this to honor the departed. And Antony often requested the bishops to admonish the people respecting this custom, and likewise reproved the laity and rebuked the women, saying, That it was neither a lawful nor pious custom, because the bodies of the patriarchs and prophets are kept to this day in sepulchres, and even the very body of the Lord was laid in a sepulchre, and a stone, placed over it, hid it till it rose on the third day. By such arguments, he showed that he transgresses who does not conceal, after death, the bodies of the deceased, even though they be holy. For what is greater or more holy than the body of the Lord? Hence marry, after hearing him, hid them under ground, and blessed the Lord for being correctly instructed.

Knowing this custom, and fearing they would thus treat his body, he took leave of the monks in the outer mountain, and hasted away: and having entered the inner mountain where he was accustomed to abide, in a few months he became ill. And calling those who were with him, (for there were two who remained within, following the ascetic life for fifteen years, and ministering to him because of his advanced age), he said to them, "I am, as it is written, going the way of my fathers; for I perceive I am called by the Lord. But be ye vigilant and destroy not the protracted labors of your ascetic life, but be careful to preserve your zeal as though just beginning. Ye know the insidious demons, and know how fierce they are, but weak in power. Therefore fear them not; but rather aspire continually after Christ, and trust in him; and live as dying daily, taking heed unto yourselves, and remembering the admonitions ye have heard from me. And have no communion with the schismatics, especially with the heretical Arians. For ye know how I have abhorred them for their antichristian and heterodox heresy. But be zealous rather to unite yourselves, primarily, with Christ, and then with the saints, so that, after death, they may receive you, as friends and acquaintances, into everlasting habitations. Think of these things; meditate on these things. And if ye care for me and remember me as a father, suffer none to take my body to Egypt, lest they place it in their houses; for on this account I have come into the mountain, and come here. And ye know how I always

reproved those who do this, and urged them to cease from such a practice. Bury therefore my body and hide it under ground. And let this direction about myself be kept a secret, so that none but yourselves may know the place. For, at the resurrection of the dead, I shall again receive it from the Saviour, incorruptible. Divide my raiment, and give to Athanasius the bishop one sheep-skin, and the cloak in which I am wrapped, which he gave to me new, but which has become old in my possession; and to bishop Sarapion, give the other sheep-skin; and yourselves may have my sackcloth. Finally, children, farewell; for Antony departs and is with you no more."

When he had said these things, and they had embraced him, stretching out his feet, and seeing as it were friends coming to him, and being delighted on account of them, (for he appeared joyful in countenance as he was lying), he died and was gathered to his fathers. And they, as he had given them commandment, adjusted and wrapped his body, and hid it in the earth; and to this day, no one knoweth where it is hid, except those two only. And they who respectively received the sheep-skins from the blessed Antony, and the cloak worn out by him, keep them as a great treasure; for when they see them they behold as it were Antony, and when wrapped in them, with joy they bear about as it were his admonitions.

Such was the beginning of his ascetic life, and such the close of Antony's life in the body. And although these things are small in comparison to his virtue, yet even from these you may judge what a man of God Antony was, who, from youth to such advanced age, maintained an equal zeal in his ascetic course, and neither yielding to sumptuous living on account of age, nor changing the manner of his dress from infirmity of body, or so much as washing his feet with water. And yet he remained entirely uninjured: for he even retained his eyes unharmed and unimpaired, and saw well; nor had one of his teeth fallen out, only they were worn nearly to the gums by reason of his great age. He was also well in his hands and his feet; and, in fine, he appeared brighter and more vigorous than any who use variety of diet, and ablutions, and diverse garments. And his being everywhere loudly proclaimed, and both admired by all and beloved by even those who never saw him, is a proof of his virtue and the endearment of his soul to God. For neither by his writings, nor his worldly wisdom, nor by any art, but solely by his piety, did Antony become distinguished. And this no one can deny as

the gift of God. For, whence in the Spains and the Gauls, and how in Rome and Africa, came he, hid and abiding in the mountain, to be thus known? unless it was God, who everywhere makes his own men illustrious, and who promised this to Antony at the beginning. For although they practice in secret, and desire to be hidden, the Lord makes them manifest as lights unto all, that they who hear may thus know that the commandments are mighty to elevate, and may imbibe a zeal for the path to virtue.

Therefore read these things to the other brethren, that they may learn what the life of a monk ought to be, and may be persuaded that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ honors those who honor him; and that he not only conducts to the kingdom of heaven those who serve him to the end, but that even here, those who are hid and are anxious for seclusion he causes to become everywhere known and celebrated, both as a reward of their virtue and as a benefit to others. And if it will be of use, read this also to the pagans, that thus they may at least know, that our Lord Jesus Christ is God and the Son of God, and also that the Christians who truly serve him and piously believe on him, not only show that the demons, whom the pagans suppose to be gods, are no gods, but even tread them under foot and expel them, as deceivers and corrupters of men. In our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

Seven letters and some other ascetic works, which were formerly attributed to Antony, are no longer regarded as his.—It is not to our present purpose to relate how Antony was subsequently revered by the Catholic church, and how his bones were found and carried to Europe and regarded as a remedy for the disease called St. Antony's fire.

The life of St. Martin, by Sulpitius, as exhibiting the early state of monasticism in Europe, will next be presented.

ARTICLE IV.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

By Rev. L. Coleman, Instructor in Ecclesiastical History, Auburn Theological Seminary.

THE history of the christian sabbath presents an instructive topic of inquiry. The relations of the Christian to the Jewish sabbath, the sentiments of men in different ages and countries respecting the sanctity of the day, and their various customs connected with the observance of it, furnish an inviting field of inquiry which has not escaped the notice of German scholars. One of these authors, who has written with great ability, has nobly dared to lift his voice in defence of the divine authority of the Lord's day, and fearlessly rebuke the profanations of it which the customs of the country have sanctioned for many ages, and which even its theology continues still to authorize. Under these circumstances, we hail with peculiar interest the slightest indication in protestant Europe, of the rise of better principles respecting the sanctification of the sabbath. As philanthropists, as patriots, as Christians, we rejoice in any indication, from whatever quarter, of the rise of a higher tone of public sentiment in regard to the religious observance of the day. While therefore the public attention is directed anew to this subject, we have thought that a brief sketch of the opinions of the church in past ages respecting it, might be acceptable to the readers of this journal. We shall confine ourselves particularly to a review of the doctrinal sentiments of the church in relation to the christian sabbath, beginning with the instructions and example of Christ and his apostles.¹

Some have maintained that all the analogies between the Jewish and the christian sabbath are only fortuitous coincidences in the mode of celebrating two religious solemnities, which yet have no relation to each other. The theory, however, is only a gratuitous assumption in direct contradiction to the whole tenor both of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and of the teachings of Christ. These unitedly indicate that the economy of the Old and of the

¹ In the preparation of this article, the author has drawn indiscriminately from the author to whom allusion has been made, "*Der Tag des Herrn und seine Feier* von Dr. F. Liebetrat, Berlin, 1838," and from such other sources as were accessible to him.

New Testament, is one and the same. The calling of Abraham, the covenants, and the promises to him and to his posterity, the deliverance of Israel from the bondage of Egypt, the establishment of the theocracy, the sacrifices, the types and shadows, the law and the prophets all look forward to the accomplishment of God's gracious plan of salvation through Christ Jesus. They are only so many stages in the development of this grace. The Old Testament points to the New. The promulgation of the law leads on the proclamation of the gospel. So the Jewish and the christian sabbath have one and the same end, connected with the great scheme of salvation to man. His religious instruction, his spiritual edification is the principal design of both. This end they accomplish by means having a strong analogy, and yet adapted to the economies of the Old and of the New Testaments to which each respectively belongs. We should bear this consideration in mind in contemplating the instructions and example of Christ. He is the Mediator between the covenants, the connecting medium between them, by whom both are united as different parts of the same continuous plan of salvation.

In this connection, it is particularly observable that Christ, who came to fulfil all righteousness, being himself made under the law, established the law of the sabbath both by his instructions and his example. He sanctified the day, religiously obeying the spirit and the letter of the fourth commandment, though far from conforming to the requirements of pharisaical austerity. Being Lord also of the sabbath he neither annulled nor modified the existing ordinances of God respecting it; but explained and enforced them. *Matt. 12: 1—8. Mark 2: 23—28. Luke 6: 1—5.* In these expositions, not one iota of the law is abated. Its spirit and intent are rather explained and enforced. Having full power to excuse himself and his disciples according to circumstances from the observance of the day, he gave them no authority to violate it at their convenience or discretion. The sabbath was made for man; but made to be enjoyed, not to be abused or neglected at his pleasure. The violation of it defeated the end for which it was given, and left the sabbath-breaker a sinner before God.

Our Lord's expositions proceed on the principle that the fourth commandment is not restricted to the Mosaic law. It is far reaching, embracing in its application the gospel dispensation as truly as the Jewish. The law and the prophets were until John. Then began a new dispensation. The kingdom of God was preached. One dispensation passes away and another cometh; but sooner

shall heaven and earth pass away than one tittle of the law fail. In this law that of the sabbath was included. Christ himself continued to keep it. It is particularly observable that while the former dispensation is passing away, the sabbath is sustained inviolate and extended into the latter without any explanation or modification in order to adapt it to the new economy. On this subject we have no new commandment.

The law of the sabbath is also a part of the *moral law*; and as such is of perpetual obligation. The Mosaic laws relating particularly to the Jews had their fulfilment in Christ. They were annulled in the abrogation of that religious system to which they belonged. But the law of the ten commandments remains in full force under the new dispensation. It is still the duty of men to worship God only, to honor their parents, to keep the sabbath, to observe all the laws of the ten commandments. Between the decalogue and the Mosaic ritual, there runs a line of demarkation clear and broad, and distinctly defining the limits of the two. Each of these great commandments of the decalogue was incorporated with the peculiar institutions of the Jews. But was any one of them lost in the abrogation of that religion? Shall children cease to honor their father or mother because the duty is no longer enforced by the peculiar laws of the Jews, nor fulfilled after their manner? So of the sabbath. Those precepts, rites and ceremonies, relating to the observance of it, which were applicable to the Jews only, were abrogated with the Levitical law. But the law of the sabbath remains still the same,—stern, inflexible, immutable, eternal. It was given, not to Abraham and his seed, but to Adam and to all his posterity. Limited to no people, restricted to no period of time, it is exceeding broad. Wide as the world is its command, lasting as eternity its requirements, and high as heaven its rewards to those who remember the sabbath to keep it holy. We repeat it, Judaism is not Christianity. The Jewish is not a christian sabbath. But both Jews and Christians are bound by the same high command, to remember the sabbath day to keep it holy. We are to keep it, not indeed as Jews, but as Christians. It is God's own command unabated still. Not one jot or tittle of it has passed away with the exploded ritual of the Jews. There it stands in all its majesty, fixed and changeless as the awful mount on which it was given. Change has succeeded to change. One system of religion after another has arisen, and flourished, and fallen, but the mount of God has stood, frowning in the stern and solemn majesty in which it at first looked out upon the

troubled hosts who stood afar off quaking with fear while Jehovah spake. So the law of God, given on Sinai, has remained unabated, unimpaired by all the revolutions of time or changes of religion.

The apostles and their Jewish converts, far from separating themselves from their people, continued to observe, with great care, the rites of the Jewish religion. Even after having been enlightened into the spirit of the gospel, after having learned that Christians of all nations were to be gathered into one fold under one Shepherd, after Paul and Barnabas had been sent unto the gentiles, the primitive Christians continued carefully to keep the law of their fathers. The great apostle of the gentiles himself, on his last return to Jerusalem, consented, agreeably to the will of many thousands who were jealous for the law, to conform to their ceremonial rites of purification. Acts 21: 20 seq. Even when a prisoner at Rome, he could appeal to the Jews that he had committed nothing against the custom of their fathers. Acts 28: 17. Comp. 25: 8. 24: 12, 13 and 23: 5. This fact is of special importance, inasmuch as only in the writings of this apostle there are passages which seem, in any measure, to militate against the religious observance of the sabbath.

The apostle and the converts to Christianity from the Jews considered themselves adherents still to their people and to their own national religion. Finding in Christ the fulfilling of the law and of the prophets, they continued in the spirit of the gospel, the worship of the Old Testament. They seem not to have been conscious when or where or how the ancient economy was abrogated, and the gospel dispensation introduced. But, in process of time, the one was gradually discontinued and fulfilled in the other. *The observance of the Lord's day as the first day of the week was at first introduced as a separate institution.* Both this and the Jewish sabbath were kept for some time; then the christian began to take precedence of the Jewish sabbath; finally, the latter passed wholly over into the former, which now took the place of the ancient sabbath of the Israelites. But their sabbath, the last day of the week, was strictly kept in connection with that of the first day, for a long time after the overthrow of the temple and its worship. Down even to the fifth century the observance of the Jewish sabbath was continued in the christian church, but with a rigor and solemnity gradually diminishing until it was wholly discontinued.

No historical record, sacred or profane, has informed us of the

first celebration of the Lord's day, the first day of the week, as the christian sabbath. It doubtless was very early; probably from the first communication of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. The first day of the week had been signalized by the resurrection and the ascension of our Lord; and now again in the fulfilment of his promise in the miraculous shedding forth of the Holy Ghost upon his disciples while, in joyful expectation of the event, they were all assembled in one place for the worship of their ascended Saviour. From this time, it is to be presumed, that they continued to meet on this day, forever memorable by these remarkable events. No law was requisite for this purpose. The impulse of their own hearts was enough to bring them together on each return of this eventful day. From this time, after the example of these primitive believers it is presumed that the churches continued to distinguish this above all others as their great day for the joyful remembrance and religious worship of our Lord.

When Paul was at Troas the disciples came together, apparently according to established custom, on the *first day of the week*, to break bread; on which occasion the apostle preached to them. Possibly, however, they may have come together on this day to listen to Paul, because he was about to sail thence on the day following; so that the passage is not conclusive proof of the habitual observance of the Lord's day by those Christians.

The apostle also directs the Corinthians, *on the first day of the week*, to lay aside for charitable purposes a certain sum, according as the Lord had prospered them. Here we have, at least, a distinct notice of the reckoning by weeks. What directed the apostle to specify the *first day of the week* rather than the seventh? Is it replied, that it may have been accidental, unintentional; but is this credible? How much more probable the conjecture, rather how irresistible the conviction, that these contributions were to be made on the occasion of the stated meetings of the Corinthians, and that this day was designated with special reference to the religious observance of the Lord's day?

John, in Patmos, was in the spirit on the *Lord's day*. Whence this early and familiar use of the expression to denote a specific day? It is an appellation, descriptive of a certain day, given without explanation as if well understood and in common use. Here is a fair presumption, if not a conclusive inference, that the day was already known by this name because observed as the sabbath of the christian church.

These are all the passages in the New Testament upon which any reliance can be placed as evidence of the religious observance of the Lord's day by the apostolical churches.

In this connection certain passages from the writings of Paul, which have been thought by some to be opposed to the divine authority of the christian sabbath, deserve to be considered. Certain false teachers had come among the Christians in Galatia, urging upon them a strict attention to the Mosaic ritual. To guard against their influence, and to prevent the Galatians from turning back to the bondage of Judaism, the apostle says, "Now after ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage. Ye observe days and months and times and seasons." Gal. 4: 9, 10. The sabbath is not once named. The whole in its connection shows plainly that Paul had no reference to the religious observance of this day. His sole object was to guard the Galatians against a slavish subjection to the traditions of the Judaizing teachers.

Of the same polemic character is the language of the epistle to the Colossians. They again were in danger of being "led away by the enticing words of men's wisdom, and a vain philosophy; after the rudiments of this world and not after Christ." To secure them against such delusions, he says, "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of a new moon, or of the sabbath days." Col. 2: 16. By this injunction, he would warn them, not against the right observance of the sabbath, but against the perversion of this and other solemnities as though they could obtain the divine favor by scrupulous attention to these; and not alone by faith in Christ. The caution of the apostle has reference only to abuse of the sabbath. With the doctrine of the Lord's day under the gospel dispensation it has no concern.

In the church at Rome there were two parties. The one restricted themselves to a vegetable diet, and practised other austerities in the observance of certain days. Rom. 14: 2, 5, 6. The other regarded those austerities as not only unauthorized, but opposed to the spirit of the gospel. The object of the apostle is to reconcile these two parties, and lead them to judge charitably respecting one another in these things. Each may be presumed to act conscientiously, but however that may be, "to his own master he standeth or falleth. Why therefore judge or set at nought thy brethren?" Here again the apostle has no reference to the

question respecting the religious observance, either of the sabbath of the Jews, or of the Lord's day.

In view of these passages, it appears that the apostle gave no positive instructions respecting the nature of holy time, or the religious character either of the sabbath, or of the Lord's day. He only offers negative objections against false views of Jewish festivals. His remarks have reference only to the temporary errors which were obtruded upon those churches, and not to any principle or ordinance respecting the sabbath, or any sacred seasons. He only seeks to guard the churches against a bigoted, superstitious adherence to rites which are opposed to the spirit of the gospel.

Soon after the age of the apostles, the evidence becomes clear and full that the sabbath was solemnized in the christian church for religious worship, and kept as holy unto the Lord.

Just after the conclusion of the same canon, and the death of John the apostle, a persecution was instituted against the Christians in Bithynia in Asia Minor. Pliny, the Younger, in reporting to the emperor the prosecutions that had been held against them, mentions, that they were accustomed to meet on a certain stated day, *stato die*, before it was light, for the worship of Christ as God. This statement is evidence that these Christians kept a day as holy time, but whether it was the last, or the first day of the week does not appear.

The testimony of Justin Martyr, about forty years later, and within the first half of the second century, is full and explicit. "On the day which is called *Sunday*, all the Christians living either in the city or country, meet together for religious worship." *Apol. 1. c. 67. p. 83.* Their worship consisted in the reading of the Scriptures, prayer, exhortations and the celebration of the Lord's supper. The reasons for commemorating this day he also states expressly, "On *Sunday* we all meet together, because it was on the first day, God, changing the darkness and chaos, created the world, and Jesus Christ, our Saviour, rose from the dead; for on the day before Saturday they crucified him, and on the day after Saturday, which is Sunday, he appeared to his apostles and disciples, and taught them the things which we require you to observe."

This sacred day was usually denominated *ἡ κυριακή, dies Dominicus, the Lord's day*; but sometimes, also, *Sunday, dies solis, ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα*, in compliance with the common phraseology, and when it was necessary to distinguish the day in addressing

the heathen. During the early ages of the church it was never entitled "the sabbath;" this word being confined to the *seventh day* of the week, the Jewish sabbath, which, as we have already said, continued to be observed for several centuries by the converts to Christianity.

The epistle of Barnabas, whoever may have been the author, was written within the period of time now under consideration. This author says, "We observe the *eighth day* with gladness, in which Jesus rose from the dead, and, after his manifestation, ascended up into heaven." Ep. c. 15.

Tertullian, at the close of the second century, says, "We celebrate Sunday (*diem solis*) as a joyful day." Apol. c. 16. "On the Lord's day (*die Dominico*) we think it wrong to *fast* or to *kneel* in prayer." De Corona Mil.

"A true Christian," says Clement of Alexandria, contemporary with Tertullian, "according to the commands of the gospel, observes the Lord's day by casting out all bad thoughts, and cherishing all goodness, honoring the resurrection of the Lord, which took place on that day."

Dionysius of Corinth, of the same age, in a letter to the church of Rome, preserved by Eusebius, mentions their faithful observance of the Lord's day, and their reading of the Scriptures on the occasion. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. c. 23.

These authorities are sufficient to show that the Lord's day was observed by Christians of the second century for religious worship. The use of the term by those writers may fairly be assumed as explanatory of the same expression in Rev. 1: 10, which, in connection with 1 Cor. 16: 2 and Acts 20: 7, and illustrated by usage of the church in the age following, justifies the belief that from the beginning the Lord's day has been observed in the christian church. At first, and for several centuries, it was kept in connection with the Jewish sabbath; but by degrees the observance of the latter fell into disuse, and the former has ever since continued to be the sacred day of the christian church.

No law or precept appears to have been given by Christ or the apostles, either for the abrogation of the Jewish sabbath or the institution of the Lord's day, or the substitution of the first for the seventh day of the week. The reasons for keeping the first day in preference to the seventh, have been already stated from Justin Martyr. They are more fully explained by Leo the Great, of the fifth century. "On this day the world had its origin. On the same day, through the resurrection of Christ, death came to an

end, and life began. It was upon this day also that the apostles were commissioned by the Lord to preach the gospel to every creature, and to offer to all the world the blessings of salvation. On the same day came Christ into the midst of his disciples and breathed upon them saying, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' And finally on this day the Holy Ghost was shed forth upon the apostles! So that we see as it were an ordinance from heaven evidently set before us, showing that on this day, on which all the gifts of God's grace have been vouchsafed, we ought to celebrate the solemnities of christian worship."¹

In this review of the development of the christian sabbath, one cannot fail to recognize the divine guidance of that good Spirit which leads into all truth. Under this peculiar oversight, the observance of the Lord's day was ordered, while yet the sabbath of the Jews was continued; nor was the latter superseded until the former had acquired the same solemnity and importance which belonged, at first, to that great day which God originally ordained and blessed. The design and end of both was indeed the same, the extension of God's grace to man. The Lord's day was, in reality, the same to the people of God under the new dispensation, that the sabbath was to the people of Israel. Each was the great central point of its own dispensation respectively, the cardinal principle in the system, and the chief means of the spiritual edification of the people.

No sooner was Constantine established upon the throne, than he began to bestow special care upon the observance of the Lord's day. He required his armies to spend the day in devotional exercises. No courts of judicature were to be held on this day; no suits or trials in law prosecuted; but, at the same time, works of mercy, such as the emancipation of slaves, were declared lawful.² Subsequently, christian emperors confirmed and extended these decrees. All public shows, theatrical exhibitions, dancing and amusements were strictly prohibited. Similar decrees were also passed by various councils, requiring a faithful attendance upon public worship and a strict observance of the day, by solemn suspension of all secular pursuits and abstinence from amusements and vain recreations.³

The historical facts in regard to the observance both of the an-

¹ Cited by Augusti Denkwürdigkeiten, Vol. III. p. 548.

² Euseb. Vit. Const. Lib. 4. c. 18—20. Cod. Just. Lib. 3. tit. 12. De Feriis.

³ Conc. Sardic. c. 11. Carthag. IV. c. 24. 88. Matic. II. c. 11, etc.

cient sabbath and of the Lord's day as holy time, may be summed up in the following particulars :

1. Both were observed in the christian church down to the fifth century, with this difference, that in the Eastern church both days were regarded as joyful occasions, but in the Western the Jewish sabbath was kept as a fast.

2. Both were solemnized by public religious assemblies for the instruction and spiritual edification of the hearers and for the celebration of the Lord's supper.

3. The sabbath of the Jews was kept chiefly by converts from that people and on their own account ; who, though freed from the bondage of the law, adhered in this respect to the custom of their fathers. But in time, after the Lord's day was fully established, the observance of the sabbath of the Jews was gradually discontinued and finally was denounced as heretical. As the light of the morning star gently fades before the rising sun, yet both lingering awhile together in the horizon, each subserving, alike, the will of heaven, and conspiring, to a common end ; so the Jewish and the christian sabbath, these lights of the moral world, in harmonious action, fulfilled their original destiny ; the less continually waning before the increasing splendor of the greater light.

While the evidence of the *usage* of the apostolical and primitive church in the religious observance of the Lord's day is sufficiently explicit, it is not a little remarkable that the *doctrine* of the early fathers on the subject is equally equivocal. No direct precept, as has been observed, is given in the New Testament authorizing the substitution of the first for the seventh day of the week, or establishing the sanctity of the Lord's day. The apostle Paul, as we have seen, simply rebukes the pharisaical superstitions of Judaizing teachers, in their observance of the sabbaths and other festivals, without any reference to the divine authority for the Jewish or christian sabbath, or the substitution of the one for the other.

In like manner, whatever is said by the early christian fathers on this subject, is of the same negative and uncontroversial character, and directed to the same end. They strenuously oppose the mingling of both Jewish and pagan superstitions with the solemnities of the Lord's day, without clearly defining their sentiments respecting it. Many passages occur in their writings which show that the idea of the christian sabbath was clearly defined and deeply impressed on their minds ; but we seek in vain either

for any explicit authority for the sacredness of the Lord's day *as holy time*, or for its particular relations to the sabbath of the Jews. In their controversial writings generally, they treat rather of the contrast between the economy of the Old and the New Testament, than of their connection. The same is true of the Jewish and of the christian sabbath. They are contrasted rather than compared. The pious sentiments of the primitive Christians lead them strictly to keep the Lord's day; and in doing this, they acted in conformity with the will of God, and fulfilled his original and gracious design in giving man a sabbath. Under the impulse of their own religious feelings, they were a law unto themselves, for the right observance of the day of the Lord, without any explicit command from heaven, or any abstract theory of their own. "We assemble on the sabbath," says Athanasius, in the fourth century, "not to pervert our minds with Judaism, for we do not turn aside to observe false sabbaths; but we meet on the sabbath to worship Jesus, the Lord of the sabbath." The Jewish sabbath even, was kept as holy unto the Lord our Saviour, and in this way was finally superseded by the christian sabbath. "The Lord," says this father, in the same connection, "has now transferred the sabbath to the Lord's day."¹

When, however, we turn from this view of the subject to the controversial writings of the early fathers, in which they are opposing the spirit of the Jewish religion, they seem, in their zeal to oppose these errors, to contradict, in doctrine, the practice of the church. Justin Martyr disowns the original idea of the Lord's day. The sabbath is, in his view, when disputing with Trypho the Jew, only a temporary institution of the Jews. He goes further. He not only considers the sabbath to be adapted to the Jews, in condescension to their peculiar proneness to forget God, but all the Mosaic ritual has, with him, no higher intent. Neither does he recognize any intimate connection between the Jewish and the christian dispensation. But in all this he only writes as a controvertist of the Jews. How different the view which he would have had of the sabbath, had he taken into consideration the real object of all the types and forms of the Old Testament. Then would he have seen that as that introduced the gospel dispensation, so the sabbath was a part of that scheme of grace and of mercy which was accomplished in the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ and the outpouring of his Spirit.

¹ Hom. De Sement, Vol. II. p. 60. ed. Paris.

Tertullian also, in his controversy with the Jews, assumes a position similar to that of Justin. He argues, indeed, that the economy of the Old Testament was preliminary to that of the New. But instead of proceeding to infer that the Jewish sabbath sustained a similar relation to that of the christian church, he contents himself with the bold assertion that to Christians *all days were holy*. God, according to Tertullian, had given general laws, applicable to all men, previously to the Mosaic law. Under such laws had Adam, Noah, Lot, Melchisedec, and the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, lived. To prove, then, the necessity of the sabbath and circumcision, it must be shown that these were also indispensable to Adam, to Abel, and to all the saints who lived before the giving of the law to Moses. But as this cannot be affirmed of the rite of circumcision, so he includes the sabbath under the same category; treating it only as a temporary institution, belonging to a code of laws equally limited in their application. Such is his course of reasoning;¹ according to which, in fact, the sabbath is only a temporary institution of the Mosaic law. He seems never to have opened his mind to a just view of the real nature of the law of the sabbath, nor to have noticed the fulfilment of it in the keeping of the Lord's day in the christian church.

Clement of Alexandria seems also to have maintained with Tertullian that the Christian's whole life should be one perpetual sabbath holy unto the Lord. "Not on certain stated days, but without intermission, should we honor the Saviour throughout our lives."²

Origen again offers similar sentiments respecting the keeping of the sabbath. "He only keeps a true feast unto the Lord who faithfully fulfils his duty, praying always; and, by his prayers, presenting an acceptable offering to God without the shedding of blood. Whoever therefore would keep the Lord's day aright, or any other festival of the church, must even abide by the Lord in thought, word and deed. Such an one is even with the Lord and keeps a perpetual sabbath unto him. But the greater part who claim to be believers and are not, and who neither will, nor can keep such a sabbath—these need an opportunity for religious instruction, even though it be not continual."³

These authorities clearly show that the primitive fathers were far from establishing any new institution for religious worship. Even though right in practice they were wrong in theory; or

¹ Adv. Judæos, c. 1—5.

² Strom. Lib. VII. c. 7.

³ Contra Celsum, Lib. VIII. c. 21—23.

rather their theoretical views of the Lord's day, so far as they are now known, were the crude conceptions of minds biased by controversy. Whatever they have said of the christian sabbath is chiefly of a *negative* character; appearing rather what it is not, than what it is.

The Roman Catholic church, in process of time encumbered their worship with a multitude of ceremonies, surpassing those even of the Jewish or pagan ritual. The superstitious notion also became current in the church that merely the outward observance of festivals and of fasts was well pleasing to God. In opposition to these superstitions, the reformers engaged with such spirit that they not only found no time for a thorough discussion of the true doctrine of the sabbath, but in their zeal to oppose these errors, ran, themselves, into the contrary extreme. In these stormy polemics, they, like the early fathers, contented themselves with negative principles in regard to holy time; and, in their lack of established positive principles, contradicted in theory their own usage. Seldom did they discuss the true principle, or inquire into the scriptural idea of holy time; but they abundantly controverted the false theories and vain superstitions with which the Catholics had encumbered the sabbath in common with their other festivals. In doing this the reformers assumed the general position, "That neither rites of worship, nor religious solemnities, were of divine appointment or indispensably necessary; but that all these were from time to time to be adopted, or changed according to the peculiar circumstances of different churches; so that they might best promote the religious instruction, the edification and the devotions of the people." In conformity with these views, the creeds, confessions and catechisms of that period, treat all sacred seasons, including the sabbath, as merely *human institutions*, having in mind the commendable purpose of correcting the abuses of the Roman Catholic church. Here was the fatal mistake of the reformers. They gave up the divine institution of the holy sabbath, without once subjecting its claims to a careful examination on their own merits as presented in the word of God. They classed it with other festivals of the church, as a *human ordinance*, which they were at liberty to receive, to reject, or to reform at pleasure.

The Augsburg Confession classes the Lord's day under the same category as Easter, Whitsuntide, and the like;—merely human ordinances. "The ancient sabbath," it pretends to say, "the church has not abolished, but God himself has taught us that we are not bound by the law of Moses," and much more to the same

effect. "The Scriptures have abrogated the sabbath, teaching that all the ceremonial law of Moses after the revelations of the gospel, may be omitted."¹ The fourth commandment, according to Luther's exposition in his Larger Catechism, applies only to the Jews, and in its obvious and grosser sense, *ad externum et crassum illum sensum*, it applies not at all to us Christians.² Enlightened Christians, according to the same perverted exposition, have no need of religious solemnities, but for the common people, to men servants and maid servants, such a day of rest must be very grateful; and important withal, as affording an opportunity for acquainting themselves with the word of God, and for devotional purposes. To spend the day therefore in tippling-shops and grovelling sensualities, would really be quite an abuse of the Lord's day in the estimation even of this renowned reformer. Hase Lib. Sym. p. 423. We honor the memory of Luther; we admire his transcendent genius, his lofty daring, and dauntless energy in defence of the truth; and now, after the lapse of three centuries, we stand amazed at the sight of the mighty impress of his great mind which he has left on the millions of Germany. But what thanks can they owe him for withholding from them that great day, which God has ordained to be the same through all time and equally rich in blessings to all who shall remember to keep it holy unto him. Had the true light of the sabbath dawned on his mind, had he given to reformed Europe this priceless boon, next to redeeming grace, the noblest gift of God, how fra-

¹ Qui judicant ecclesiae auctoritate pro sabbato institutum esse diei Dominici observationem necessariam longe errant. Scriptura abrogavit sabbatum, quae docet omnes ceremonias Mosaicæ post revelatum evangelium omitti posse. Et tamen quia opus erat constituere certum diem, ut sciret populus quando convenire deberet, apparet ecclesiam ei rei destinasse diem Dominicum.—Hase, *Libri Sym'ici*, p. 43.

² Luther in commenting upon the fourth commandment says: Hoc præceptum, quantum ad externum et crassum illum sensum attinet, ad vos Christianos non pertinet. Est enim externa quaedam res, sicut omnes aliae Veteris Testamenti constitutiones, certis quibusdam ritibus, personis, temporibus et locis destinatae, quae omnes jam per Christum liberae factae sunt.

Caeterum, ut hinc Christianum aliquem intellectum hauriamus pro simplicibus, quidnam Deus hoc in præcepto a nobis exigit, ita habet; Nos dies festos celebrare, non propter intelligentes et eruditos Christianos, hi enim nihil opus habent feriis, verum primo etiam corporalis cujusdam causae et necessitatis gratia, quam et natura docet et exigit; nimirum communis multitudinis gratia, servorum, ancillarum, qui per totam hebdomadam laboribus servierunt, ut et ipsi diem habeant, qua ab operibus respirantes semet ex labore reficiant et corpora fessa quiete firmare queant.—Hase, *Libri Symbolici*, p. 424.

grant had been the name of Luther in all the earth; how sweet in heaven, the song of those countless millions more who then had come to join their blest voices before the throne in the services of an eternal sabbath.

But there was one great reformer who had drunk deeper at the sacred fountain; one there was of more patient investigation, of calmer temper and clearer intellect. Had even his discriminating eye discerned, amidst the papal superstitions with which it was disguised, the day of God, the lost, neglected sabbath;—had he had the discrimination to bring out the sabbath of the christian church from the mass of saints' days and festivals of the Romish church, where it had been disguised so long, like some ancient gem of priceless value, buried beneath the rubbish of many generations, but disinterred at last, and revealed to the admiring eye radiant still in all its original lustre,—had John Calvin given to the world this hidden treasure—the sabbath of the Lord our God—what a benefactor would he have been to the world! To that single act we might have ascribed an influence, more permanent and various in its effect on the character and destinies of men and of nations than that of any other in the whole history of the reformation. The benign influence of the sun in the heavens is not clearer than that of the sabbath upon the whole English race in England, Scotland and America. Though received from the Puritans at a late hour in the period of the revolution, it has changed, entirely and forever, the whole history of these countries; and, through them, the history of the world. It marks a wide and everlasting distinction between their religion and that of any other nation on the face of the earth. They have a sabbath—a *christian sabbath*, holy unto the Lord, according to God's command. With the exception of the countries just named, the sabbath is a *holy-day*, of human appointment, for rest, for recreation or for religious worship at the pleasure of each one.

From the period of the reformation until the rise of neological sentiments, near the middle of the last century, the Lutheran church continued gradually to adopt higher and more scriptural principles respecting the sanctity of the Lord's day. Like the primitive church, their practice was generally in advance of their theory in relation to the observance of the day. To detract from the honor due to Christ as Lord of all, these modern neologists began anew to controvert the divine authority of the christian sabbath, and to blend it again with other festivals of the church. Their intention was to lead off the church from the observance of

it as the *Lord's day*, commemorative of our Saviour. They accordingly denied that it had any connection either with the Jewish sabbath, or with the moral law. Both the pulpit and the press joined in this unrighteous work of secularizing it. The consequence was that, in their anxiety not to honor the Son even as they honor the Father, men ceased even to honor God the Father by the keeping of his commandments. There is indeed a redeeming spirit still lingering in the church. A few, like our author announced in the beginning of this article, boldly assert and defend the divine authority of the christian sabbath. Many more, by voluntary association, have covenanted one with another religiously to keep the day, and by all appropriate means to encourage others to the performance of the same duty without either affirming or denying its divine character. Still it is deeply to be lamented that the great majority, even of the evangelical party in the church, adhere to the sentiments of their great reformer, consenting in principle and in practice to the latitudinarian principle that the Lord's day is merely a human institution, unauthorized by the word of God. It is accordingly, with the sober, religious part of the community, a day of pastime and of *innocent recreation*, as they call it. To such as are so inclined, it affords a convenient opportunity for attendance upon public worship; the religious observance of it is restricted to the two brief hours so employed.

Such at the present time, is the sabbath, with a few exceptions, throughout the reformed churches of Germany. Certain festivals of the church, the relics of popish superstition, even at this day, are more scrupulously kept; and, as the writer has often been assured, are regarded as more sacred even than the sabbath! So truly do these reformed churches themselves need a more thorough reformation. Great and and glorious as was the reformation, it was but a reformation *begun*;—a correction of some old abuses and errors; not a *regeneration* as life from the dead. Even as a reformation, it was inadequate, incomplete. It was arrested early in its high career; and there it lingers still, low in the distant horizon, the sun it was hoped of a brighter day, its beams yet feebly struggling through the mists that dimmed its rising. Heaven speed its way, so that it may hold on its course, shining more and more, and scattering over protestant Europe a cloudless light.

As a practical illustration of these latitudinarian principles respecting the Lord's day, we give from our author a sketch of a sabbath in Germany both in the city and in the country.

In direct opposition to the law and the intent of the Lord's day,

it is a season of worldliness and sin, with the single exception of the observance of public worship. Even the appropriate instructions of this day, in many places are superseded; and the teachings of the sanctuary, accommodated to the maxims of the world and the spirit of the age. In the cities and large towns, in noise and bustle, it is hardly distinguished from the other days of the week, and scarcely recalling many even of the higher classes from their labor for the enjoyment of repose and worldly pleasures. The public officers of State, from the highest to the lowest, almost without exception, and in direct violation of law, disregard the day.

The lower orders, even less restrained by the laws, imitate the demoralizing example of their superiors; and the more so, because the Lord's day greatly increases their gains. Tobacconists, musicians, rum-sellers, rope-dancers, and all those whose business it is to minister to the pleasures of men, respectively depend on Sunday as the best day, for the exercise of their craft. Accordingly every kind of business proceeds on this day as on any other, until suspended, so that the people may participate in the public amusements. The ware-houses and stores are everywhere open, and the multitude of customers, gives melancholy evidence that the tradesmen in opening their shops, do but accommodate themselves to the spirit of the times. The noise of the work-shop, the rattling of machinery, the rumbling of mills, and the strokes of the steam-engine with its hoarse and heavy respirations everywhere disturb the stillness of the sacred day, here, alas, hardly known even by name. Here is the blacksmith at his forge; and there, a gang of laborers upon the scaffold. In one direction they are busy in preparing their carriages for a party of pleasure; in another, is the teamster with his weary beast toiling at his load; and on every side the post-coaches, pressing eagerly on in their destined routes. At the sound of fife and drum, the people are running together at the corner of the streets to a bear-dance; the mendicant minstrel is wailing forth his music with his hand-organ in the courts and lanes, and multitudes of criers are calling out at the top of their voices to draw the greedy crowd to come and taste of their dainties.

It is not enough that military parades, and public reviews of whole regiments engross a great part of the day; not enough that the sound of the sabbath-bell mingles with the clang of martial music and the roar of cannon, but the din of business and the pursuit of pleasure so disturb the rest, and desecrate the sacred-

ness of this holy day, that what God ordained to be a blessing to man, he has converted into a curse.

Towards the close of the day parties of pleasure on foot, in carriages, and on horse-back, are everywhere seen confusedly hasting away in pursuit of pleasure; each according to his inclination and ability. There is an eager rush to houses of public amusement, which are everywhere open, and in which with games at cards and nine-pins, with circular rail-ways, with carousing and dancing, and sports of every description, the Lord's day is commemorated. But we cannot even allude to the numberless forms of riotous mirth, to which multitudes resign themselves. A hundred places are open where, by change of scene, from hour to hour they may diversify their amusements and indulge in the most unrestrained and shameless excesses. The common people who, in total neglect of the public worship of God, spend the day in ungrateful toil, when their work is done, as if in eager haste to redeem the pastime which they have lost, press away to their beer-stands, coffee-houses, and dancing-halls. The day closes with the exhibitions of the opera-house, the circus and the theatre.

In the country, as well as in the city, the sabbath is profaned by secular pursuits and worldly pleasures of every description. The noise of the teamster and the traveller breaks the slumbers of the morning. The sound of the fife, the voice of the criers in the street, offering for sale their various supplies for the table, and all mingling their clamor with the bustling preparations for the business and amusements of the day—distract one's early devotions. On our way to the house of God, here we pass a Jew, hawking his wares; and there, the penny-post from the city, with a crowd about him; while, in the distance, some tradesman, with a loud voice, is calling one back to examine his goods; then we go to the house of God, hoping there, in the stillness of its devotions, to enjoy unmolested the privileges of the Lord's day. Vain hope! There stands the minister before the altar, but the voice of prayer is drowned by the din and clamor from without. Many are the vacant seats within; few having separated themselves from the noisy multitude to unite in the worship of God.

As the assembly retire, they are met by a company of musicians, who, having impatiently waited for their return, now boldly strike up their notes and draw around them a company of idlers; while, in another direction, all, both old and young, are hastening away,

at the call of the drum, to the exhibition of some travelling caravan, or strolling play-actors. The young men of the village are now returning from the city—where, in the morning, they went to attend a military parade; but not a few of them are lingering behind, attracted by the revelry of such scenes. Some officers of government, in the afternoon, summon the villagers to his office on public business, where they are compelled to remain, however reluctantly, until the close of the day, perhaps for the transaction of the business which the public agent prolongs at his pleasure. An assessment is to be made, or payment is required for a school-tax, and the poor are filled with anxiety to meet the demand. The herdsman, the watch, and the field officers, are to be paid; and this again sets half of the village in commotion. They bring out their hay and their grain for the payment of these public servants, and the distribution to them of their portions respectively often ends in an angry quarrel. The noise and tumult of the scene close at last with drinking and carousing. Thus, in every way, the sacred day is desecrated and profaned; so that it is hardly possible for those who are disposed, to remember it to keep it holy. And yet many, even of the clergy, forbear all attempts to arrest or rebuke the abounding profanations of it.

Such is the sabbath in Germany; such the practical results of departing from the law of the Lord respecting it, and disowning the divine authority of this sacred institution, which God ordained to be kept holy unto himself. Who, in view of the recital, can fail to reflect with wonder and with sorrow upon that blindness which still rests upon all protestant Europe in regard to the sacredness of this holy day? But we rejoice in the consideration that England and America have better learned the law of the Lord, and in keeping of the sabbath have a great reward. The perverse dogmas and superstitions of the church, for a long time withheld from the English reformers, the blessings of the sabbath. But there was among them a venerable class of men, who learned at last to discriminate between the ordinances of the church and the commands of God. They clearly saw that while the church had consecrated many days as holy unto the apostles, saints and martyrs, the Lord Almighty had ordained one day in seven to be kept forever as holy unto himself. Casting away the ordinances of men, and receiving only the commandment of God, they began anew, in defiance of ecclesiastical authority and the persecutions of prelatical power, to keep the Lord's day. Their

sentiments prevailed over all opposition; and the nation at length received from them the divine institution.

The Puritans, those stern defenders of the faith once delivered to the saints, to whom England is so deeply indebted for her religious liberties, and from whom we have received the priceless inheritance of our civil and religious privileges,—these have the immortal honor of first giving to the christian world the sabbath. They first asserted the divine authority of the day by a clear exposition of the law of God respecting it. This fact ought to be better known and pressed upon the notice of the public. It deserves to be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance in honor of those noble men.

The individual, who first promulgated the true doctrine of the christian sabbath, was the Rev. Nicholas Bound, D. D. of Norton, in the county of Suffolk, in England. After receiving a regular education at Cambridge, he was beneficed at this place; but in 1583, when subscription to Whitgift's three articles was rigorously imposed upon the clergy, he, with about sixty other ministers of the same county, refused to subscribe; and was accordingly, with them, suspended from the ministry. About the year 1595, he published a famous book, entitled "*Sabbathum veteris et novi Testamenti, or The true Doctrine of the Sabbath.*" In this book he maintained "that the seventh part of our time ought to be devoted to God—that Christians are bound to rest on the Lord's day, as much as the Jews were on the Mosaic sabbath, the commandment about rest being moral and perpetual; and that it was not lawful for persons to follow their studies or worldly business on that day, nor to use such pleasures and recreations as are permitted on other days."¹ This book spread with wonderful rapidity. The doctrines which it propounded, called forth from many hearts a ready response, and the result was a most pleasing reformation in many parts of the kingdom. "It is almost incredible," says Fuller, "how taking this doctrine was, partly because of its own purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the Lord's day, especially in corporations, began to be precisely kept; people becoming a law unto themselves, forbearing such sports as yet by statute permitted; yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein." The law of the sabbath was indeed a religious principle, after which the christian church had, for centuries, been darkly groping. Pious men, of every age, had felt the necessity of divine authority for

¹ Brooks's *Lives of the Puritans*, Vol. II. pp. 171, 172.

sanctifying the day. Their conscience had been in advance of their reason. Practically they had kept the sabbath better than their principles required.

Public sentiment, however, was still unsettled respecting this new doctrine of the sabbath, though few at first violently opposed them. "Learned men were much divided in their judgments about these sabbatarian doctrines; some embraced them as ancient truths consonant to Scripture, long disused and neglected, now seasonably revived for the increase of piety. Others conceived them grounded on a wrong bottom; but because they tended to the manifest advance of religion, it was a pity to oppose them; seeing none have just reason to complain, being deceived into their own good. But a third sort flatly fell out with these propositions, as galling men's necks with a *Jewish yoke*, against the liberty of Christians;—that Christ, as Lord of the sabbath, had removed the rigor thereof, and allowed men lawful recreations;—that *this doctrine put an unequal lustre on the Sunday*, on set purpose to eclipse all other holy days, to the derogation of the authority of the church;—that this strict observance was set up out of faction, to be a character of difference to brand all for libertines who did not entertain it."¹

No open opposition, however, was at first manifested against the sentiments of Dr. Bound. No reply was attempted for several years; and "not so much as a feather of a quill in print did wag against him." His work was soon followed by several other treatises in defence of the same sentiments. "All the Puritans fell in with this doctrine and distinguished themselves by spending that part of sacred time in public, family, and private devotion." Even Dr. Heylin certified the triumphant spread of those puritanical sentiments respecting the sabbath, while he discloses his inveterate hatred of them in the following terms: "This doctrine, carrying such a fair show of piety, at least in the opinion of the common people, and such as did not examine the true grounds of it, induced many to embrace and defend it; and in a very little time it became the most bewitching error and the most popular infatuation that ever was embraced by the people of England."

Such hostility to the doctrine soon became general on the part of the established clergy. Without attempting a refutation of the doctrine, "they exclaimed against it as putting a restraint upon christian liberty; as putting too great a lustre upon the Lord's day;

¹ Fuller's Church Hist. of Britain, Book IX. p. 226.

and as tending to eclipse the authority of the church in attending festivals."¹

Mr. Thomas Rogers, author of a commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles, was the first to attempt a public refutation of these puritanical notions respecting the sabbath. The doctrine of the puritans he characterizes as an "odde and new device of theirs," and he charges them with setting forth "from an odde corner and after a new fashion, which we little thought of, their sabbath speculations. Such was their cunning set upon us afresh again, by dispersing them in printed books, which for ten years space before, they had been in hammering among themselves to make them compleat." In conclusion, the worthy churchman proposes to himself the rare consolations of his death-bed, in the vain hope, with which he flattered himself that he had utterly suppressed this dangerous tenet. "It is a comfort to my soul, and will be to my dying hour, that I have been the man and the means that the sabbatarian errors and impieties are brought into the knowledge of the State." Archbishop Whitgift, in 1699, suppressed Dr. Bound's book, and ordered that it should not be reprinted. And Popham, lord chief justice, did the same the year following. "These, indeed," says Dr. Heylin, "were good remedies, had they been soon enough applied; yet not so good as those which were formerly applied to Coppin and Thacker, who were hanged at Bury for spreading Brown's books against the church." Such was the amiable spirit of these christian men towards those who plead for a religious observance of the christian sabbath.

But these efforts at extermination only propagated more extensively the scriptural doctrine of the sabbath. Though condemned by the chief justice, says Fuller, "these sabbatarian doctrines took the privilege to pardon themselves, and were published more generally than before. The price of the doctor's book began to be doubled, as commonly books are then most called on when called in; and many who hear not of them when printed inquire after them when prohibited; and though the book's wings were clipt from flying abroad in print, it ran the faster from friend to friend in transcribed copies; and the Lord's day in most places, was most strictly observed."² Whitgift died soon after the suppression of the book, and in 1606, Dr. Bound published a second edition of his book with large additions. "And, indeed, such was its reputation that scarcely any catechism or comment was pub-

¹ Brooks's *Lives of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 172.

² Church Hist. of Britain, B. IX. p. 229.

lished by the stricter divines for many years, in which the morality of the sabbath was not strongly recommended and enforced." The subject, indeed, became the principal controversy of the age. It changed to a great extent the topics of discussion in the church. Hitherto the dispute of contending parties had been about the *ceremonials* of religion; now, it was directed to the *doctrines* of the Scriptures. Among these, that of the christian sabbath was first in order and importance.¹

The subject was renewed in the following reign in consequence of the Declaration for Sports on the Lord's day by James I, May 24, 1618. In this declaration he signified his royal pleasure, "that after the end of divine service his good people should not be disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawful recreations; such as dancing either of men or women, archerie for men, leaping or vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor from having May-games, whitsun-ales, or novice-dances, and setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient times without impediment or let of divine service." This declaration, having the sanction of public authority, opened a flood-gate to all manner of licentiousness, and overwhelmed the church in new trials. The declaration was promulgated in Lancashire, and ordered to be read in all the parish churches. But many conscientiously refused to comply with the injunction. Others thought to comply and then to compromise with their conscience by publicly exposing the sinfulness of such sports. The moral sentiments of multitudes were shocked by this authorized desecration of the Lord's day. Indeed it is not, says Fuller, "so hard to believe as sad to recount what grief and distraction thereby was occasioned in many honest men's hearts." The king, however, relaxed the severity of the decree and few were finally ejected from their livings by refusing to publish his declaration.

Greater trials, however, awaited the defenders of the sabbath in the next reign under Charles II and at the instigation of archbishop Laud. Upon a complaint made by the people, the lord chief justice Richardson had made an order suppressing Sunday revels, church-ales and clerk-ales,² and requiring every minister to

¹ Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 543. Hetherington's Westminster Assembly, p. 53.

² Church-ales are when the people go from afternoon prayers on Sunday to their lawful sports and pastimes in the churchyard, or in the neighborhood in some public house where they drink and make merry.

Clerk-ales are so called because they are for the better maintenance of the

publish it yearly. Laud had the address to cause the chief justice to receive a severe reprimand from the king with an injunction to revoke his order; and to sustain himself in his pious zeal, his grace, the archbishop, procured a letter from the bishop of Bath and Wells, certifying on the testimony of seventy-two of his clergy, "that the late suppression of the revels was very unacceptable, and that the restitution of them would be very grateful to the gentry, *the clergy*, and the common people." The justices of peace were of a contrary mind and signed a petition to the king declaring, "that these revels had not only introduced a great profanation of the Lord's day, but riotous tippling, contempt of authority, quarrels, murders, etc." Thus we are presented with the extraordinary spectacle of *the laity* petitioning for the religious observance of the Lord's day, and *the bishop and his clergy* pleading for the profanation of it! The prayer of Laud and his party, however, prevailed; and the order was revoked. Further to obliterate from the minds of the people these puritanical notions of the sabbath, Laud instigated the king to republish his father's "Declaration of the Sports to be used on Sundays after divine service." This was accordingly done, Oct. 18, 1633. After citing the words of king James's declaration, authorizing these sports, Charles proceeds to say, "Out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing those humors that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort and recreation of his majesty's well deserving people, he doth ratify his blessed father's declaration." He also gave command that this decree should be published in all the parish churches.

These measures revived the controversy respecting the morality of the sabbath; and, at the same time, involved the adherents to this doctrine in renewed trials and persecutions. Bradbourne of Suffolk had published five years before, A Defence of the most ancient and sacred ordinance of God, the Sabbath Day. The bishop of Ely was now commanded by the king to write a refutation of this book, and Drs. Pocklington and Heylin soon followed on the same side, denying that there is any divine right or moral obligation to observe the Lord's day, and affirming that it

parish clerk, and there is great reason for them, says his lordship, "because in poor country parishes where the wages of the clerk are but small, the people thinking it unfit that the clerk should attend at church and not gain by his office, send him provision, and then come on Sundays and feast with him, by which means he sells more ale, and tastes more the liberality of the people than their quarterly payment would amount to in many years."

depends entirely upon *ecclesiastical authority*. Both ecclesiastical and civil authority was employed to enforce the public desecration of the day by morris-dances, May-games, church and clerk-ales, and all similar kinds of revelling. Such of the clergy as refused to publish the king's declaration, were suspended, deposed, excommunicated, or imprisoned, according to the nature of their offence. Many of the suspended ministers, reduced to great distress by the loss of their livings, repaired to Lambeth and petitioned to be restored; to these Laud coolly replied, that "*if they did not know how to obey he did not know how to grant their petition.*" One Mr Sneling offered publicly to vindicate his refusal to publish the declaration, but the archbishop refused to hear him, alleging that "whoever should make such a defence it should be burnt before his face, and he laid by the heels." In the fulfilment of this threat, this pious minister was accordingly deposed and thrown into prison, where he continued for many years, suffering at the hands of christian men the loss of all things for conscientiously remembering the sabbath day. "It were endless to go into more particulars; how many hundred godly ministers in this and other dioceses," says Mr. Prynne, "have been suspended from their ministry, sequestered, driven from their livings, excommunicated, prosecuted in the high commission and forced to leave the kingdom for not publishing this declaration, is experimentally known to all men."

These agitations of the public mind gave rise to a sect of enthusiasts whom the reader will readily identify with a certain class at the present day who, from serious observers of the sabbath, have advanced to such strange perfection as to keep all days holy, and to do any deed without sin. The characteristics of these men are clearly sketched in the quaint but graphic style of our historian. "Here it is much to be lamented that such, who at the time of the sabbatarian controversie, were the strictest observers of the Lord's day, are now reeled by their violence into another extreme, to the greatest neglecters, yea contemners thereof. These transcendents, accounting themselves mounted above the predicament of common piety, aver they need not keep any, because they keep all days as Lord's days, in their elevated holiness. But alas, christian duties, said to be ever done, will prove never done, if not *sometimes* solemnly done. These are the most dangerous levellers, equalling at all times, places and persons; making a *general confusion* to be *gospel perfection.*"

Against all opposition, the scriptural doctrine of the sabbath

continued more and more to prevail. The fury of prelatical zeal against it gradually abated; opposition ceased; and, finally, even the church of England, and the whole nation, received the sabbath of the Puritans as an institution of the Lord's appointment. It is questionable, perhaps, whether the church of England has ever acknowledged, heartily and universally, the divine authority of the holy sabbath. Some high in honor in that church, like Dr. Paley, have firmly denied it. And not a few, we apprehend, have indefinite, indistinct notions of the scriptural authority which sets it apart, distinct from all other days, as holy time. It is indeed a holy day. But is it not a holy day *of the church*;—sanctioned by the usages and canons of the church, rather than by the supreme authority of God's law? The canon of the church of England on this subject is as follows: "All manner of persons within the church of England shall from henceforth celebrate and keep the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, *and other holy days*, according to God's will and pleasure and the orders of the church of England prescribed in that behalf." Canon 13. The *Lord's day* is included in the same category as other holy days; and the observance of all enforced by the same considerations,—the will of God and *the authority of the church*; as though it were merely a solemnity of the church, like Ash Wednesday or Good Friday. But we would fain believe that better sentiments on this subject prevail in the body of that communion.

England, Scotland and America accordingly enjoy a christian sabbath. To them it is what God originally designed it should be in all the earth;—a day of blessing and of mercy to man. But how melancholy the reflection that they only, among all the nations of Christendom, enjoy a christian sabbath. It is truly sad to witness the desecrations of the sabbath even in protestant Europe. But to a son of the pilgrims, who loves this day of the Lord, wearied with the perpetual hurrying to and fro of the multitude in that strange land; saddened at the sight of the gay throngs that crowd every place of amusement, in pursuit of every conceivable form of merriment and of guilty pleasure; sickened at the sound of revelry and noisy mirth mingling with the notes of martial music, the bustle of the military parade, and the din of business;—to such an alien from the land of the pilgrims, it is most refreshing to enjoy, once more, a day of sacred rest in his native land, or in that fair and happy island from which his fathers came. Even in busy London, that vast metropolis of the world, the sacred suspension of secular business, the deep repose

of that tumultuous city as the sabbath returns, the stillness of the hallowed day, its sacred associations, its solemn rites and divine instructions enforced by the solemnities of the sanctuary,—these all are a cordial to his thirsty spirit. In the enjoyment of such a sabbath he feels how blessed, above all other days, is the one which the Lord hath made.

ARTICLE V.

THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA AND METHODOLOGY.

Translated from the unpublished Manuscripts of Prof. Tholuck of Halle, by Edwards A. Park.
(Continued from Vol. I. No. II. p. 367.)

B. The various Departments of Dogmatic Theology.

§ 24. I. *The arrangement of Proof-texts, and the Dogmatic Theology of the Bible.*

THE first duty of the student in the department of systematic theology is, to collect the *dicta probantia*. The arrangement of these proof-texts, (τόποι,) belongs to the department of "Topics." The collections which have been hitherto made of such passages are unsatisfactory. They contain those texts only which express a truth absolutely and directly, but omit those which simply involve and imply the same truth.

The department of Biblical Dogmatic Theology is immediately derived from that of Topics. In other words, the system of Christian faith is expressed with simplicity, in sentences which are founded on the proof-texts of the Bible. In addition to the simple statement of the Christian principles, this department will allow an exegetical proof that the principles are taught in the Bible, and also a brief scientific confirmation of them. In this department, as in that of Topics, we have no satisfactory Treatise for students. The older writers, as Zachariae, are prolix and devoid of taste. Storr and Knapp have given us the best works that we have of this character.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the name Biblical Dogmatic Theology has been used in a different sense from that which is given above. It has been applied to the science which is more properly called Dogmatic History. Certain theo-

logians, who take a rationalistic view of christian doctrine, have considered the various teachings of the Bible, from the time of Abraham to that of Jesus and the apostles, as the product of the human reason in its course of gradual improvement. In this sense, therefore, must the Biblical Dogmatics or Theology exhibit the gradual development of the reason in religious things, as it kept pace with the advancement of the times in which the writers of the Bible lived. There has also been included in this department a representation of the particulars in which the apostles agree among themselves, and also of the particulars in which they differ among themselves, in their respective systems of faith. The Biblical Dogmatics of Von Ammon, De Wette, Baumgarten Crusius, Von Cölln, have been composed in this rationalistic spirit.

II. *Dogmatic Theology of the Church.*

Different men take different views of the contents of the Bible. When any great number of men unite in the same views, they form a distinct creed for the expression of their views. In this way does the one great Christian church divide itself into various branches, which adopt different confessions of faith. The differences between these various departments of the church may be unessential and merely *formal*, as indeed there were diversities among the apostles themselves, in their mode of stating the truth. Churches which are formed in southern latitudes, may be found to give an uncommon degree of influence to the fancy in their views of doctrine and of worship; churches which are formed in northern latitudes, may be found to give an unusual influence to the understanding, etc. Still it is obvious, from the very nature of the case, that the discordant views which men take of divine truth, are in part occasioned by the sinfulness of the heart. Levity of moral feeling, for example, will incline the student to represent the guilt of man as less than it would be regarded by one of a more serious habit of mind.

By the phrase, the Dogmatic Theology of a Church, is therefore to be understood, that representation of Christian doctrine which accords with the views and the developments of a particular ecclesiastical community. With us, at the present time, the phrase denotes an historical science; an exhibition of the theological views which have been adopted by the old Lutheran writers on dogmatic theology. The science is exhibited in this

manner by Hase, in his *Hutterus Redivivus*, by Bretschneider, De Wette, and others. The theologian who espouses the cause of any particular church, is of course required to understand the doctrines of that church. It is especially useful for him to pursue the study of the first two systematic theologians belonging to the protestant communities—Calvin's *Institutes* and Melanethor's *Loci Theologici*. A good edition of the former was published in Berlin, in 1834, 1835, and a good edition of the latter in Erlangen, in 1828.

An acquaintance with the creeds and confessions of an ecclesiastical community, is connected with the dogmatic theology of the same. The science of Symbolics or Symbolism (*die Symbolik*) exhibits the doctrinal views of a church exactly as they are laid down in her authorized standards. It is ordinarily *comparative*, that is, it places side by side the written confessions of various churches. The *Comparative View of the Systems of the various Christian Schools*, (*Comp. Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs der versch. christ. Kirchen-Parteien*.) by Winer, and the *Symbolik* by Guenike, are especially serviceable in this department. The articles of faith adopted by the Lutheran church, are found in the *Christian Form of Concord*, (*Concordien-Buch*.) published by J. G. Walch, in 1750. They are here given in both the German and the Latin languages, and are accompanied with an historical introduction. A Latin edition of this work was published by Hase, in two parts, in 1823. The Symbolical books of the Calvinistic (*reformirten*) church, were published in the German language by Mess, in 1830; in the Latin language, by Augusti, in 1827; by Niemeyer, in 1839. The *Apology for the Augsburg Confession*, may be recommended as more deserving of study than any other work of this character, with the exception of the *Confession* itself.

Polemic Theology should be studied at the same time with the examination of creeds and ecclesiastical standards. The Polemic science should not be confounded with the Apologetic. The latter has respect to the enemies of Christianity; the former, to the Confessions of Christian parties who differ from ourselves. Polemic Theology had for a long time lain dormant in modern days, but within a few years it has been awakened from its inactive state. Scheibel and Guenike have defended the Lutheran Theology against the Calvinists; and Möhler has, with signal ability, defended the Catholic church against the Protestants. His Sym-

bolik,¹ a fourth edition of which was published in 1836, exhibits much talent. As antagonistical to the Symbolik of Möhler, there have been published, on the Protestant side, a work of Baur on the Opposition between the Protestant and the Catholic Systems, (*Gegensatz zwischen Protestantismus und Katholicismus*,) 1834, and also a work of Nitzsch, entitled, A Protestant Reply to the Symbolik of Möhler, (*Protest. Beant. der Symbol. von Möhler*).

III. The Scientific Dogmatical Theology.

The man who is scientifically educated, feels the imperative need of learning the logical necessity and the inward connection of all the propositions, which he believes to be correct. In all ages, therefore, have the men who have enjoyed a philosophical training been sedulous to show the reasonableness of Christian truths, and the connection of one doctrine with another. They have, in a greater or less degree, endeavored to accomplish this result according to those principles of science and metaphysical philosophy, which were current in their day. In the prosecution of these inquiries it is needful, first of all, to examine the grounds on which we may rest our faith in the revelation made by Christ and the apostles. If this faith be shown to accord with the principles of reason, then it is of necessity presupposed, that the contents of the divine revelation are also reasonable; then the teachings of the New Testament are believed, and, after laborious study, are by degrees more and more clearly understood. The scholastic maxim is,—*Credo ut intelligam*; and also—*Fides praeceedit intellectum*.

The attempt to show the rational character of the Christian faith, began to be made in the earliest periods of the Christian era, and has been continued through all succeeding periods. It was commenced by the Apologists for Christianity; it was prosecuted by Origen in his *περί Αρχών*, *De Principiis*, which was the first scientific treatise on the Christian system of theology. This attempt, however, to develop the reasonableness of Christianity has ever led to varying results. The discrepancy has been occasioned by the differing tendencies of science, and especially by the diversities in systems of metaphysical philosophy. Those who have adopted views adverse to the Christian faith have, from the times of the apostles to our own day, been excluded from the

¹ Translated into English by James B. Robertson, Esq. and accompanied with a memoir of the author.—Tr.

Christian communion. This is regarded by many as a severe proceeding; it is, however, a necessary result of the very idea of a *community*. Even at the present time, the ministers of the evangelical church (of Germany) are obliged to take an oath to defend the doctrines of our symbolical books. Since the reign of Frederic II, however, this oath has been practically disregarded. In glaring opposition to it our articles of faith have been denied, and every form of attack upon them has been tolerated. In this manner have arisen, within the enclosure of the evangelical church itself, a great number of conflicting parties, who in former times would have separated themselves from the church, and would have framed distinct confessions. The characteristics of the parties existing at the present time, will be given in the sequel.

IV. *The History of Doctrines.*

We will in this place consider the history of doctrines as an integral department of Systematic Theology, although it may likewise be treated as one of the historical sciences. It exhibits to us the processes of thought, in which the scientific men of different ages have endeavored to apprehend and to vindicate the doctrines of Christianity. In this point of view, the history of doctrines is needful for the prosecution of systematic theology; inasmuch as the efforts after truth, which have been made in all former times, serve as a basis for our individual meditations. It is an established fact, that the same dogma has been again and again reproduced at different periods, and at each of these periods with some new phasis. By knowing the history of its different phases, we may be the better enabled to understand the dogma itself. The History of Christology by Dörner, is written with the design of thus elucidating the doctrine concerning the character of Christ.

V. *Apologetic Theology.*

This term has ordinarily been employed to denote the science which exhibits the historical grounds for the truth, and the divine authority of Christianity. It has been supposed to treat, in an especial manner, of the miracles and prophecies. The proof of the authenticity and inspiration of the biblical writings has also been often included in the Apologetic department. From the manner in which the department has been described, it would appear to aim at nothing but to establish the divine authority of the Christian

religion. Such a representation, however, is a false one. The Apology for Christian doctrine is given in every theological science which is elaborated in a Christian spirit. Formerly, indeed, the highest degree of importance was attached to the historical proofs of Christianity; and it is a fact that these proofs make the deepest impression upon the majority of men. The *Apologetik* by Prof. Sack, and the *Credibility of the Evangelical History* (*Glaubwürdigkeit, etc. etc.*) by Tholuck, may be mentioned as the chief works in this department.

§ 25. *Characteristics of the chief tendencies of Systematic Theology at the present time.*

The contest which is now going on, in reference to Dogmatic Theology, may be regarded as in part *formal*, in part *material*. It is *formal*, so far as the question is, whether or not we should attach importance to the decisions of the reason and philosophy; whether we found religious truth upon the feeling, or upon the understanding, or upon history. It is *material*, so far as the question is, whether we shall receive or reject the articles of the Christian faith. The controversy in regard to the *material* question is at present designated, as the opposition between Rationalism and Supranaturalism; but these party names do not express with sufficient definiteness the true character of the dispute. That plan of reasoning which we now call Rationalism, was first elaborated in England in the seventeenth century, and was there called Deism, the system of the Freethinkers, sometimes also Rationalism. In Germany likewise, as early as the seventeenth century, the terms Rationalism and Naturalism were used to designate that system which denied the divine revelation; see the quotations authenticating this statement in Hahn, *De Rationalismi vera Indole*, 1827. The name, however, fell into desuetude, and was at first brought again into vogue at the beginning of the present century by Gabler and Reinhard. At the same time, also, men began to designate the principles which stood in opposition to Rationalism by the name, Supranaturalism. Even the rationalists themselves defined their system to be, that which receives so much only of a pretended revelation as accords with the religious ideas; see Wegscheider's *Institut*. § 11. The rationalist examines, therefore, the Christian revelation under the influence of these religious ideas; and his decision is, that the morality of the gospel, its teachings concerning God, and the freedom of the will, and the immortality

of the soul, and the state of rewards and punishments, commend themselves to the mind as reasonable; but that the other doctrines are to be regarded as a result of the contracted and erroneous style of thinking which prevailed among the Jews in respect of religious themes. It is also said ordinarily, that there is in the Bible a pure *typus doctrinae* and an impure one; and that the considerate theologian should copy after the former alone.

The rationalists have described Supranaturalism, as that system which receives a supernatural, miraculous revelation on the ground of mere authority, without any application of the individual reason; see Wegscheider's *Institut* § 10. But the rationalists misrepresent, in this case, the system of Supranaturalism, and ascribe to it a feature which does not belong to it. This system has always sought to show the logical necessity of faith in the divine revelation; it has always considered the apologetic science, as at the foundation of this faith. But after it has evinced the divine authority of Christ and of the apostles, it has indeed required, that we repose confidence in their authority; that we believe their instructions to be true, even if we cannot exactly prove that they accord with the decisions of reason.

The contest between these two parties continued from the end of the preceding century until the year 1820 or thereabout. At this latter period the relation of theological parties began to change. The system of the supranaturalists was not in exact accordance with the faith of the church; it had moderated the spirit of the standard confessions; it had given an insipid explanation of doctrine; it involved a tendency toward Pelagianism. Since the year 1820, theologians have arisen who embrace stricter views of the church-doctrine, and who reason on the principles of Augustinism. Men have also appeared, who take the station of mediators between rationalism and supranaturalism. At the present time, therefore, the old rationalistic system is called *vulgaris* or *communis*; and the old system of the supranaturalists is called Historical Supranaturalism. Among the representatives of the rationalists, Ammon and Röhr stand conspicuous. Ammon has given the most skilful exhibition of their system, in his treatise on the Progressive Advancement of the Christian System until it shall become the Religion for the whole world (*Fortbildung des Christenthums zur Weltreligion*). Röhr has stated his views of theology in his *Letters concerning Rationalism*. Among the representatives of the Historical Supranaturalism may be mentioned, Reinhard, Schott, Hahn, Knapp, Storr, Flatt, and others of kindred sentiment.

Since the year 1820 or thereabout, the theology of Schleiermacher has gained an important influence. Its fundamental principle is, that the essential part of religion is not the intellectual view, not the action, but the state of the religious feeling. It is the immediate feeling of dependence on God. Doctrines are nothing more than those imperfect reflections, in which men endeavor to make the state of their own feelings clear to themselves. Philosophy has nothing to do with religion. It develops the ideas on the ground of a necessity in the order of the thoughts alone, entirely independent of the feelings. Schleiermacher knew the experiences of the religious life of a Christian; and he felt a powerful reality in them. In many of his speculations he coincided with Spinoza and Fichte, but feeling was for him a stronger reality than speculation. He believed that philosophy is as yet far from attaining its true end; and he drew himself back from it, and retired into the province of Christian experience. This experience he vindicated in his *Systematic Theology*, with the aid of a fine-drawn and eloquent system of dialectics. On the other hand, the rationalistic tendencies of the day in which Schleiermacher commenced his labors, the style of criticism too which then prevailed, his own philosophical studies also, particularly his study of Spinoza, undermined his faith in many parts of the orthodoxy that has ever been prevalent in the church. Hence it is, that he defended the great doctrines of Christianity, and at the same time, abandoned many portions of truth, many parts especially of the historical revelation. See Gess's *Analysis of the System of Schleiermacher* (*Auseinandersetzung des Schleiermacherschen Systems*).

A large number of theologians, influenced by the genius and labors of Schleiermacher, now came forward, and exhibited more or less of Christian earnestness in defending the weightier doctrines of Christianity, but at the same time favored the cause of rationalism in many respects, and particularly in their style of criticism. Baumgarten Crusius, Hase, Lücke, are representatives of this school. Other disciples of Schleiermacher, however, have adhered more closely to the teachings of the Bible and of the church. Such men, for example, are Neander, Nitzsch, Twisten.

It was about the year 1830 that the Hegelian philosophy began to exert its influence upon the public. The right wing of the Hegelians proceeded from the following principle in their reasonings: only that can be regarded as true by a rational inquirer, which must be believed in the necessary process of thought. That pro-

cess of thought is necessary, which accords with a certain *method*, and the only true *method* is the Hegelian logic. In the application of this method, it is found that philosophical truth lies at the foundation of the Christian history and doctrine. Marheinecke is considered as the representative of this right wing of the Hegelians, in the department of dogmatic theology; but he does not adopt, even in a speculative form, the true system of Christian doctrine; he denies it rather, and that directly, in some of its essential articles. He withholds assent not merely from the doctrines of our own individual immortality, of the resurrection of the dead, and of the last judgment, but also from the doctrine of the resurrection of Christ.

The error of the *rationalismus vulgaris* consists in the fact, that the rationalist lays the basis of his system in an idea of the sound reason, but does not antecedently prove that his own idea is one of the sound reason. He says, the sound reason is that which is rightly educated; and the right education is, that which is imparted by a sound philosophy; but the question perpetually occurs, What is a sound reason and a sound philosophy? At first the Wolfian philosophy was regarded by the rationalists as the sound one; then the Kantian; and afterward other systems. But since the promulgation of Schelling's and Hegel's philosophy, which has charged the rationalistic system with shallowness, and has sought to prove that a deeper idea is involved in the doctrines of the gospel than has been admitted by that system, it has been asserted by Röhr, that the reason to which the rationalists make their appeal, is not that which is peculiar to any philosophical school, but is the universal reason, that which is found in every well educated man. By taking this ground, the rationalists have renounced every philosophical basis, and have adopted the sound understanding, the common sense of man, for their law and criterion of truth. It has, however, been proved by Hase, that this standard is arbitrary; that different ages and different classes of men have sanctioned altogether different principles, as the principles of common sense; and that the investigations of philosophy develop a higher category, which the rationalists have no right to disregard. See Hase's *Streitigkeiten*, No. 1. p. 41.

The theory of the religious feeling, as propounded by Schleiermacher, is none the less destitute of solid foundation. Religious truth must be truth for all men; it must, therefore, in the processes of thought, as well as in feeling, commend itself as the truth. The fact that my emotions are religiously affected in one

mode or in another, gives me no certainty that this affection is a sound one, and in harmony with the laws of my being.

The system of Hegel seems to leave no room for any distinctive science of theology; for according to that system, philosophy occupies the whole ground of theological discussion; it decides, altogether independently of other sciences, with regard to religious doctrine; and the highest service which theology can perform is, to express philosophical truths in biblical phraseology, so as to spread the knowledge of these truths through more extensive circles of society. Since every system of philosophy is nothing more than a philosophy of the time in which it was written, it cannot afford to the theologian any knowledge of absolute truth. We must, therefore, consider the only sure basis of dogmatic theology to be that principle which recognizes the Revelation from God, and points out the harmony between the contents of this revelation and the decisions of human reason. The most intimate relation in which the investigator of theological truth stands to Christianity is an historical one; the church being an historical institution, recognizing the authority of the scriptures, and therefore acknowledging that an historical record lies at the foundation of the ecclesiastical community. According to these principles, the very foundations of systematic theology are laid in those researches, which, agreeably to the modern classification, belong to the Apologetic department. This department canvasses the credibility of the evangelical narratives. It includes three distinct processes of inquiry: it examines the proof, first, that these narratives proceeded, originally, from the apostles and their disciples; secondly, that these men were competent to narrate the truth; and thirdly, that they were disposed to narrate it. The authenticity of the second, the third, and the fourth of the gospels, is as far removed from reasonable doubt as the authenticity of any other historical writing. With regard to the gospel of Matthew, it may be satisfactorily proved that a Hebrew original lay at the foundation of our present Greek copy;¹ but it cannot be proved that our Greek copy is a mere translation of the original Hebrew. The inquiries into this subject have assumed a great degree of importance in modern times; for while the former effort of rationalism was, to divest the Bible of its supernatural records by explaining away their real meaning, its present effort is, to accomplish the same end by maintaining that the discourses of our Sa-

¹ See a discussion of this question in *Am. Bib. Repos.* Vol. XII. Art. vii.

viour and the narratives of his exploits have been interpolated. Such an interpolation, however, can be supposed only on the ground, that the authenticity of the evangelists may be reasonably denied.

The cardinal inquiry which is now proposed for theological discussion is, What opinion shall we form of the character of Christ? Even the most skeptical writers admit the historical fact, that the Saviour uttered, with regard to himself, such words as we find in Matthew 11: 27. 28: 31, etc. We must, therefore, of necessity, adopt one of the three following suppositions. First, it may be supposed that the real fact is, as these passages declare it to be. In this case, the Saviour is specifically different from all other men; he is a super-human being. Secondly, it may be supposed, that in his exaltation above others he said altogether too much in his own praise; he said more than propriety allowed. In this case, he was a fanatic. Thirdly it may be supposed, that he designedly expressed more than he believed in honor of his character and office. In this case, he must be considered as an intentional deceiver. We cannot avoid this dilemma by saying, that the high claims which Jesus put forth for himself were made in accommodation to the popular feeling which existed at that time among the Jews. It is by no means a fact, that the Jews ascribed to a prophet the power of forgiving sins, or the right of professing to be the radiance emanating from God. Schaller, in his work entitled, "The Historical Christ," committed a great mistake in asserting that the Jews entertained an opinion favorable to such exalted claims. No nation on the earth imagined so great a distance to exist between God and man, as was imagined by the Jews. They went even so far as to cast stones at Jesus because he made himself equal with God; see John 10: 33.

Our opinion concerning the miracles which Christ performed, will aid us in deciding the question concerning his personal character. If he did in fact perform miraculous works, they must be regarded as corroborating the expressions which he makes concerning himself; and on the other hand, these expressions concerning himself confirm the reality of the miracles attributed to him. It must be expected of such a person as he describes himself to be, that he will have a dominion over nature. It is with this meaning that Rosencranz says, "It would have been wonderful if Jesus had not performed wonders." In order to avoid the admission of Christ's miraculous agency, the most dissimilar processes of argument have been pursued by rationalists at dif-

ferent periods. Several English deists, and also Reimar, the author of the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, have ventured to account for the miraculous appearances on the ground of imposture. The German rationalism has betaken itself to forced explanations of the passages; that record any supernatural occurrence. About the year 1820, men began to be satisfied with simply uttering a "non liquet" in regard to such events; but this is not an allowable mode of dismissing a scientific question, when we possess all the data which are needful for deciding it. Strauss has broken through this indecision, and has advanced the principle that all narratives of miraculous agency are mythical, are tales arbitrarily originated, resting on the basis of a religious idea, but devoid of all historical truth. He further admits, that this method of explaining away the record of miracles cannot be adopted, unless the authenticity of all the gospels be disproved. But if this should be done, and if all the miracles recorded by the four evangelists should be laid aside, still other supernatural events would present themselves for our consideration; and these we should be required to explain. The Acts of the Apostles present the same difficulties as are found in the Gospels: Paul speaks of miracles performed among the early Christians, as if they were of daily occurrence; see 1 Cor. 12: 9. ch. xiv. He says that he himself had performed miracles; 2 Cor. 12: 12. Rom. 15: 19.

The prophecies of Christ must also be added to his miraculous operations. Many of his prophetic sayings have indeed been thought to be interpolations of the sacred text, or to have been changed from the form in which he uttered them. Still, even De Wette admits the genuineness and authenticity of certain expressions, in which the gift of prophecy is implied beyond a doubt; see Matt. 21: 43, and 8: 11, 12. Thus at a time when not a single heathen had been converted, when his disciples were straitened in the last degree, Christ asserted, definitely and confidently, that the gospel would make especial progress in the heathen world, and would there gain for itself a sure foothold.

This historical and apologetic proof secures faith in the higher dignity of Christ, and also in the authority of the apostles, for it confirms their narratives. If, therefore, Christ is the *Logos* who became man, the inference follows that the doctrine which was taught by himself and the apostles must, in an absolute sense, be conformed to the principles of reason. If it do not appear so to us immediately, it will yet assume such an appearance, when the reason shall have made a gradual advancement. Therefore Her-

der says, "Our reason is educated by the divine revelation, and the well educated daughter will not strike her mother in the face." Paul himself speaks of Christianity as *σοφία* in the view of the world, 1 Cor. 1: 21; but he says, at the same time, that for the *ελεῖος* it is nothing but *σοφία*; 1 Cor. 2: 6. Col. 2: 3. The Christian, therefore, comes with this confidence to the doctrinal teachings of the Bible; and this is the sense in which we may sanction the scholastic phrase, *credimus, ut intelligamus*. In evidence of the fund of instruction which the human reason discovers in the Bible, we may refer to a remark which was made by Goethe, "There is no book in the world on which the mind of man has developed itself so richly and so variously, as on the Scriptures." If now the Christianized portions of our race are the most rational and the most accomplished of all men, should we not, therefore, form a favorable judgment of the Christian religion, which has exerted so favorable an influence upon the world?

We cannot here anticipate what belongs to the department of systematic theology, but we may adduce one example of a doctrine, which is thought to be more repugnant than any other to the sound judgment of man, but which may be shown in fact to be a postulate of the human reason. This is the doctrine of the Trinity. The Socinians and also the rationalists have thought this dogma to be sufficiently refuted by referring to the logical contradiction which it is supposed to contain, by showing that three cannot be one. To this objection it was replied, long ago, by Augustine, by the schoolmen, and afterward by Leibnitz, that a logical contradiction arises only when the judgments, which are expressed with regard to a subject, are opposed to each other in the same relation of that subject, and that there is no contradiction when the dissimilar judgments respect dissimilar relations of the same thing. Thus it involves no contradiction to say of man that he is mortal, and that he is immortal. Now the doctrine of the church in regard to the Trinity is, *Est unus secundum essentiam, est trius secundum substantiam, or, modum essendi*. So it is said of the human spirit, it is one and simple in its nature, but is triple in its modes of expression or of subsistence; in perceiving, willing, feeling. We are able, however, not only to refute the objection in this manner, but also to prove that a personal God can be conceived of only as triune. We must reason on the admitted principle, that without an "I," there can be no "Thou," (that is, without a consciousness of my own personality, there can be no conception of the personality of another.) It is

equally true, that without a "Thou," there can be no "I;" that is, I cannot arrive at the consciousness of my own personality, unless I have a knowledge of the personality of other beings. I and thou are correlative ideas. If, therefore, the Deity had been an abstract unity throughout an eternal duration, then he would not have been a personal existence, he would not have been an "I," he would have been destitute of all consciousness of himself as a distinct person. Thus also he would never have come to the act of creating the universe, (for this act presupposes the conscious personal existence of an intelligent Creator). The Deity must, therefore, have existed from eternity as an "I" and "Thou;" he must have been to himself an object as well as a subject; he must have looked upon himself in a "Thou," which is his image, Heb. 1: 3. Without having, in this manner, an object within himself, without being an object to himself, God could not have exercised love. The definition of love is, the finding of one's self in another. But if God be an abstract unity, then he cannot love, for there is no other person in whom he can find himself. He therefore must have an object in himself, in his own perfect image, which is called his Son. But our reasoning cannot stop here. The same principles lead us to the further conclusion, that if there were only the Father and the Son, the one and the other; if the Father only knew himself in the Son, and if the Son only knew himself in the Father, then the two persons would be distinct and separate. God must know himself, therefore, as the union of the Father and the Son, and this Union is the Spirit.

We have still to answer the question, how far it is possible for man in his present state, to attain an adequate knowledge of Christian truth. The entire history of theological doctrine, has shown the endeavor of the human mind to bring the teachings of Christianity within the comprehension of the reason; or in other words, to perceive that Christian truth is in entire and strict conformity with rational principles. Science is constantly approaching nearer and nearer to the attainment of this end; still it makes as yet nothing more than an approximation. The perfect fitness to understand religious doctrine, is an attainment which belongs to a higher sphere than the earthly. The Scriptures distinguish faith from sight, see 1 Cor. 13: 12. 2 Cor. 5: 7. The sight which we shall enjoy hereafter is different, in various particulars, from the knowledge which we enjoy here. First, our knowledge always has respect to single points of truth, and never to the total unity of it. Sight, on the contrary, embraces all the points of knowledge in

one united whole. Secondly, our knowledge is derived from imperfect data, is obtained from a disadvantageous point of view, because our inward experience is yet imperfect; that is, our feelings and volitions are not yet perfectly united with God. In consequence of this imperfect experience, our knowledge, which is founded on this experience, must be of course incomplete. On the other hand, sight is the state of a soul whose feelings and volitions are perfectly at one with God; of a soul to which God is all in all. From this point of view, therefore, the truth can be perceived fully and definitely.

† 26. *Remarks on the method to be pursued in the study of Systematic Theology.*

The question arises, In what order are the various systems of Dogmatic Theology to be studied? In answer to this question, it may be said, that we should begin with those systems which are positively Christian in their spirit. The necessity of directing our first attention to systems of this evangelical character, is evident from the fact that we cannot thoroughly understand those writers who oppose the orthodox doctrine, unless we previously have a thorough understanding of the orthodox doctrine itself. Besides, the distinctively Christian theology has in its favor the authority of eighteen centuries, and moreover it is yet acknowledged to be the prevailing system of the church.

In the study of evangelical theology, the inquirer is first obliged to prove the articles of his faith by the teachings of the Bible. It will be useful for him to collect for himself the *dicta probantia* for these various articles of belief, while he is pursuing his exegetical study. This is the more necessary, because we have no manual which exhibits a good arrangement of the proof-texts for scriptural doctrines. At the very commencement of the theological course, it is in the highest degree useful to begin the study of those lighter treatises, which serve as an introduction to the Dogmatic branch of the science. Such treatises are, Ullmann on the Sinlessness of Christ (über die Sündlosigkeit Christi); Sartorius's Lectures on the Person and Work of Christ (Christologische Vorlesungen); Tholuck on the Doctrine of Sin and the Redeemer (die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner), and Stirn's Apology for Christianity (Apologie des Christenthums).¹

¹ Of the above-named works, those of Ullmann, Sartorius and Tholuck have been translated into English.—Ta.

The next step is, to examine the systems of theology which are adopted by particular churches. What is commonly called among us the Church-Dogmatics, may be most successfully learned by the collateral reading of Melancthon's *Loci* and Calvin's *Institutes*. Intimately connected with this study, follows the scientific vindication of the Church-Dogmatics. Among the recent works which are designed to establish the doctrines of our church, Twisten's *Dogmatik* is especially to be recommended. The next object of examination is, the systems of theology that deviate from the standards of the Reformation. It is better in this department to follow the historical method, and examine each divergent system according to the order of time in which it was originated. The student should read, in reference to this subject, Röhr's *Letters on Rationalism* (*Briefen über den Rationalismus*); Wegscheider's *Institutes*, Ammon's *Progressive Advancement of the Christian Scheme* until it shall become the Religion for the whole world (*Fortbildung*, etc.). The system of rationalism is critically examined in the acute little treatise of Sartorius, entitled, *Religion without the Bounds of the Pure Reason* (*die Religion ausserhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*), 1822; also in Sartorius's *Contributions to the Defence of the True Faith* (*Beiträge zur Vertheidigung der Rechtgläubigkeit*), 1825; Steiber's *Critical Examination of Rationalism* (*Kritik des Rationalismus*), 1830; Hase's *Controversial Writings against Röhr*, in three Parts.—The most successful method of gaining a knowledge of Schleiermacher is, to begin the study of his system with the work of Gess, (which gives a synopsis of Schleiermacher's views). The examination of Schleiermacher's *Sermons* should be connected with the reading of Gess. These sermons impart much information in regard to the dogmatic system of their author. His *Orations or Discourses on Religion* (*Reden über die Religion*) should also be studied at the same time. The system of theological doctrine which is constructed according to the Hegelian method, may be learned from the writings of Marheinecke and Daub.

§ 27. *The Science of Morals.*

Ethical science is the system of Christian love, or rather of the inward and outward life of Christians. It therefore takes cognizance, first, of man in his moral relations without the influence of Christ; secondly, of man as he lives under this influence; and thirdly, of the mode in which the Christian morality is developed

in the life. In contemplating our race, as they live under the influence of Christ, we are bound to consider how far he is their Redeemer in a moral respect. He is their Redeemer, in the first place, because he has brought into the world an absolutely perfect law of morals; in the second place, because he has imparted to (some of) them such an impulse of love, that they fulfil his law with freedom of volition. Without a knowledge of Christ, they are left ignorant of a perfect moral standard. The Saviour has therefore redeemed the human reason in this regard. Christian morality insists on the command, Love God above every other object; and sets this up as the highest of all commands, as the principle of all, and derives all other duties from this one.

It is admitted, that the Christian requisitions are more rigid than those of all other moral systems; see Matthew 5: 20. If, therefore, Christ came into the world for the mere purpose of teaching a stricter system of ethics than had been previously taught, it follows that he cannot in truth merit the appellation of a Redeemer. If any one increases the pressure of the demands which are made upon me, without augmenting my power to fulfil them, he is not my benefactor. The moral redemption, accordingly, which Christ has effected for us does not consist in the fact of his perfecting our rule of duty, but rather in the fact of his so awakening the feelings of love within us that we fulfil the law with freedom of volition. Christ has exercised so great a degree of kindness toward us, that he excites the liveliest reciprocation of affection from us toward him; and consequently his commands are obeyed (not slavishly but) from the principle of grateful love. While therefore the requisitions of Christian morality are stricter than any other, still the exclamation of John is reiterated by all the true followers of Jesus, His commandments are not grievous, hard to be borne.

Every other system of Ethics leaves it doubtful, how far men can advance toward a oneness with God and his will. But the system of Christian Ethics reveals the prospect of an entire union with the Deity and with his moral government; see Rom. 8: 29, 30. 1 Cor. 15: 28.

Among the ethical treatises which are worthy of study, that of Reinhard is conspicuous. It is written in five volumes, is very rich in materials for thought, but is deficient in spirit and energy. Praise is also due to the work of Schwartz on Morals. It is in two volumes, and is particularly valuable for the force of thought which it exhibits. The ethical treatise of Daub is elaborated in

the strictly philosophical method. (That of Harden is compressed, and breathes a Christian spirit.)

C. Historical Theology.

§ 27. *The true Idea and the various Departments of Church History.*

We may, at the outset, define Ecclesiastical History to be, in the popular acceptation of the term, the narrative of the changes through which the church of Christ has passed on earth. But every scientific narrative of a course of events, must have one leading idea, which imparts a unity to the whole. The idea of the kingdom of God, is the leading thought in the history of the church. This kingdom of God is an ideal communion of the redeemed in a state of perfection. In this state every man is so far pervaded with the spirit of love, that each makes the will of his neighbors his own will, and all subject themselves entirely to the good pleasure of God; so that knowledge attains, in this state, to the possession of absolute truth, the will becomes absolute holiness, and the feelings are made the abode of perfect blessedness. Now it is the province of Church-History to show the extent to which the Christian church, at different periods of her existence, has approximated to this state of ideal perfection. It is accordingly evident, that none but a theologian can write a narrative of the course of ecclesiastical events. As soon as ecclesiastical history is deprived of the guiding idea of the kingdom of God, the words of Herder become applicable to it, "The history of the church, written without constant allusion to the Spirit of Jehovah, is the huge body of Polyphemus, from which the eye is thrust out." The practical benefit which a clergyman may derive from the study of church history is, on the one hand, that of encouragement; on the other hand, that of warning. His mind is elevated to the consideration of Christ's victorious agency, examples of which have been given in all periods of the church, and have verified the predictions which are given in Matthew 16: 18. 28: 20. The preacher is also led to meditate on the continued warning which comes from the history of the church; for errors in doctrine and wickedness in practice have been nearly the same throughout the whole Christian dispensation. In his pulpit discourses, also, the preacher may make very frequent use of the admonitions conveyed by narratives of ecclesiastical events. Milner's History of the Church is well fitted for this practical applica-

tion of historical truth. So likewise are Neander's *Memorable Events in the History of the Christian Church*, (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Kirchen-Geschichte*), and Godfrey Arnold's *Portraiture of the first Christians*, (*Abbildung der ersten Christen*). There are some branches of Church History which are treated as distinct departments. These are, first, the History of Christian Doctrines; secondly, the Archaeology of the Church; thirdly, the Geography and Statistics of the Church. There are likewise particular periods, which are treated as separate departments of study. These are, first, the age of the Apostles; secondly, the times of the earliest Christian writers; thirdly, the period of the Reformation; fourthly, the various periods of missionary activity. (The word *Patrology* is sometimes used to signify the record of the life and exertions of the Christian fathers; the account of their doctrines and writings is called *Patristics*. This last term is also used, in a more general sense, to include *Patrology*.)

† 28. *What is required in the treatment of the History of the Church.*

The reader may consult, on this question, Herder's *Letters on the Study of Theology*, letter 48, and also Ullmann's *Essay on the Position of the Ecclesiastical Historian at the present day*. This Essay is found in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 4th No. 1829.

The first remark to be made in answer to the question above proposed is, that in order to become a worthy historian of the church, a man must consult the original authorities. Unless he derive his information from these authorities, he will fail to give an ideal presence of the scenes which he describes, and will also misunderstand some particulars of the history. The second requisite for an historian who would be master of his art is, that he exhibit individual facts with individuality of style; that he describe times and persons in detail rather than in the general. The writer of a Church History should not merely say, that the age was corrupt, but should adduce examples of this corruption; he should specify certain instances of a whole class. He should not merely say, that the cause of learning was depressed at a particular period, but he should rather describe the institutions of learning, the instances in which they were perverted, the excrescences of literature which were seen at that period. In the department of *Profane History*, Gibbon has obtained a masterly power of this vivid delineation. John Müller has also a talent for

the same picturesque description. Among the ecclesiastical historians, Schröckh and Staudlin are destitute of this faculty, to an extent which we could not have anticipated. Neander also exhibits only a small degree of such vivid individual portraiture. It is almost entirely wanting in Gieseler's History, and yet his extracts from original authorities make some compensation for this defect. Guericke, in his Church History, describes the age of the Reformation in a vivid and individualizing style. Hase has developed a greater power of historical painting, than any other theological historian. Still he has published only a short compendium of history, and has therefore not been favored with much opportunity for displaying this power.

It is particularly important, that the ecclesiastical historian should describe, more extensively than has been common, the individual incidents of civil and domestic life. One important result of this familiar delineation would be the assurance, that there has been, in all ages, more of Christianity and more of piety in the world, than a general view of ecclesiastical history would lead us to believe. This is altogether natural; for both in the history of the world and in that of the church, there is a prominence given to those individuals only who occupy exalted stations; and according to the degree in which persons are elevated in society, is the difficulty of detecting their earnestness of religious feeling. Ambition easily crowds forward to the highest places in life, and true virtue remains unobtrusive and unnoticed. Accordingly it has been well said by Herder, "As the most beautiful acts of the individual Christian will be those of which the world have no knowledge, so the most interesting operations of Christianity will be those which are unnoticed in general history, those which are performed in the quiet circle of family friends."

A third requisite of the ecclesiastical historian is, that he have no party prejudices, but still that he have his party preferences. The historian who has no party preferences, feels no more interest in one religious persuasion than its opposite, no more sympathy with one theological school than with another. - Now it is true, as Raumer says, that "he who begins with the principle of making all religions equally important, will soon end with the principle of making them all equally unimportant." But a history, written with this feeling of indifference toward the various religious parties in the world, will be colorless and lifeless. The truth must have a party in its favor, and we ought to feel an interest in this party. Still, the preference of one style of think-

ing above another, is different from an undistinguishing prejudice for one and against another. The historian who has a party prejudice, is one who has lost the power of seeing any good in the school which is opposed to him, and any evil in the school whose cause he has espoused. That false species of candor, which consists in an indifference to all theological peculiarities, has been carried so far by some ecclesiastical historians, that they have considered a history to have the right shape and character, when it afforded no sort of indication that it was written by a believer in the New Testament. Gieseler is remarkable for his display of this false liberality, consisting in a neutral position. Neander, on the other hand, manifests a noble and true freedom from blind partisanship. It must be confessed, however, that Neander is sometimes too desirous of exhibiting impartiality, and is therefore more favorable to the heretics whose character he describes, than the truth will warrant. Guericke manifests an unjustifiable prejudice, in his Church History, against the Calvinistic party.

A fourth requisite for an ecclesiastical historian is, that he accompany his narration of events with a reference to their causes and consequences, and that he make this reference on psychological and religious grounds; in other words, that he display a psychological and religious *pragmatism*. He is said to give a psychological explanation of the causes of events, when he describes the mode in which these events result from the character, and the individual peculiarities of the persons to whose agency they are ascribed. He is said to make a religious reference of events to their causes, when he refers the events to the directing providence of God, and to some definite moral and religious final cause. Neander is remarkable for his reference of all things to their religious grounds; to the overruling providence of Heaven. Planck, particularly in his History of the Reformation, excels in explaining the psychological antecedents of the narrated occurrences. Both Neander and Planck, however, are too one-sided. The former, in many instances, treats the human causes and conditions of things with too much disregard. The latter describes the Reformation, as if it were undertaken by Martin Luther according to a definite plan which he himself had formed, and as if it were not particularly connected with the providence of God.

† 29. *Various Departments of Ecclesiastical History.*

A. History of Doctrines.

When this is treated as a department of ecclesiastical history, it shows the degree in which the kingdom of God, at any definite period, has attained its end in respect of religious knowledge. In this manner, the department gives a discriminating view of the spirit which has characterized different periods of the church. In the Histories of Doctrine which have as yet appeared, there is an extraordinary want of philosophical analysis and explanation. Different religious views are described, one after another, without any due regard to their internal relations. There is, however, a masterly work in reference to a single doctrine, the work of Dörner on the History of Christology (*Geschichte der Christologie*). But there is not one of the regular treatises on the History of Doctrines, which can be recommended without qualification. The following are the principal treatises which have appeared: Müncher's *Handbuch der Christl. Dogmengesch.*; Müncher's *Lehrbuch der Christl. Dogmengesch.*;¹ Augusti's *Lehrbuch der Christl. Dogmengesch.*; Bertholdt's *Handbuch der Dogmengesch.* (edited by J. G. V. Englehardt); Baumgarten Crusius's *Lehrbuch der Christl. Dogmengesch.* There are also works on the same subject by Gaab, Lange, Wundemann, Münter, Hagenbach, and others.

B. Archæology of the Church.

This department of study is much and very wrongfully neglected. Its object is, to describe the mode in which the spirit and character of a people or of a religious community have impressed themselves upon outward objects. The Christian life of a community has stamped itself upon the forms of government, and the ceremonial observances adopted in the church. The systems of ecclesiastical discipline and worship are modified, according to the modifications which appear in the religious character of the people. The Archæology of the church records the various methods, in which the Christian feelings of men have thus expressed themselves in polity and in rites of worship. These methods may

¹ Translated into English by Dr. Murdock of New Haven. Perhaps there is no work more needed in the English language, than a well elaborated history of the various forms and phases, which Christian doctrine has assumed in different ages and countries.—Tn.

be made obvious by a comparison of the architectural styles selected for different systems of religious service. The temples of the heathen are bright and cheerful, and give free entrance to the light of day. The churches of Christians, on the contrary, exhibit a grave and serious character. The rites of burial afford another instance of the manner, in which the inward character is impressed upon outward forms. The system of heathenism represents this life as the day, the life to come as the night; but the Christian scheme represents this life as the night, and the life to come as the day. The heathen, accordingly, performed their funeral obsequies by night, mourning women went before the corpse, the ashes were collected into an urn, deposited in a solitary place, etc. On the other hand, the early Christians buried their dead at sunrise, the day of their death was called *dies natalis*, they were clothed in white apparel as they accompanied a deceased friend to his resting-place, they sung psalms on their way, and strewed flowers over his grave. The corporeal framework they consigned to its mother earth; and as the faithful had established with one another a communion in life, so they were assembled together by death into one place, and that was the spot which surrounded the house of God. The dead were accordingly always united with the living who came to the place for prayer. Hence the burial ground was called the churchyard, and also the Lord's ground. The word *κοιμητήριον*, which had signified a dormitory, came to denote a cemetery, where all was peace. Among the old pious Germans the burial ground was called the field of God, the peace-court. Almost everything was, in this manner, converted by the ancient Christians into a symbol of religious truth. The picture of the flame of celestial life, was painted upon their lamps. The image of Christ as the true vine, was engraved upon their vases of wine. And similar representations of religious sentiment were carved upon many other of their ordinary utensils.

The most extensive modern work on Ecclesiastical Archaeology is that of Augusti, entitled, *The Memorable Things of the ancient Christian Church* (*Denkwürdigkeiten der alten christlichen Kirche*), in twelve volumes. This work contains rich materials, but is superficially executed. Augusti's *Manual of Christian Antiquities* (*Handbuch der Alterthumskunde*), in two volumes, published in 1836, is a selection from his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, and is a highly serviceable compend. The work of Rheinwald (*die Kirchliche Archaeologie*), 1830, is also a useful one; so likewise is the *Archaeology* of Böhmer, published in 1836, in two parts. Other

works on the subject are, Schöne's *Historical Inquiries concerning the church-usages and regulations of the Christians*, published in Berlin in 1819—22, in three volumes; Locherer's *Manual of Christian Church-Archæology*, published in Frankfort, in 1832.

†30. *The Literature of Ecclesiastical History; also the Method of pursuing the Study.*

The most comprehensive work in this department is the *Church History* of Schröckh, in thirty-five volumes, extending as far as to the time of the Reformation, and continued by Tzschirner in ten additional volumes. This work is still serviceable as a book of reference, but is destitute not only of a proper degree of system in the treatment of its diversified topics, but also of the appropriate measure of force in its conceptions, and of the proper fascinations in its style.

The second great work in this department, is that of Henke. It is in eight volumes, and an abridgement of it has been issued in three volumes. The author was a man of talent, but has exhibited in his works a spirit of hostility to the Christian religion. This hostility led him to give especial prominence to the faults of eminent Christians whom he was called to characterize.

The two greatest of the more recent works in this department, are those of Giessler and of Neander. Both of these are at present unfinished. The work of Gieseler is the result of very thorough investigation, and its notes contain highly valuable extracts from ancient authorities corroborating the statements made in the text. It exhibits, however, a want of warm and inward sympathy with the subjects presented to view, and also a neglect to combine the recital of events with the leading idea of the kingdom of God. The *Church History* of Neander is attractive in the highest degree by the glow of feeling which it displays, by the sympathy with which it enters into all the facts relating to individuals and communities, and also by its constant reference of insulated events to the overruling agency of a divine Providence. It may be said in the words of Hase, that Neander's *Church History* is a family treasure. It has some faults however. It does not accurately point out the progress of improvement in the various stages of society. It does not develop principles in a concrete form, nor describe events in a vivid and compressed style. The work would be es-

pecially improved, if it contained more extracts from original authorities, confirming the statements of the text.¹

Among the compends of Church History which deserve attention, those of Hase and of Guericke are conspicuous. That of Hase is brief; it may indeed be pronounced enigmatical in consequence of its brevity. The author evinces piquancy, and in occasional instances, originality in his modes of conception. In his style of presenting a subject, he is distinguished for solidity of argument and activity of imagination. His work is of especial service, in aiding the student who has already completed his circle of historical investigations, to take a rapid and cursory survey, a final review of the entire department. The Historical Compend of Guericke is more comprehensive than that of Hase. It is so arranged as to impart a distinct general idea of the history of the church. It is rich and minute in its references to authors, and is pervaded by a truly religious spirit. It is one-sided, however, in consequence of the writer's narrow partialities for the old Lutheran church; in consequence of the style of criticism which is occasioned by his attachment to pure Lutheranism. His compendium appears to be more useful than any other, as a manual to be employed in connection with the lectures which are heard or read on ecclesiastical history, in the course of theological education.

In respect of the method in which the study of church history should be pursued, it may be said that the first step should be, to take a general survey of the whole department. This may be done by a cursory perusal of appropriate lectures upon the subject, or by the study of Guericke's Compend. The second step is, to pursue the study of particular periods of the church. The appropriate lectures in reference to certain periods should be read first; and immediately afterward, the account which has been given of these periods in some one manual of history, or in several different manuals or treatises. The student is saved by this process from adopting any one-sided view of a subject; his interest in the theme is very much heightened by the diversified forms in which it is presented to his mind. This diversity of representation is also of essential service, in impressing the memory with

¹ The Church History of Gieseler has been translated into English by Rev. Francis Cunningham of Dorchester, Mass. A translation of the first volume of Neander's Church History has been published in England by Henry J. Rose, B. D., but a much better translation of the new edition of the History is expected from Prof. Torrey of Burlington, Vt. It will probably be published, soon after the forth-coming edition of the original German shall have been received in this country.—Ta.

the facts which are studied. The third step is, to read a monograph relating to the specific period in which the student is interested, or to read an original production of some author who flourished in that age of the church. The last step is, to examine the characteristics of the same period as they are delineated in the History of Religious Doctrines; and also, if the student have the requisite leisure, as they are described in Profane History. It is also important, in addition to the foregoing processes, to make use of the tables which give a bird's eye view of the synchronical events in ancient ecclesiastical history, and which are very serviceable to the memory; also to be familiar with Möller's Atlas of Church History (*Hierographie, oder topographisch—synchronistische Darstellungen der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche in Landkarten*), 1822, 1824.

The spirit of the Christian Church in the times immediately succeeding those of the apostles, may be best learned from the Epistles of Clemens Romanus, and the Epistle to Diognetus. The life of the early Christians may be learned from the Apologeticus of Tertullian, and the Octavius of Minutius Felix. The work of Clemens Alexandrinus, entitled *Λόγος τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, and the work of Chrysostom, *πρὸς ἑκατόμβην*, are highly attractive. The Confessions of Augustine, the product of the fifth century, will be worthy of perusal at all times. There is a small treatise of Anselm on the question, *Cur Deus Homo?*—which belongs to the literature of the middle ages, and can be recommended as developing the characteristics of the scholastic writers. The most exquisite beauties of the mystics who flourished in the middle ages, may be gleaned from Tauler's Sermons, from Thomas à Kempis (*De Imitatione Christi*), and also from the small volume entitled, *The German Theology* (*die deutsche Theologie*). Among the writings of the Reformers, great praise is due to the Commentaries and the Institutions of Calvin, works which no theologian can rationally neglect. Of Luther's exegetical productions, the most highly prized are his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, on the Sermon on the Mount, and on the Penitential Psalms. Of Melancthon's works, the most valuable are the *Loci Theologici*, and the *Apology for the Augsburg Confession*. The *Pia Desideria* of Spener may be recommended, as happily illustrating the characteristics of the seventeenth century.

The following monographs are worthy of especial attention: Neander's *Memorable Things in the History of Christianity*, his *Life of Chrysostom*, and also his *Antignosticus*, or Description of

Tertullian; Ullmann's *Life of Gregory Nazianzen*, published in 1825; and Möhler's *Life of Athanasius*, published in 1827. The most important monographs in regard to the Middle Ages are, Neander's *Life of St. Bernard*, published in 1833; Liebnér's *Life of Hugo à St. Victore*, published in 1831; Ullmann's *Life of John Wessel*; Adolph Müller's *Life of Erasmus*, and Mayerhoff's *Life of Reuchlin*.—The best monographs for the study of the Reformation are, Marheinecke's *History of the Reformation*, in four volumes, and Ranke's *History of the same period*. The following Biographies cast additional light upon the whole subject of the Reformation: Melancthon's *Life of Luther*; Pfizer's *Life of Luther*, which work, however, is not sufficiently fundamental; Ukert's *Life of Luther*, which is, throughout, devoid of the requisite energy and life; Mathesius's *Sermons on the Life of Luther*, which give, in many respects, a better view of the great Reformer than can be found in any other volume; the *Life of Melancthon* by Camerarius, and a recent *Life of the same* by Galle; the *Life of Calvin* by Beza, and a more modern one by Henri, published in two volumes in 1837. The *Life of Farel* by Kirchhofer, in two volumes; the *Life of Bullinger* by Solomon Hess. Ullmann's work on the Reformers who preceded the Reformation, is also valuable.—The best monographs relating to the 17th and 18th century are, Hossbach's *Life of John Valentine Andreae*, and also Hossbach's *Life of Spener*, in two volumes; Guericke's *Life of Francke*, and Varnhagen Von Ense's *Life of Zinzendorf*. Besides the above-named monographs, there have been written some descriptions of ecclesiastical establishments and usages, existing at the present time. These narratives afford much instruction in the department of Church History, and stimulate the mind to the more extensive study of it. Such, for example, are Kernberg's *Account of the National Church of Scotland*, published in 1838, and Fliedner's *Narrative of a Journey to Holland*, published in 1831, in two volumes.

[To be concluded.]

ARTICLE VI.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS.

[THE subjoined epistle of President Edwards, is one of the latest communications which are preserved from his pen. It was written about six weeks before his conclusion to accept the presidency of "the college at Princeton," and about four months before his death. The meaning and force of the letter may be in some measure illustrated, perhaps, by a brief notice of the character of the gentleman to whom it was addressed. This man was Major Joseph Hawley. He was born at Northampton in 1724. He was grandson of the celebrated Solomon Stoddard, and his mother was sister of the mother of Pres. Edwards. He was graduated at Yale college in 1742. After leaving that institution he studied divinity, was for several years a preacher, but never an ordained pastor. He was for some time chaplain of the provincial army, and was present at the siege of Louisburg. He afterwards studied law with General Phineas Lyman of Suffield, then in Massachusetts, now in Connecticut. "Few Americans," says Dr. Dwight, "have a better claim to the remembrance of posterity, than this gentleman (General Lyman), and the history of few men who have been natives of our country can be more interesting." An affecting sketch of his life is given in Dwight's Travels, Vol. I. p. 307--316. His law-library, though small, contained some valuable ancient works, which came afterwards into the possession of Major Hawley. It was not far from the year 1749, that Major Hawley commenced the practice of the legal profession at Northampton. He soon acquired high distinction, as a counsellor and an advocate. Himself and Col. John Worthington of Springfield were, for many years, at the head of the old Hampshire bar, which included some of the worthiest citizens of Massachusetts. These two barristers exerted a perceptible influence in elevating the character of the legal profession, enlarging the circle of its studies, and reducing its practical details to a judicious system. Among the distinguished pupils whom Major Hawley instructed in the science of law was Caleb Strong, afterwards governor of Massachusetts. In the year 1767 or 1768, Hawley had the misfortune to be publicly censured by the Judges of the Superior Court, and was suspended from practice at their bar. His offence, however,

is understood to have been a merely political one, and to have reflected no discredit upon his general character. "He was counsel for some persons in the county of Berkshire, who had been indicted for being concerned in a riot. In the course of the trial, he made some observations, which the court considered as having too much of the spirit of liberty to be permitted to pass without animadversion."¹ At the next term of the court, however, he was restored to his original standing. The motion for the repeal of the censure was made by Col. Worthington, with whom Major Hawley was associated on almost every important case which was presented for trial. "They were generally engaged on opposite sides at court; when they were united, a successful opposition to them rarely occurred."² Major Hawley was chosen a member of the Legislature in 1764. "He was repeatedly elected a member of the Council, but refused in every instance to accept the office, as he preferred a seat in the House of Representatives, where his character for disinterested patriotism, and his bold and manly eloquence gave him an ascendancy which has seldom been equalled."³ In 1776 he became so severely afflicted with the hypochondriasis, to which he had for a long time been occasionally subject, that he retired from public life.⁴ He had discontinued the practice of law as early as 1774, but had afterwards occasionally presided, as the oldest magistrate in the county, at the Court of Sessions. He died March 10, 1788, aged 64 years.

"Among his other studies," says Pres. Allen, "he attained to

¹ See page 39 of "An Address to the Members of the Bar of the counties of Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden, at their Annual Meeting at Northampton, September, 1826. By Hon. George Bliss." From this address is derived much of the information contained in the present sketch.

² Mr. Bliss's Address, p. 38.

³ Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

⁴ Soon after the commencement of the Revolutionary war, when Major Hawley was in a state of deep mental depression, he remarked to his young friend Caleb Strong, that the colonies ought forthwith to submit to the mother country; and that, if they persisted in the contest, all the leading men among the revolutionists would unquestionably be hung as rebels. "Mr. Strong, knowing the origin of this apprehension, very adroitly removed it by intimating, that whatever might be the hazards of such men as Hancock and Samuel Adams and other kindred spirits, who had acted a very prominent part during the war, he could not believe that the Major himself had any reasonable ground of fear! The remark immediately produced its desired effect, and the propriety of unconditional submission was never again adverted to; the venerable man seeming determined, that if he had not already exposed himself to the gallows by his unflinching patriotism, he would be careful to secure himself against any such exemption from hazard for the future." See *Am. Quarterly Register*, Vol. XII. p. 16.

such an eminence of knowledge in political history and the principles of free government, that during the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, he was regarded as one of the ablest advocates of American liberty."¹ "He was," says Pres. Dwight, "one of the ablest and most influential men in Massachusetts Bay, for a considerable period before the Revolution: an event in which few men had more efficiency."—He "was a very able advocate. Many men have spoken with more elegance and grace; I never heard one speak with more force. His mind, like his eloquence, was grave, austere and powerful."² "He was," says Mr. Bliss, "grave and solemn in his demeanor; he was strictly conscientious, and had an instinctive abhorrence of anything approaching to deceit. Juries had confidence in his assertions. Their opinion of his stern and undeviating integrity made them very readily listen to him. His opinions had with them great weight. It was said, and generally believed of him, that he would not engage in a cause, until he was fully persuaded his client had right and justice on his side. After he had engaged, if he discovered or believed that he was not on the side of justice, he would, in any stage of a case, abandon it. Sometimes it was found that he had done this prematurely, and without sufficient evidence." When he "was satisfied of the justice of his cause, his arguments were very powerful and convincing. When a point of law was to be taken, he would meet the case fairly, and reason upon it as a sound logician. Hawley's juridical science was profound. He was peculiarly attached to the old English black-letter law. He was very attentive to forms and tenacious of ancient English precedents."³ He was puritanic in his manners, and yet was a man of the people; destitute of the polish and courtliness which distinguished some of his contemporaries, yet eminently fitted to control the popular will. He was vigilant and faithful as a magistrate; and it is said both of him and of his associate Worthington, that "a dishonest unprincipled man would choose to keep out of their way; their piercing scrutiny he would if possible avoid."

It is well known to our readers, that Major Hawley was one of the most influential opposers of President Edwards in the church at Northampton. He was only twenty-six years of age, when his efforts for the dismissal of his pastor were crowned with success.

¹ Allen's Biographical Dictionary, Art. J. Hawley.

² Travels, Vol. I. p. 335.

³ Bliss's Address, pp. 37, 38.

He is thus described in a letter which President Edwards wrote on the subject of that melancholy dismissal: "The people in managing this affair, on their side, have made chief use of a young gentleman of liberal education and notable abilities and a fluent speaker, of about seven or eight and twenty years of age, my grandfather Stoddard's grandson, being my mother's sister's son, a man of lax principles in religion; falling in, in some essential things, with Arminians, and is very open and bold in it. He was improved as one of the agents for the church, and was their chief spokesman before the council."—"There seems to be the utmost danger that the younger generation will be carried away with Arminianism as with a flood. The young gentleman I spoke of is high in their esteem, and is becoming the most leading man in the town; and is very bold in declaiming and disputing for his opinions; and we have none able to confront and withstand him in dispute; and some of the young people already show a disposition to fall in with his notions."

In about ten years after Pres. Edwards's dismissal from Northampton, Major Hawley published, in one of the Boston newspapers, his celebrated Confession of guilt for the injuries which he had inflicted on his former pastor. This confession, however, was not the first sign of penitence which he had exhibited. He had previously been engaged in a correspondence with Pres. Edwards, and his feelings were melted down by the plain and honest reproofs of the injured minister. The following letter is one portion of that correspondence. It contains an intimation, that the church at Northampton had publicly expressed a degree of contrition for their treatment of Mr. Edwards, and that Major Hawley had been forward in making his own private acknowledgments. The effect of this letter upon the sensitive spirit of Major Hawley was great. It is said to have been one occasion of the public testimony which he afterwards gave to the virtues of his reprover, and to his own guilt. It is interesting to compare the style of the subjoined reproof with the style of Hawley's subsequent Confession; particularly the last paragraph on the 425th page of Dwight's Memoir of Edwards with the reprimand which is found on pp. 590, 591 of the present volume. The whole of the following epistle reflects light upon many passages in the narrative of Pres. Edwards's ministry at Northampton. It breathes the same spirit of pure self-respect, just regard to personal honor, consciousness of rectitude, guilelessness, frankness, fearlessness and christian fidelity, which was so preëminent in the character

of its author. It also gives a striking development of the power, which was wielded by the clergy in former days over the aristocracy of the land.

As the *Theological Review* is designed to be a repository of all such documents as illustrate the character and history of theological systems, its pages will occasionally be occupied with previously unpublished manuscripts, which reflect light upon the faith and practical skill of our fathers in the ministry.—It is only needful to add, that the following letter was found, a few years since, among the papers of Major Hawley, by Geo. Bancroft, Esq., who has explored, with great painstaking, the records of eminent individuals, as well as the archives of States.—E. A. P.]

Stockbridge, Nov. 18, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

I now, as soon as I am able, set myself about answering your letter of Aug. 11, though I am still so weak that I can write but with a trembling hand, as you may easily perceive. I was taken ill, about the middle of July, and my fits have now left me a little more than a fortnight; but I have been greatly reduced by so long continued an illness, and gain strength very slowly, and cannot be so particular in my answer to your letter, as I might be, if I had more strength.

I rejoice in the good temper and disposition of mind, which seem to be manifested in your letter; and hope that, whatever I may have suffered, and however greatly I may think myself injured in that affair which is the subject of your letter, wherein you was so much of a leader, I have a disposition, in my consideration of the affair, and what I shall write upon it, to treat you with true candor and christian charity. Nevertheless, I confess, that the thing you desire of me is disagreeable to me, viz., very particularly giving my judgment concerning your conduct in that affair; and it is with no small reluctance, that I go about answering such a request, upon two accounts: 1st, as it obliges me renewedly to revolve in my mind, and particularly to look over that most disagreeable and dreadful scene, the particulars of which I have long since very much dismissed from my mind, as having no pleasure in the thought of them. And 2dly, as it is, [and will be looked upon by you, however serious and conscientious you may be in your desires and endeavors to know the truth,] a giving a judgment in my own case, a case wherein I was concerned to a very

high degree ; and therefore will be much more likely to be a giving of it in vain. Notwithstanding, seeing you desire it, and seem to desire it in so christian a manner, I will give you my judgment plainly, such as it is, and as impartially as I am able, leaving the consequence with God.

You know very well, that I looked on myself, in the time of the affair, as very greatly injured by the people in general, in the general conduct, management, and progress of it from the beginning to the end. That this was then my judgment was plain enough to be seen ; and I suppose, no man in the town was insensible of it. And what were the main things wherein I looked on myself as injured, and what I supposed to be the aggravation of the injury, was also manifest. As particularly that the church and precinct had all imaginable reason to think, that in my receiving that opinion which was the subject of the controversy, and in the steps I took upon it, the declaration I made of it, etc, I acted altogether conscientiously, and from tenderness of spirit, and because I greatly feared to offend God ; without, yea, to the highest degree, against all influence of worldly interest, and all private and sinister views. I think it was hardly possible for the affair to be attended with circumstances exhibiting greater evidence of this. I think, if my people therefore, when the affair was first divulged, had been actuated by a christian spirit, or indeed by humanity, (though they might have been very sorry and full of concern about the affair,) they would, especially considering how long I had been their pastor, and they had always from the beginning, and from so long experience, acknowledged me to be their faithful pastor, and most of them esteemed me to be the chief instrument in the hand of God of the eternal salvation of their souls ; I say, they would have treated me, if influenced by Christianity and humanity, with the utmost tenderness, calmness, and moderation, not to say honor and reverence ; and would have thought themselves bound to have gone far in the exercise of patience. But instead of this, the town and church were at once put into the greatest flame : the town was soon filled with talk of dismissing and expelling me, and with contrivances how to do it speedily and effectually. And a most jealous eye, from this day forward, was kept upon me, lest I should do that slyly and craftily, that should tend to hinder such a design. And almost every step, that I took in the affair, was by their suspicious eyes looked upon in such a view ; and therefore, everything served to renew and heighten the flame of their indignation. Even when I addressed

myself to them in the language of moderation and entreaty, it was interpreted as a design to flatter the people, especially the more ignorant, to work upon their affections, and so to gain a party, and prevent a vote for my dismission, or at least to prevent the people's being united in any full vote. And there was no way that I could lead myself, nothing that I could do or say, but it would have some such uncharitable construction put upon it. As I began the affair in the fear of God, after much and long continued prayer to Him, so I was very careful in the whole progress of it, and in every step, to act (undisguisedly) and to avoid any unrighteous and underhanded measure; nor had I ever once formed a design forever to establish myself at Northampton, and impose myself on the people, whether we should remain differing in our opinion on the point constantly or not; nor did I ever take one step with any such view. The things I aimed at were these two: 1st, that the people should be brought to a calm temper before extremes were proceeded to; and 2dly, that they should, in such a temper, hear what I had to say for myself and my opinion. But nothing could be done. The people most manifestly continued in a constant flame of high resentment and vehement opposition for more than two years together; and this spirit, instead of subsiding, grew higher and higher, till they had obtained their end in my expulsion. Nor indeed did it cease then, but still they maintained their jealousy of me, as if I was fiercely doing the part of an enemy to them, so long as I had a being in the town; yea, till they saw the town well cleared of all my family. So deep was their prejudice, that their heat was maintained, nothing would quiet them, till they could see the town clear of root and branch, name and remnant.

I could mention many things that were said and done, in a public manner, in meetings of the precinct, church, and their committee, from time to time, from the beginning, fully to justify and support what I have said and supposed, till my dismission, (besides the continual talk in all parts of the town, in private houses, and occasional companies). But I think this cannot be expected; as it would be writing a history that would take up no less than a quire of paper. I would only observe, that I was from time to time reprehended by one that was commonly chosen moderator of special and church meetings, and chairman of their committees, in a very dogmatical and magisterial manner, for making so much mischief, putting the church to so much trouble, and once he told me, he did it by the desire and vote of the whole committee,

which was very large, consisting of all or most of the chief men of the town. I was often charged with acting only from sinister views, from stiffness of spirit, and from pride, and an arbitrary and tyrannical spirit, and a design, and vast expectation of forcing all to comply with my opinion. The above mentioned person chiefly approved by the town and church, and set at their head in temporal affairs, once said expressly in a church meeting in the meeting-house, "that it was apparent that I regarded my own temporal interest more than the good of the church; that the church had reason to think I designedly laid a snare to ensnare the church; and that they had best by all means to beware and see to it, that they were not ensnared." And he said much more to the same purpose; and he was never frowned upon but smiled upon by the church, continuing in such a way of treatment of me, was still made much of, and set foremost in the management of the affair. There were multitudes of precinct and church meetings, many meetings of committees, and conferences with me about this affair. I am persuaded there was not one meeting, but that this unreasonable, violent spirit was apparent, and as governing and prevalent. It seemed in the very beginning to govern in all proceedings, and almost every step that was taken. "The people were so far from feeling any compassion, that it was often declared in the meetings, that if I would retain my opinion, though I should be convinced that continuing in it, I might go on in Mr. Stoddard's way, they would by no means have me for their minister, and their committee declared,—(here the manuscript is illegible).

It being thus, I think the whole management of the affair was exceeding provoking and abominable to God; as most contrary to what ought to be in public affairs, especially affairs of religion, and the (action?) of christian societies; and so contrary to the treatment due to me from that people; and especially in an affair so circumstanced, wherein they had such glaring evidence of my acting only from tenderness of conscience, and with regard to the account I had to give to my great Master, and wherein I so carefully avoided everything irritating, and never offered the people any provocation, unless yielding and condescending as I did to them, (in things which I supposed they insisted on merely from humor and prejudice,) in many instances for peace' sake was a provocation; an affair, wherein I with great constancy maintained a diligent watch over my own spirit; an affair, wherein I sought

peace and pursued it, and strove to my utmost, to avoid occasions of strife, and to treat every one in a christian manner.

Such an affair being so managed, I think no one should have put their hands to it, unless it were to check and restrain, and if possible to bring the people to an exceeding different temper and manner of conduct, and convince and show them how far they were out of the way of their duty. And till this could be done, I think not a step should have been taken, by any means to promote and forward their designs. Instead of this, I am persuaded, a judicious Christian, in a right temper of mind, being a bystander, would have beheld the scene with horror; especially considering the dreadful work that was making with the credit and interest of religion, by such a town and church as that of Northampton and of such a profession and fame.

And, therefore, Sir, I think you made yourself greatly guilty, in the sight of God, in the part you acted in this affair; becoming, especially, towards the latter part of it, very much their leader in it; and much from your own forwardness, putting yourself forward as it were, as though fond of intermeddling and helping, which was the less becoming, considering your youth, and considering your relation to me. Your forwardness especially appeared on this occasion, that after you was chosen as one of a committee to plead their cause before a council, you came to me, and desired me to stay the church, on purpose that you might have opportunity to excuse yourself from the business, which was accordingly done, and you did excuse yourself, and was excused. But yet when the matter came to be pleaded before the council, you, [I think very inconsistently,] thrust yourself forward, and pleaded the cause with much earnestness, notwithstanding. 'Tis manifest, that what you did in the affair, from time to time, not only helped the people to gain their end in dismissing me, but much encouraged and promoted the spirit with which it was done; your confident, magisterial, vehement manner had a natural and direct tendency to it.

As to your remonstrance to the last council, it not only contained things that were uncharitable and censorious, by which facts were misinterpreted and overstrained, but it was full of direct, bold slanders, asserted in strong terms, and delivered in very severe opprobrious language, merely on suspicion and surmise. As particularly therein, if I mistake not, was asserted, that I had said after my dismissal, "that I was still *de jure* and *de facto* the pastor of that church;" which was a false charge. Again, I was

charged with having a desire to be settled over a few of the members of the church, to the destruction of the whole; and that I set out once on a journey with a certain gentleman to procure a council to install me at Northampton, and that I contrived to do it at such a time, because I knew that the church was at that time about to send for a candidate, etc., that I might prevent their success therein, and that I was ready to settle in that place, and for the sake of it had refused an invitation to Stockbridge, that I had neglected this opportunity for the sake of settling over an handful. That I had a great inclination to continue at Northampton as a minister, at the expense of the peace and prosperity of the greater part of the town, yea, that I was greatly engaged for it. Here is a heap of direct slanders, positively asserted, all contrary to the truth of fact. I had not refused the invitation to Stockbridge, or neglected that opportunity. I had no inclination or desire to settle over those few at Northampton, but a very great opposition in my mind to it, abundantly manifested in what I continually said to them, on occasion of their great and constant urgency. It was much more agreeable to my inclination to settle at Stockbridge. And though I complied to the calling of a council to advise in the affair, it was on these terms, that it should not be thought hard that I should fully and strongly lay before them all my objections against it. My discourse, with particular ministers in their own houses, was chiefly in opposition to Col. D——t; and so was my discourse before the council when met. I earnestly argued before them, against their advising me to settle there, with hopes that what I said would prevail against it, and very much with that conclusion; and what I said against it was the thing that did prevail against it, and that only. I complied to the calling of the council, and with a view to these two things: first, to quiet the minds of those, who, in so trying a time, had appeared my steadfast friends; that they might not already think exceeding hardly of me; and secondly, the country having been filled with gross misrepresentations of the controversy between me and my people, and the affair of my dismissal, and the grounds of it, and the great wounding of my character at a distance, I was willing some ministers of chief note should come from distant parts of the country, and be upon the spot, and see the state of things with their own eyes. It was very contrary to truth, that I contrived to set out at that particular time, because just then the church were about to apply to a candidate, etc., that I might prevent their success; for I knew not of any such thing. I had then

no notice of that design or determination of the church. Nor was that true, that is suggested, that the procuring a council was the thing that occasioned our setting out on that journey. Each of us had other business, and should have gone, had no such thing as a council been projected; and therefore we went far beyond all parts where any of these ministers dwelt, and spent much more time there than with any of them. As to my seeking to disappoint and ruin the town, and destroy its peace, etc., I did not, in all this affair, take one step with any view at all to a disappointment of the town and church, in any of their measures for settling another minister. I might mention other things in the remonstrance, but I am weary.

These things being so, I cannot think the church's "reflections" do, in any wise, impair their faults in this matter, and the injuries therein done to me. In these "reflections," they grant, that they used too strong terms, and language too harsh, that in some things they were too censorious, and had not sufficient grounds to go so far in their charges, that they should not have expressed themselves thus and thus, but had better have used other specified terms, which yet would have been to the hurt of my reputation. I confess, dear Sir, I have no imagination that such sort of reflections and retractions as these, will be accepted in the sight of God as sufficient, and all that is proper in such a case; and thus it will be found, that they that think so, do greatly deceive themselves. The church, in their remonstrance, seemed to contrive for the strongest, most severe, opprobrious and aggravating kind of terms, to blacken my character, and wound my reputation in the most public manner possible. In their reflections on themselves, a contrary course is taken; there, instead of aggravating their own faults, (which is the manner of true penitents,) they most manifestly contrive for the softest, mildest terms, to touch their own faults in the most gentle manner possible, by the softest language.

On the whole, Sir, (as you have asked my opinion,) I think, that that town and church lies under great guilt in the sight of God; and they never more can reasonably expect God's favor and blessing, till they have their eyes opened to be convinced of their great provocation of the Most High, and injuriousness to man, and have their temper greatly altered, till they are deeply humbled, and till they openly and in full terms confess themselves guilty, in the manner in which they are guilty indeed, (and what my opinion of that is, I have in some measure declared,) and openly humble and take shame to themselves before the world,

and particularly confess their faults and seek forgiveness where they have been peculiarly injurious. Such terms, I am persuaded, the righteous God will hold that people to; and that it will forever be in vain for them to think to go free and escape with impunity in any other way. Palliating and extenuating matters, and daubing themselves over with untempered mortar, and sewing fig-leaves, will be in vain before Him whose pure and omniscient eye is as a flame of fire. It has often been observed, what a curse persons have lived under and been pursued by, for their ill treatment of their natural parents; but especially may this be expected to follow such abuses offered by a people to one who, in their own esteem, is their spiritual father. Expositors and divines often observe, that abuse of God's messengers has commonly been the last sin of an offending, backsliding people, which has filled up the measure of their sin, and put an end to God's patience with them, and brought on them ruin. And 'tis also commonly observed, that the heads and leaders of such a people have been remarkably distinguished in the fruits of God's vengeance in such cases. And as you, Sir, distinguished yourself as a head and leader to that people in these affairs, at least the main of them; so, I think, the guilt, that lies on you in the sight of God, is distinguishing, and that you may expect to be distinguished by God's frown, unless there be true repentance, and properly expressed and manifested, with endeavors to be a leader of the people in the affair of repentance, as in their transgression.

One thing which, I think, aggravated your fault, was that you generally thought me in the right in that opinion, wherein I differed from my people. As to the nature and essence of true religion, my people and I, in general, were agreed. The strong point, wherein we differed, was, that supposing that our common opinion of the nature of true godliness to be right, a profession of it, or of those things wherein we supposed the essence of it consisted, was necessary to christian communion. In this, you agreed with me, and not with the people; so that, in effect, you owned my cause, or the thing which was the main foundation of the controversy, to be good; and yet in the manner before observed, set yourself as their head in their violent opposition to me. You say, that in all your disputes, you ever had a full persuasion of my sincerity and true sanctity. If so, then doubtless, what Christ said to his disciples takes hold of you. *He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me. And take heed, ye*

despise not one of these little ones. He that offendeth one of them, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he drowned in the depths of the sea.

Thus, Sir, I have done the thing which you requested of me. I wish you may accept it in as christian a manner as you asked it. You may possibly think that the plain way in which I have given my judgment, shows that I am far from being impartial, and that I show a disposition to aggravate and enhance things, and set them forth in the blackest colors; and that I plainly manifest ill will to you. All that I shall say to this is, that if you think so, I think you are mistaken. And having performed the disagreeable task you desired of me, I must leave you to judge for yourself concerning what I say. I have spoken my judgment with as great a degree of impartiality as I am master of, and that which is my steady and constant judgment of this awful affair, and I doubt not, will be my judgment as long as I live. One thing I must desire of you, and that is, if you dislike what I have written, you would not expect that I should carry on any farther a letter controversy with you, on the subject. I have had enough of this controversy, and desire to have done with it. I have spent enough of the precious time of my life in it heretofore. I desire and pray that God may enable you to view things truly, and as he views them, and so to act in the affair as shall be best for you, and most for your peace, living and dying.

With respectful salutations to your spouse, I am, Sir, your kinsman and friend, that sincerely wishes your truest and greatest welfare and happiness in this world and the world to come.

JONATH. EDWARDS.

ARTICLE VII.

LECTURES ON CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

Lectures on Church Government, containing objections to the Episcopal Scheme, delivered in the Theological Seminary, Andover, August, 1843. By Leonard Woods, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology. New York: Published by Turner and Hayden, 1844. pp. 198.

WE have heard it remarked that if this book had appeared ten years ago, much evil might have been prevented. This is said

by those who feel that the instruction at Andover, in times past, on the subject of church government, has not been so decidedly in favor of Congregationalism as could have been desired. There is reason to doubt, it is said, whether the distinguished Professor in this department could, with a clear conscience, have declared that in his view Congregationalism is preferable to every other form of church government. This, it is thought, is greatly to be regretted, on some accounts; for we as Congregationalists, of course, wish to have our case made out and fortified in the best manner.

We apprehend that the state of the Professor's opinions hitherto, on this subject, was in accordance with an extremely liberal and almost loose way of thinking and speaking about church government, as though the form of it were a mere matter of taste, and that accidents might be safely trusted to determine, for each student in divinity, under what form of church polity he should live and labor. We have heard anecdotes of conversations in the lecture-room indicating, that the students at Andover in former days were greatly puzzled to know whether they ought to prefer Presbyterianism, Massachusetts Congregationalism, Connecticut Consociationism, or Episcopacy. Very little help did they get from their instructor in their state of suspended choice, except that the fact that he did not declare boldly for Congregationalism shed disastrous twilight upon the minds of most of the Congregational students. In fact, we believe that the Professor had the credit of preferring Presbyterianism to every other form of church government. This was a trial to those who thought that the instruction at the seminary ought to be decidedly in favor of the Congregational scheme.

But it all happened very well. A large proportion of the students of that seminary have had their lot cast within the bounds of the Presbyterian church, and it has been for the peace of the church, and it has promoted their own ministerial usefulness, that they did not go from the seminary into Presbyterian regions, surcharged with sectarian Congregationalism. The Western States were their chosen field of labor, independently of any love for a particular form of church government above another. Had these students gone forth violent for Congregationalism, they would have been like new cloth in an old garment, and the rents would have been more and worse than they are now. We think that Congregationalism is the best form of church government; its congruity with our republicanism, its expediency, its scriptural

authority, make it in our view the "Right way of the churches." But we do love that principle of deliberation in the government of God which suffers many things, which are not exactly right, to come to an end in a natural way, rather than by force. We love to think of the title of one of John Howe's writings, "*The wise patience of God.*" We should have been sorry to have had a war in the Presbyterian church on the subject of church government; and we, therefore, think that for those days the instruction, which young men received at Andover on church government, accorded very well with the exigencies of the times.

One thing more must be said on this point. Congregationalism in its very nature is non-combatant. A fundamental principle of it is, that the outward form of worship, the external arrangements of religion, are not essential, and a chosen contention, on its part, about them, would make it inconsistent with itself. It is gratifying to think that Congregationalists have been good neighbors to all other christian sects. Proselytism has never characterized them. Congregationalism is not an Ishmael, nor has it ever had reason to say, "Woe is me, my mother, for thou hast borne me a man of strife." It has stood forth in battle against oppression from the church and State; it has whipped denuded Quakers; and when for a time it had too much of the State in its church government, it banished Roger Williams. But that essential principle of Congregationalism, indifference to the mode and form, has shed a pacific influence upon the denomination in relation to other sects. Now if the instruction at Andover on the subject of church government has not had the effect to make men zealous Congregationalists, it was because the spirit of the times prevented it, and this was beautiful in its season. Now that the gates of Janus are open, and hostile sects to furious combat run, we are not disposed to argue from the principle, "in peace prepare for war," that we ought to have had a more decided influence to make our young ministers zealous Congregationalists. It was not the time to make men sectarian then, and even now we are glad to see that a movement at Andover, on the subject of church government, is owing wholly to the necessity of defence against invasion. We had rather be thought tame, than be contentious; and if some of our timber becomes drift-wood, or is stolen from us, we had rather suffer this than make such booms around us as to obstruct navigation. But when a deliberate attempt is made to prove us thieves and robbers, when compassion and scorn and prayers and reproach, are mingled together to make us take or-

ders; and we are treated as though we were the squatters of Christendom, we are willing that our assailants should be met in battle, and that our strong men should speak with the enemy in the gate.

Dr. Woods's book on the Episcopal scheme has been called forth by the arrogant pretensions and the supercilious reproaches of the Episcopal party. We were willing to allow them liberty of conscience, and all fair means to extend their influence. But they have become so intolerant that we cannot live together on equal terms. They have provoked a discussion of their pretensions, and they are likely to hear as much said to them and about them as they will be able to bear.

Of all the books which the Episcopal controversy has recently called forth, no one seems to us more comprehensive and better fitted for practical use than the one before us. Indeed we have never seen one which exhibits more clearly the fundamental principles of prelatial doctrine, or which, with such patience and deliberateness, calmly and coolly examines the absurdities of the Episcopal scheme.

This book is a course of lectures delivered to the students of the seminary at Andover, and we have them apparently just as they were delivered. Some of the scoriae of the forge cleave to them; they did not remain long in the finishing room before they were taken to the shop. We refer to a few colloquial remarks, and to a few things in regard to place and order which were well enough in the lecture-room, but which would not have appeared in a work written expressly for the press. Yet they do not injure the work; they rather go to show the power and skill of the mind which could throw off such able productions as these lectures in the ordinary course of professional labor. The defects of the work, inconsiderable as they are, will be obvious to the author in preparing for the next edition.

Until a better book than this, on the same subject, is written, which we do not expect for the present, we have concluded that it will be the standard work for popular use on this subject. We shall expect to see it in the hands of the members of our churches as containing a satisfactory refutation of those Episcopal claims and pretensions with which, at the present day, we are assailed. We are anxious to invite the attention of pastors to this work. Perhaps we are tired of the controversy; perhaps some have ceased to read on the subject. But if any have not examined this work, we take pleasure in assuring them that as a manual

to be placed before the members of our churches, it will be difficult to find its superior.

To speak of that first which is first in importance, the scriptural argument against Episcopacy and in favor of Congregationalism in this book, is managed with great ability. As prelacy is the central and germinant idea of the Episcopal church and scheme, the main strength of the author is directed to this point, that the christian Scriptures nowhere indicate an intention on the part of Christ that there should be a class of men amongst his ministers bearing rule over the rest. If it had been intended that the apostles should have successors, who should resemble them in the precedence which their relation to Christ as his immediate disciples gave them to their brethren in the ministry, we should expect that the class of ministers in whom this succession was continued would show some endowments for their office corresponding to those which made the apostles preëminent. This argument is ably conducted, and the conclusion against the claims of modern prelates is irresistible.

But we should give an abstract of the book, should we indulge ourselves in a description of its contents. We cannot too earnestly commend it to the attention of pastors of churches. We think that they might do their people an essential service if, on a suitable occasion, they should give an abstract of the volume in a familiar lecture. They will find the book full of useful suggestions. If any of their people are captivated by the pomp and show of Episcopacy, if any of them are "foolish Galatians," beginning in the spirit and ending in the flesh, if they are taken with the supposed 'excellency of speech' in the prayer-book, or if they are ignorant of the errors in doctrine, and of the erroneous tendencies in the Episcopal forms, this book will be found useful in giving them right views upon these points. It is kind and courteous, but very plain and faithful. It examines some of the sacred things of Episcopacy with a hand which does not tremble in its work. Some things in Episcopal forms, which most of our writers have omitted to scrutinize and expose, this book holds up to merited disapprobation. We think that no one who has been and shall continue to be an anti-prelatist, will, after reading this book, say again that Episcopacy is good for those who like it. The sentiments of this book cannot be received without producing the conviction that the system is false and injurious, and that it will be for the salvation of the souls of men and for the spiritual good of the world that it should be laid aside.

While there is no attempt in this book at ridicule, the reader cannot fail to see that many things in the Episcopal system are shown to be ridiculous. We do not hesitate to avow the belief that well-conducted ridicule is a proper, and will be a most useful weapon against the claims of Episcopacy. False pretensions in religion, assumptions of spiritual power, and everything of the nature of pomposity and show in sacred things, are proper subjects of ridicule. Our Saviour spoke of the pharisaical practices in his day in a way that made them appear, as they really were, ridiculous. The sounding of the trumpet as a notification that *secret prayer* was about to be offered at the corners of the streets, the pious grimaces made on fast-days, and other affectations of a devotional appearance, alluded to by Christ, must have appeared to the common Jews or the disciples as very ridiculous, when once pointed out by their Master. Every literary man knows the influence which Lucian's Dialogues had in bringing the Greek mythology into contempt with the people. A serious refutation of the belief in the gods and goddesses, would have been out of place; but the showing up Jupiter and Juno in a domestic brawl, and poor Mercury wiping off the dust and sweat after running of errands from heaven to earth, and grumbling at his vocation, had a great effect to make men doubt the divinity of those personages. Charon's boat, and the Styx, and the crowds of ghosts on the banks, lost much of their power over the superstitious fears of the people by the laughable dramas which Lucian made the old ferryman and his passengers enact. An illustration of the natural tendency of the human mind to ridicule religious pretensions and follies, and of the powerful influence of treating such things in this way, is also seen in the celebrated Martin Mar-Prelate Tracts, published by the Puritan party in England, in the year 1589. These tracts consisted of pamphlets, written with great talent, filled with witty, sarcastic exposures of priestly arrogance. Their style was intentionally low and common, so as to affect the common mind. Some of the gravest doctrines of prelacy, were discussed in these tracts, after turning the abstract forms in which schoolmen viewed them, to shapes appreciable by the popular understanding. By using the homeliest forms of speech, and illustrations that whet a love for the ridiculous, these tracts had great power over the minds of the nation. The liberty of the press had been destroyed by the government, and these tracts were printed at a secret press. The bishops and their supporters used every means to detect this sub-marine battery; they felt its

power and were enraged by it; they wrote in reply to the tracts; but who can refute a sneer? The ridicule was just, the bishops and their pretensions and practices were fair game; but the sport was up at last in consequence of the detection and seizure of the press. No one can bear wit with less composure than a pompous man. Wit to him is vinegar to nitre. His solemn composure, his stately movements are ruined by sallies of humor; and nothing affords greater satisfaction to those who despise his affectation, than to see the effect upon him of well-directed satire. There is one practice of the Episcopal clergy which we have hitherto abstained from criticising because there is a seeming sacredness about it; but being a part of the system by which the minds of men are injuriously affected in favor of forms, it ought to be spoken of as we think it deserves. We allude to the practice of secret prayer on the part of the clergyman before his congregation,—his bowing himself upon his reading-desk and covering his face in his hands that he may appear to others to pray. There is an inconsistency in this custom, which the remarks of Christ respecting the Pharisees and their show of devotion condemn. He tells us not to appear unto men to fast; but to anoint the head and wash the face on fast-days, so that there may be no temptation, with outward appearance, to vanity and spiritual pride. We dislike to see any minister, on taking his seat in the pulpit, cover his face with his hands and appear to pray. He should be in a devout frame of mind; he cannot enter the pulpit, it would seem, without prayer to God for his aid. But that good taste and delicacy, which some passages in the sermon on the mount are suited to cherish in regard to our appearance in religious duties, forbids the exposure of our secret devotions.

The time has come for those who disapprove of the Episcopal scheme, to speak against it freely, but with a proper spirit. The time has passed by when the Episcopal system was apparently a harmless thing. It has at last developed its virulent nature; it has begun to be, in this country, what it has always been in the old world, the enemy of religious toleration. Never should we have thought of exposing some of its cherished forms and observances to contempt, were it not that these forms and observances are obtruded upon us with a claim of superior scriptural authority and sanctity. We were contented to let Episcopalians enjoy their own way of worshipping God, unmolested. But they have attacked us. They call us unbaptized, unordained; they leave us to the uncovenanted mercies of God; they have pious doubts of

our safety out of the pale of their church. Without returning railing for railing, we must, in duty to Christ and the souls of men, expose the unscriptural and absurd principles and practices of their scheme. We cannot point to a work in which this is done more thoroughly and successfully and with a better spirit than in these Lectures.

N. A.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTES ON BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY.

By E. Robinson, D. D., Prof. of Bib. Lit. in the Union Theol. Sem. New York.

I. GIBEAH OF SAUL.

In the Biblical Researches (Vol. II. p. 114), I have regarded the present village *Jeb'a*, lying eastward of er-Râm (Ramah), and south of Mûkmâs (Michmash), as representing the ancient Gibeah of Benjamin or of Saul. Some difficulties in the way of this hypothesis are there stated; such as that the masculine form of the Arabic *Jeb'a* corresponds better with the ancient *Geba*, while Gibeah would more naturally appear in Arabic in the feminine form, *Jeb'ah*, as indeed we actually find it in the case of the Gibeah of Judah. The hypothesis was founded on the assumed position, that both Gibeah and Geba must have lain over against Michmash, on the south side of the deep ravine or passage which there exists. That Geba was actually so situated, appears from Isa. 10: 29. For a like position of Gibeah, appeal was made to 1 Sam. 13: 15, 16 and 14: 5. In these passages the English version reads *Gibeah*; but by some oversight I must have neglected to look at the Hebrew, which in both instances has *Geba*. The proof, therefore, in respect to Gibeah, so far as it was drawn from these verses, fails. Yet in 1 Sam. 14: 16 the Hebrew too reads *Gibeah*; and this passage is quite as decisive as the others were supposed to be. My idea was, that Geba lay not far eastward of Gibeah; where it would still be over against Michmash, and where, too, we were told of ruins; and so far as can be gathered from the notices of Scripture, there would seem to be no occasion for changing this opinion.

My attention has been again called to the subject by a remark of Mr. Gross, a young theologian at Calov in Würtemberg, in his review of the Biblical Researches in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1843, p. 1062. He there takes the position, that Gibeah must have lain south of Ramah and Geba; and that therefore the *Jeb'a* which we found is ancient Geba. This view as to the more southern position of Gibeah he has presented more fully in a recent letter to me; and supports it by the following considerations:

1. "In Josh. 18: 22—23, Geba is reckoned to the northern cities of Ben-

jamin ; while Gibeah is named with Jerusalem and Kirjath-jearim as a southern city."—But among the known places here described as northern, we find likewise Jericho, Beth-Hoglah, and Beth-Arabah ; and among the cities assumed as southern, are also Gibeon, Ramah, and Beeroth. The division, therefore, if there be one intended, would seem to be rather into eastern and western cities.

2. "In Judg. 19: 11—14, we find named in succession, on the great road from south to north, Jerusalem, Gibeah, Ramah. The Levite does not reach Ramah, but only Gibeah ; which therefore lay on the great road between Jerusalem and Ramah."—But this passage is susceptible of another explanation. From Jerusalem northwards there have always been two great roads, nearly parallel, leading into Mount Ephraim ; one by Ramah and Beeroth, and the other by Jeb'a (Gibeah) and Michmash. When the Levite spoke of stopping for the night at Ramah or Gibeah, we may suppose that he had not decided which route to take ; but he ultimately took the eastern one and lodged at Gibeah.

3. "In Isa. 10: 28—32, there follow one another, very definitely, Michmash, the Passage, then Geba, then Ramah, and finally Gibeah. Just so, with the omission of Gibeah, and in inverted order, Ramah, Geba, Michmash, in Ezra 2: 26, 27. Neh. 7: 30, 31 ; and Geba, Michmash, Ai, Neh. 11: 31. According to these passages Gibeah could not possibly have lain in the same latitude with Geba."—I am here unable to see what the passages from Ezra and Nehemiah have to do with the question. Gibeah is not mentioned at all ; and had the writer thought proper to name it, there is nothing in these verses nor in the nature of the case to show that he would not have inserted it between Ramah and Geba. In Isaiah c. x, where Sennacherib is represented as crossing the valley from Michmash to Geba, it is not intimated that Ramah and Gibeah were upon his route ; but the idea expressed is, that the inhabitants of these cities lying west of his route and beholding his progress are terrified and flee. That the writer here mentions Ramah before Gibeah does not seem to me in any degree necessarily to determine their relative position.

4. "From 2 K. 23: 8. Zech. 14: 10, it follows incontestably, that Geba, as the northernmost border-city of the kingdom of Judah, must have lain further north than Gibeah."—Geba was doubtless the extreme *northeastern* city of Judah ; but not necessarily further *north* than all other places. Beeroth, which belonged to the same kingdom, lay two or three miles more northward than Geba.

One or two other minor points in the letter, I have omitted ; and thus far, I am unable to perceive any valid progress in unsettling the position assigned by me to Gibeah. The writer appears to have adopted it as a principle, that the Bible, in enumerating a list of names of cities, gives them mostly in *their geographical order*. This principle seems to me not to be a safe one. Indeed it is disproved by the lists in Josh. 18: 22—28 ; and also by those in Josh. c. xv, in Ezra c. ii, and in Neh. c. vii. xi. The most that can be said is, that in Joshua the cities of certain districts are named together ; but not in any definite order, and least of all in geographical order.

If, however, we now call in the aid of other testimony to fill out and

explain that of the Scriptures, the aspect of the case is changed. Mr. Gross refers to Josephus as placing Gibeah at one time *twenty stadia*, and at another *thirty stadia* north of Jerusalem; and assuming a medium of twenty four or five stadia, he finds Gibeah at the hill now called *Tuleil-el-Fûl*, situated one hour or three Roman miles (24 stadia) north of Jerusalem, and fifty minutes or two and a half Roman miles (20 stadia) south of er-Râm or Ramah. See Bibl. Res. II. p. 317.

This discrepancy in the two statements of Josephus might seem, after all, to leave the whole matter in uncertainty. Yet if we take his largest statement, thirty stadia, and compare it with the distance of forty stadia from Jerusalem, which he elsewhere assigns to Ramah, (Antiq. 8. 12. 3), it is obvious that Gibeah could not well have been at Jeb'a; since that place is several stadia more distant from Jerusalem than is er-Râm. There are, moreover, circumstances narrated in one of the two passages of Josephus,—circumstances which I did not take into account, and which Mr. Gross also appears to have overlooked,—which, coupled with a passage of Jerome, do serve to fix, beyond controversy, the site of Gibeah at Tuleil el-Fûl; and thus elevate a happy conjecture into a matter of historical demonstration.

Jerome in narrating the journey of Paula, describes her as ascending to Jerusalem by the way of Lower and Upper Bethhoron; on her right she sees Ajalon and Gibeon, where Joshua commanded the sun and moon to stand still; she stops a little at Gabaa (Gibeah), then levelled to the ground, calling to mind its ancient crime and the concubine cut in pieces; and then leaving the mausoleum of Helena on her left, she enters Jerusalem.¹ Now this very road is the great camel-road from Yâfa and Lydda to Jerusalem at the present day; which, from the top of the long ascent, looks down upon the vale of Ajalon, then passes along on the north of Gibeon, and falls into the great northern road from Nâbulus to Jerusalem at a point just north of Tuleil el-Fûl.² Gibeah therefore must have been situated somewhere upon this road between Gibeon and Jerusalem; for had it been at Jeb'a, Paula must have gone several miles directly out of her way to stop at it.

Josephus, in one of the passages referred to, is relating the story of the Levite and his concubine; and remarks that the Levite was unwilling to remain for the night at Jerusalem among the heathen, but chose to go on twenty stadia further, in order to lodge in a town belonging to his countrymen. He came therefore to Gibeah.³ The twenty stadia then are not here employed as marking the exact distance of Gibeah; but simply in respect to the desire of the Levite to advance *some* twenty stadia further.—The other passage of Josephus is more explicit. He is describing the march of Titus from Samaria by way of Gophna to besiege Jerusalem. "Having halted [at Gophna] one night, he set off again with the dawn;

¹ "Inde proficiens ascendit Bethoron inferiorem et superiorem;—ad dexteram aspiciens Ajalon et Gabaa. In Gabaa urbe usque ad solum diruta, paululum substitit, recordata peccati ejus, et concubinae in frustra divisae.—Ad laevam mausoleo Helenae derelicto—ingressa est Jerosolymam urbem."—*Hieron. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulae, Opp. ed. Martian. Tom. IV. ii. col. 673.*

² See Bibl. Res. III. p. 75.

³ Antiq. 5. 2, 8.

and having completed a day's march, he encamped in a place called by the Jews in their own language "Valley of Thorns," near by a certain village named Gabath-Saul, which signifies "Hill of Saul," and distant from Jerusalem about thirty stadia.¹ The same afternoon Titus with six hundred chosen horsemen, advances to reconnoitre the city; and returns, after having been exposed under its walls to great personal danger by a sudden sally of the Jews. During the night a legion coming from Emmaus (Nicopolis) joins the main army; and the next morning Titus moves forward and encamps on Scopus, seven stadia distant from Jerusalem, where the city and temple lay conspicuously spread out before the view.²

Scopus was the brow of the hill on the north of the valley of Jehoshaphat, where this valley runs from west to east; and this brow or elevation spreads off northwards as a high plain or table-land for some two miles or more, quite to Tuleil el-Fûl. Directly at the western base of this high conical hill, the ground and road descend gradually into a valley or lower plain; which further towards the north opens out more widely, on the east into the plain which surrounds the hill of er-Râm, and on the west into the broad level tract around Gibeon. Titus, advancing from Gophna, marches between eleven and twelve Roman miles, and encamps at the distance of about thirty stadia from Jerusalem and of course twenty-three stadia from Scopus; at or near the point where the road from Bethhoron comes in, as appears from the junction of the legion coming from Nicopolis, obviously by the way of Bethhoron. The distance of thirty stadia here, evidently applies to the place of encampment, and not to the village; and this point of the junction of the roads, according to our rate of travel in 1838, is nearest one hour and a quarter or $3\frac{1}{4}$ Roman miles (30 stadia) from Jerusalem. The place of their encampment therefore is distinctly and definitely marked. But it was also "near to a certain village called Gobath-Saul, i. e. Hill (λόφος) of Saul;" and at this day, ten minutes distant from the same point, toward the south-east, there rises the conspicuous conical hill called Tuleil el-Fûl. It is the only hill near, and stands entirely isolated on the northern border of the elevated plain above mentioned. It is seen at a great distance, especially in the eastern quarter. On it was once a square tower, now fallen into ruins and having the appearance of a pyramidal mound.³ This then beyond all question is the λόφος or Hill of Saul described by Josephus. There are no other remains around the hill itself; but, a few rods further west, directly upon the great road as it enters the lower plain or valley, there are seen a number of ancient substructions, consisting of large unhewn stones in low massive walls.⁴ Probably the ancient city extended down from the hill on this side and included this spot.

This narration of the Jewish historian, as it seems to me, furnishes,

¹ Joseph. B. J. 5, 2. 1, "Ἐνθα μίαν ἑσπέραν αὐλισσάμενος, ὑπὸ τὴν ἑὴν πρόεισι· καὶ διανύσας ἡμέρας σταθμὸν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πατρίως Ἀκανθῶν αὐλῶνα καλούμενον, πρὸς τινὶ κώμῃ Γαβαθσαούλῃ καλουμένη· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο λόφον Σαούλου διέχοντα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὅσον ἀπὸ τετρίκοντα σταδίων.

² Ibid. 5. 2, 3.

³ Bibl. Res. II. p. 317.

⁴ Ibid. p. 317.

therefore, conclusive proof, that here was the position of the ancient Gibeah of Saul. This too accords well with all the passages of Scripture (except one) where Gibeah is mentioned; and certainly tallies much better with the journey of the Levite,¹ than does the explanation above given. The one exception is 1 Sam. 14: 16; where in the Hebrew, as well as in the English version, Gibeah is so spoken of as necessarily to imply that it lay over against Michmash, at or near Jeb'a. The circumstances there narrated are utterly incompatible with the position of Tuleil el-Fûl at the distance of four miles or more. But we find elsewhere some confusion in the use of the names Geba and Gibeah, which indeed are only masculine and feminine forms of the same word. Thus Geba is certainly read for Gibeah in Judg. 20: 10, 33; comp. vv. 9, 36. So in 1 Sam. 14: 16, I am unable to doubt, after the testimony of Josephus, but that *vice versa* Gibeah is here put for Geba by an error in transcribing; comp. 1 Sam. 13: 16.

It follows of course that Jeb'a is the representative of the ancient Geba. I would therefore request that it may be so marked on the maps of the Biblical Researches; and also that the name Gibeah be inserted in connection with Tuleil el-Fûl.

II. RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE. RAMAH OF SAMUEL.

In the course of the last year or two I have received several letters from persons in Europe, expressing doubts, whether the modern Tomb of Rachel occupies the true place of the ancient sepulchre. One writer in Scotland supposes, on no very definite grounds, that the latter must have been quite near to Jerusalem. In the letter of Mr. Gross mentioned in the former part of this article, he likewise takes the ground, that the present site of the sepulchre is not the true one. He supposes that the Ramah of Samuel was at er-Râm on the north of Jerusalem; and that Rachel's sepulchre, according to 1 Sam. 10: 2 and Jer. 31: 15, must have been situated between that place and Gibeah of Saul; that is to say, between er-Râm and Tuleil el-Fûl, as shown above.

Several considerations present themselves, which seem to show that this view is untenable.

1. According to Gen. 35: 16, 19. 48: 7, Jacob was journeying from Bethel southwards, when Rachel being seized with the pains of labor, died and was buried in the way of Ephrath, "where there was yet a *kibrah of land* (כְּבֵרַת דָּאָרֶץ) to come to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem." It is added, Gen. 35: 20, "and Jacob set a pillar upon her grave; that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day." The length of the measure here called *kibrah* is indeed unknown, and was so already when the Septuagint version was made; since that version retains the same word in Greek letters, *καβραδα*. But the very fact that Jacob was travelling *from* Bethel *to* Ephrath, while Rachel's death is narrated as taking place before coming to Ephrath, and her grave described as in the way *of or to* Ephrath, shows that the English version cannot be far from right, when it translates: "And there was but a *little way* to come to Ephrath." At least,

¹ Judg. 19: 12-15.

the spot must have been nearer to Ephrath or Bethlehem than to Bethel. So too Josephus understood it, for he says that as Jacob was journeying from Bethel, Rachel died in travail and was buried in the region of Ephrath.¹—The tradition too by which a knowledge of the spot was handed down, was not merely an ordinary unwritten tradition; the value of which latter in itself I do not estimate very highly. The expression, "that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day," if penned by Moses, was written nearly five hundred years after Rachel's death; or, if it was a subsequent addition, it may date even from the time of Ezra, a thousand years later; and in either case it shows a long and definite tradition, which cannot thus far be called in question. And afterwards the very fact that such a record existed in their sacred books which were read every Sabbath-day in the hearing of all the Jews, would necessarily fix the attention of the people with unwavering certainty upon the spot thus definitely marked; and so long as the Jews retained possession of their land, and this public reading of the Scriptures was continued, the place of Rachel's sepulchre could not well be forgotten. This brings us to near the close of the first century of the christian era; and at that very time the language of Josephus above quoted, shows that the tradition was still current. When therefore, two centuries later, we find the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, in A. D. 333, making mention of the sepulchre as being situated four Roman miles from Jerusalem and two from Bethlehem; and Jerome again, near the end of the same century, describing Paula as stopping at Rachel's tomb on her way from Jerusalem to Bethlehem; and when we perceive that this position accords with what we learn from Scripture and from Josephus; we are warranted in holding this to be the true position, as handed down by long and trustworthy Jewish tradition. That the present site is the one pointed out by the Pilgrim and Jerome, no one doubts.—On the other hand, if we look for Rachel's sepulchre between er-Râm and Tuleil el-Fûl, then Jacob at the time of her burial was not yet half-way from Bethel to Bethlehem; for Tuleil el-Fûl itself is further from the latter place than from the former. To assume, therefore, such a position would be to contradict the testimony of Scripture and of Josephus, and also of long and trustworthy tradition, as shown above.

2. In 1 Sam. 10: 2, Rachel's sepulchre is said to be "in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah." But if it be sought between Tuleil el-Fûl and er-Râm, then it was not upon the border at all, but in the very midst of the tribe of Benjamin; for the southern border of this tribe took in Jerusalem, and the northern included Beeroth and originally Bethel.—Or, should it be averred that the word *border* (גבול) is to be here taken, not in the sense of *boundary*, but of *territory*; then, if Saul was merely passing between er-Râm and Tuleil el-Fûl (Ramah and Gibeah), two places in the land of Benjamin, it is difficult to see why a certain spot between the two should be so very definitely described as "in the territory of Benjamin," and nothing be said of the other two.

3. According to 1 Sam. 9: 4 sq., Saul, in searching for his father's asses, after passing through Mount Ephraim and other parts, passes also

¹ Joseph. Ant. I. 21. 3. ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφραθίνην γίνεται, ἐνθάδε Ῥαχὴλ ἐκ τοκετῷ θανούσαν θάπτει.

through the land of Benjamin, (obviously from north to south,) and comes to the land of Zuph; which land therefore seems to have been a part of Judah on the south of Benjamin. Here he visits Samuel, apparently at his own house in Ramah; and so Josephus calls the city.¹ The story represents Saul as a stranger to the place; and Samuel's directions to Saul the next morning evidently imply that a journey of some length was before him to reach Gibeah. But if Samuel's Ramah was at er-Râm, then this place and Gibeah (Tuleil el-Fûl) was only two Roman miles apart, and in full sight of each other across the lower intervening ground. That all the occurrences foretold by Samuel were to happen within that brief distance, and that Saul should here be so much of a stranger in a place which had been before his eyes and within half an hour's walk all his life long,—all this does not, at the least, seem very probable.

4. The passage in Jer. 31: 15, is quoted in Matt. 2: 18, and applied to Herod's slaughter of the children in Bethlehem. If it be there cited as having a special prophetic application to this event in Bethlehem, then the reference must unquestionably be to the sepulchre of Rachel as now shown in the vicinity of that place. But if it be cited only by way of illustration or allusion, (as I hold to be the case,) then Ramah seems to be mentioned as having been the depôt or rendezvous where the captives were collected in order to be marched to Babylon (Jer. 40: 1); and Rachel is introduced, as the mother of the tribe in which Ramah is situated, bewailing her posterity thus led away into captivity. If the passage be viewed in this light, there is here no reference whatever to her sepulchre.

On all these grounds, I must still retain the feeling and the opinion, that the tradition in favor of the present site of Rachel's sepulchre, "cannot well be drawn in question;" and also that the Ramah of Samuel could not well have been at er-Râm.

ARTICLE IX.

SELECT NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

A **VERY** interesting work was published in 1843, by Karl von Raumer, professor at Erlangen, entitled, *Geschichte der Pädagogik vom wiederaufblühen klassischer Studien bis auf unsere Zeit*. "History of Education from the revival of classical studies to the present time." It is contained in two elegantly printed volumes of about 400 pages each, and embraces the substance of a course of lectures delivered at various times from 1822 to 1842. The author is well known by his valuable geographical work on Palestine and other publications. The principal topics which pass under review, are the Middle ages, Italy from the birth

¹ Antiq. 6. 4. 1.

of Dante to the death of Petrarch, Development of classic culture in Italy from the death of Petrarch to Leo X, Leo X. and his times, Transition to Germany, Life and labors of Agricola, Wessel, Hegius, Erasmus, Reuchlin, etc. In respect to the influence of the Colloquies of Erasmus, the author thus speaks: "Certainly the Colloquies must work an injurious effect on the sentiments and morality of the young. A cold, lifeless satire, frivolity and double-meaning, is poison to youthful simplicity. Erasmus is admirably clear and eloquent when he handles that which is purely scientific. But he was not the man to write books for children, to talk to children with a father's heart and to care for their spiritual good. The unhappy man had no father's house, no father's land, no church; he had nothing, for which he could make any self-sacrifice, consequently he was selfish, timorous, double-minded; he lacked love. No wonder that he fell out altogether with the frank, brave Luther,—with this honest, loving pastor of his Germans." The subjects next treated are the Reformation, the Jesuits and Realism. The influence of Bacon's writings on education is exhibited with ability and at considerable length. The second volume embraces the period from the death of Bacon to that of Pestalozzi. It treats, among other topics and persons, of the Thirty year's war in Germany, Comenius, of the century after the peace of Westphalia, Locke, Francke, Rousseau, the philanthropists and Pestalozzi. In this survey of the history of education, von Raumer takes a truly elevated and christian position. He appears also to have a fine talent for condensing his materials, and for presenting in a clear manner the results of an extensive study of the original sources. These volumes, together with the *Histories of Education* by Schwartz (*Erziehungslehre*, 3 vols. 1829), and Cramer (*Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts im Alterthume*, 2 vols. 1832), afford ample materials for a complete view of the whole subject.

Helps to the critical study of the Old Testament. The supply of books, from the German presses, in the various departments of biblical learning, continues to be unabated. Introductions, Commentaries, Manuals and Lexicons, follow each other in rapid succession. Of course, in this inundation of books, the American student must make a wise selection. An indiscriminate purchase and use of these foreign importations is much to be deprecated. A German commentary on the Bible presupposes a state of society and of knowledge which does not exist in England or the United States. A German student has a philological training in the gymnasium and university which fits him to meet and dispose of the nicest critical questions,—a training to which the young exegete of no other land can make pretension. Hence a German commentary is often

filled with the minutest and most learned criticism, which can be appreciated by the Teutonic tribes, but which is nearly useless to a student educated at an American seminary. The German needs the process, the Englishman the results; the former is at home in the midst of infinite details; the latter is only bewildered in this Babel of languages; the one can best solve a philological perplexity; the other is better prepared to meet a question which calls into requisition logic and sound common sense.—Again, the American student in using these foreign aids for the study of the Scriptures, must learn to prove all things and hold fast that which is good; must be ready to receive the good and cast the bad away. On the subjects of grammar, history, geography, archaeology, and philology in its widest acceptation, German works are indispensable. Germany can furnish more valuable helps than all other countries in the world. Treatises without number, on almost every conceivable topic, elaborated with the utmost patience, and many of them admirably arranged, and procured in general, at a comparatively small cost, crowd themselves upon his notice. But while studying them, he must recollect that the moral and religious training of the authors was exceedingly unlike that which prevails in his own country. A boldness of criticism is allowed in Germany, which is not tolerated, and ought not to be, in England and the United States. He must remember that the most extensive learning is a poor substitute for an unsettled faith. Loose notions of the divine authority of the Scriptures are not atoned for by the greatest affluence of knowledge. Correct ideas in relation to a divine institution, like the Sabbath, are worth infinitely more than the nicest critical tact, or the profoundest learning. It ought also to be borne in mind, that the skepticism of an American or English scholar is far more unseemly, and works far greater mischief, than that of the German student. The latter takes it, as it were, in the natural way; in the former it is forced and unnatural. The German theologian may entertain erroneous notions in respect to a divine revelation, in consistency with an honest, frank, warm-hearted piety. A considerable degree of skepticism in him may be united with a devout and holy christian character. But the Englishman, when he adopts modes of thinking and philosophizing which prevail in Germany, will be likely to become a cold free-thinker, a heartless unbeliever. He must be sound in the faith, or he will be worse than a German infidel. With his skepticism, he loses everything attractive and of good report.

The most valuable recent Introductions to the Old Testament are those of Hävernicks and De Wette. Hävernicks is a disciple of Tholuck, and a pious and evangelical man. He was first connected with the new theological school at Geneva; he then became a private teacher in the university of Rostock. He is now professor ordinarius of theology at the uni-

versity of Königsberg. He has distinguished himself by his writings on the book of Daniel. His "Manual of an historico-critical Introduction to the Old Testament," (as far as it has been received in this country,) is contained in a volume of about 1000 pages, small type, and was published in 1836 and 1837. About one half of the volume is devoted to a general introduction, including the common topics of a history of the original languages of the Bible, history of the text, etc. The remaining portion is employed on the Pentateuch. The work contains much valuable information, and is pervaded by an excellent spirit, but is deficient in condensation and a nice selection from the immense mass of materials. If completed in the manner in which it is begun, it will constitute rather a thesaurus than a manual.

De Wette's Manual is very convenient and portable. The topics are select, and the matter is condensed in a degree of which few men are capable. The book has the excellencies and faults which are characteristic of the author. Learning and sound sense are everywhere manifest. But the skeptical doubts and the vacillation of opinion, seriously detract from the merit of the work, and require in him who uses it caution and a discriminating judgment. Hengstenberg's Contributions to the Authenticity of the Pentateuch, yet incomplete, are of much value.

In Hebrew lexicography the late edition of the Lexicon of Gesenius, translated by Dr. Robinson, leaves hardly anything to be desired. It is a noble specimen of what a lexicon in every language should be. Would that we had such a manual in classical Greek, or even in Latin. Can the patience of our scholars with Donnegan much longer hold out? No lexicon, within our knowledge, approaches that of Gesenius, in sound judgment, in maintaining the just medium between rashness, on the one hand, and obstinacy on the other, in adopting real improvements from whatever quarter they may come, and, at the same time, in steadily resisting mere innovation and novelty. Gesenius's mind was remarkably fair and candid. In respect to solidity of judgment, he was much more of an Englishman, than most Germans with whose works we have become acquainted. We are not surprised at the rapid sale of Dr. Robinson's translation. Those, who are making lexicons in other languages, would do well to take this as a model.

Among the most important recent commentaries on the Old Testament, are those of Maurer. The three volumes already published—which can be procured for about seven dollars—include the whole Old Testament, with the exception of Job, Ecclesiastes and Canticles. They are written in Latin. The author is a Leipsic scholar, and belongs to the school of Gesenius. The date of his last preface was at Stuttgart. The first half of the first volume, including the historical books, is far too brief to be sat-

isfactory. The remainder of the work is elaborated at considerable length, and with much care. Its greatest value consists, perhaps, in the development of the grammatical principles of the Hebrew language, there being many references to the grammars of Ewald and Gesenius. He exhibits everywhere an exact acquaintance with this indispensable, but often neglected, part of an interpreter's field of labor. Another excellence of the commentary is the compression of a great amount of matter into a small space; yet it is not so condensed as to be unintelligible. A careful selection from his multifarious materials seems to have been a guiding principle. Indeed, the current in respect to biblical commentary in Germany, at the present time, seems to be running decidedly in this direction. The day is past, when ten or twenty volumes, like the original ponderous commentary of the younger Rosenmüller, or a thick single volume on a small prophet, like that of Credner on Joel, can be tolerated. Maurer displays, in general, much sound judgment and skill in his interpretations. He seems to have a special antipathy to Hitzig, sometimes not without reason. His doctrinal views, though not often protruded, are those of a neologist. On the subject of inspiration, Messianic prophecy, etc., he is of course an unsafe guide.

A very able commentary on Isaiah appeared in 1843, in a volume of 444 pages, from the pen of Prof. Knobel of Giessen. It makes a part of the *Exegetical Manual on the Old Testament* now publishing at Leipzig. The author is known by his work on the *Prophetical Spirit of the Hebrews*. A peculiarity of the commentary on Isaiah is the pains which the author has taken to present a clear view of the personal character of the prophet, of the times in which he lived, and of the actual condition of the various countries and tribes that are brought under notice in the several prophecies. Knobel aims to reproduce, as far as practicable, the scenes and objects which passed before the eye of the ancient seer, and to make them stand out in prominent relief. This is important, as he justly remarks, in every point of view. We shall thus attain better conceptions of the morals and culture of the Hebrew people, of the history of the literature, of the theology of the Old Testament, and of the grammar and criticism of the language. We regret to add, that Knobel follows the example of many of his countrymen, in his efforts to explain away and dilute the spiritual and Messianic character of some of the chapters of this truly evangelical prophet. It is melancholy to see the floundering of a man of so much learning and good sense, when he undertakes to expound the fifty-third chapter of the prophecy.

The second volume of Hengstenberg on the Psalms has been received in this country. The work is in the process of translation in Scotland, as well as in the United States.

Bekker's edition of Aristotle has been reprinted at Oxford in 11 vols. 8vo. Bekker was employed by the university of Berlin to collate the principal MSS. of Aristotle scattered among the various libraries of Europe, and to found upon them a new edition of the text. The whole of Aristotle was published in one volume at Leipsic in 1843, by Weise, the text being taken from the old editions.—A Journal was established in 1843, at Berlin, called the "Archaeologische Zeitung," devoted to the illustration of the remains of ancient art, and edited by Edward Gerhard. It has elegant lithographies of the most important works of ancient art.—The Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1840, published in 1842, contain an elaborate paper by Zumpt, on the state and increase of population in antiquity. He maintains that the population of Greece was at its maximum during the Persian war, and that it begun from this period to decline in consequence of the frequent wars, the increase of luxury, and the prevalence of the practice of *παιδοκρατία* . Mr. Zumpt thinks that the greatest population of Italy is to be fixed before the Punic wars, and that the second Punic war was a turning point in the population of the country.—The "Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft," is now conducted by Dr. Theodor Bergk and Dr. Julius Caesar, professors in the university of Marburg, who are well known as eminent classical scholars.—The "Rheinisches Museum für Philologie," which had been suspended for a time, is now continued by the united efforts of professors Welcker and Ritschl of Bonn. The Nos. of the work, which we have examined, exhibit profound learning and research, but they are hardly fitted to the wants of classical scholars in the United States. A work much better adapted to our necessities is Jahn's Jahrbücher, published at Leipsic.—The "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes," begun under the charge of Ewald, when he was at Göttingen, is now conducted by Lassen of Bonn. On the cover of the work is a list of 20 contributors, including Ewald, Hupfeld, Grotefend, Pott, Rödiger, Gabelentz, etc. Since the work has come under the charge of Lassen, more prominence has been given to the East Indian languages. It contains many curious and elaborate papers. The last No. has a short article on a Himyaritic inscription, and another on the alphabet of that dialect; also a continuation of Pott and Rödiger's "Koordish Studies."—Wellsted's Travels in Arabia has been translated into German, accompanied with corrections, illustrative observations, and an Excursus on the Himyaritic Inscriptions, by Prof. Rödiger, in 2 vols. Wellsted travelled in a part of Arabia, but slightly known to Europeans. The charts and inscriptions are on two large tables.—The first part of a new "Manual of Roman Antiquities, from the sources," by Prof. W. A. Becker of Leipsic, has just been published. It is accompanied with a comparative plan of Rome,

and four other tables. Becker is well known as the author of "Gallus," also of a work on Demosthenes, etc.—The second volume of Köllner's *Symbolik*, containing the Confessions of the Roman Catholic church, has been published. The first volume comprised the Lutheran Confessions. —The fourth and last part of Umbreit's *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, embracing the whole of the Minor Prophets, will be published during the present year.—The activity of the German mind in relation to classical studies may be seen from the list of books on Latin Synonyms, all of which are reviewed in the No. of Jahn's *Jahrbücher for Philologie*, Jan. 1844. "Manual of Latin Synonyms," by Ludwig Döderlein, Leipsic, 1840, pp. 245; "Collection of Synonymous words in the Latin Language," (1100 in number) by F. G. Jentzen, Altona, 1831; "Dictionary of the Synonyms in the Latin Language," by Dr. L. Ramshorn, (translated into English by Dr. Lieber); "Dictionary of the Synonyms in Latin," by Ernst Karl Habicht, rector of the gymnasium at Bückeberg, second edition, Lemgo, 1839, pp. 528; "Latin Synonyms for schools," by Dr. Friederick Schmalfeld, teacher in the gymnasium at Eisleben, third edition, 1839, pp. 506; "Latin Synonyms for the upper classes in gymnasias," by Dr. F. Schutz, teacher in the gymnasium at Arnberg, 1 vol. pp. 321. All these volumes are pronounced by the reviewer, Prof. Klotz of Leipsic, to be worthy of commendation. Especial credit is given to Döderlein, as properly the creator of the scientific study of Latin synonyms. "The study of Latin synonyms is not simply pleasing in its results, useful in connection with other scientific investigations, but it is of the greatest importance in its influence on schools, since nothing is more attractive to young people, even to children, than to bring out and distinguish similar ideas and words; nothing is better fitted to sharpen the understanding than exactly to define words which have a general resemblance."

We have received four Nos. of "the Classical Museum, a Journal of Philology and of Ancient History and Literature," published by John W. Parker, London, and edited by Dr. Leonard Schmitz, one of the translators of the third volume of Niebuhr's *Roman History*. Its general object appears to be to introduce to the acquaintance of British scholars some of the rich stores of philological learning which are found in the German language, and which have hitherto attracted but little attention in England. A large part of the work is taken up in giving abstracts of various German productions, notices of new books published on the continent, and literary intelligence from the same quarter. Among the contributors are Drs. Schmitz, and W. Smith, Profs. Long, and F. M. Newman, G. C. Lewis, the translator of Boeckh's *Economy of Athens*, etc. The fourth No.

contains an elaborate article on the Hellenics of Xenophon by Mr. Lewis, and the first No. a valuable abstract of Boeckh's late work on ancient weights, coins and measures.—A translation of Becker's treatise, before alluded to, entitled, "*Gallus, or Roman Scenes of the time of Augustus,*" illustrative of Roman manners and customs, has just appeared in London.

Since the last Number of the Theological Review was published, the translation of Kühner's School Grammar of the Greek Language, has appeared from the Andover press. It is a volume of 604 pp. 8vo. The forms of the language occupy 228 pages, the Dialectic peculiarities, about 50 pages in the smaller type, and the Syntax, together with a brief treatise on Versification by the translators, and three copious Indexes, the remainder. Much pains have been taken by the printers to present the work in an attractive form, and to make it easy for reference by a variety of type, by large spaces, etc. The author has published three grammars of the Greek language and three of the Latin, adapted to the different ages and circumstances of students. He has also published excellent editions of Cicero's Tusculan Questions, and of Xenophon's Memorabilia. He is somewhat over forty years of age, was educated in the gymnasium at Gotha and at the university of Göttingen. For twenty years he has been a teacher in the Lyceum at Hanover, associated with Grotefend, who is rector of the school, and other distinguished scholars. This edition of the Grammar is reviewed in several Nos. of the "*Neue Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung,*" for Nov. 1843, by Dr. G. Blackert of Marburg. The following is the concluding sentence of the review: "This book is, without doubt, the best of all the author's labors on the language of ancient Greece. The external form is very inviting. The three Indexes are full and very diligently prepared. For the friends of those views of language, which are laid down in Becker's German productions, this new work on Greek Grammar, will, doubtless, be in the highest degree, welcome; for every friend of the Greek language, it is deserving of consideration, be he student or professor."

Mr. Munroe of Boston has just published a work on the "*Metres of the Greeks and Romans,*" translated from the German of Edward Munk, by Profs. Beck and Felton of Cambridge. A work of this nature in the English language has long been a desideratum. Hermann's treatise has been, indeed, abridged and translated in England; its value, however, is seriously impaired, especially for English readers, by the attachment of its author to certain philosophical theories of Kant. The treatise of Dr. Munk has been very favorably received in Germany. His theory of metre is essentially the same as that of Boeckh, as unfolded in his Essay on the Metres of Pindar. An historical introduction condenses into a

few pages the facts in the development of the ancient metres, which are elsewhere scattered over many volumes. Every point in the body of the work is fully illustrated by examples, taken mostly from the purest Greek and Latin writers. The translation of this work is one of the most decided of the many recent indications showing the gratifying progress which classical studies are making among us. Its adoption and thorough use by our principal schools and colleges, will do much to elevate the standard of learning, as well as to advance our national character for scholarship. We trust that the eminent teachers, who have prepared the work, will find an ample reward.

Mr. Sophocles, author of the popular Greek Grammar, and instructor in Greek in Harvard College, has just published a "Catalogue of Greek Verbs," in a duodecimo of 320 pages. The catalogue is preceded by remarks on the commutation of certain letters, on augment, tenses, and verbs in μ . The list of verbs is large, and much pains have been taken to present all the forms which occur in the Greek classics. Thus in *ΑΑΩ*, the first verb in the list, the meanings are accurately stated, the forms which are in actual use in Homer are pointed out with a reference to the verse; then the quantity of some of the syllables is given, followed by the derivatives with their various significations. An Appendix contains a selection of ancient Inscriptions, from Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum*. These inscriptions are original documents, the letters as they were formed by the hands of the Greeks themselves. A variety of inferences are drawn from them by Mr. Sophocles, in illustration of important, controverted points. Every page of the volume bears evidence of the scholarship of the author, whom we are happy to regard, not so much a Greek, as an American, equally an honor to his lineage and to the land of his adoption.

We learn that Prof. Woolsey of Yale College is preparing for the press an edition of the *Crito* and *Phaedo* of Plato.—Prof. Champlin of Waterville has in preparation, and will soon put to press, a translation of Kühner's *Elementary Latin Grammar*.—We hear that the "*Ciceronian*," noticed on page 424 of this Review, has been adopted as a text-book in several schools. Its introduction into American seminaries, from the nature of the case, must be gradual. When once fairly taken up by competent instructors, it will, we are confident, win its way.

Many of our readers will be glad to hear, that a large and valuable accession is now making to the library of Harvard College. For this purpose, the sum of \$23,000 has been devoted. In the large importation ordered from Germany, is a copy of the great *Encyclopædia* of Ersch and Gruber,—a work of which, so far as we know, not a copy is now to be found in the United States.

E.

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ARTICLE I

GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY.

Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache, von Dr. W. Pape, Professor am Berlinischen Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster. 3 Bde., 1842—3.

A Greek-English Lexicon, based on the German work of François Passow, by Henry George Liddell, M. A. student of Christ Church, and Robert Scott, M. A. sometime student of Christ Church, and late fellow of Balliol College. Oxford, at the University Press. 1843.

By Prof. T. D. Woolsey, Yale College.

THE plan, merits and defects of Passow's Lexicon are so well known to Hellenists, that there is little need of dwelling upon them. It will be enough to say, that Passow began his work on a plan, which rendered it impossible for him to make it complete except by successive stages; that he started, as was right, from Homer, intending afterwards to go down to Herodotus, Pindar, and the Attic writers, and thus by degrees, to build up a structure of Lexicography, as time and experience should allow. His plan, even in the fourth edition, was carried out only so far as to embrace Herodotus in an imperfect manner; and hence for Attic and subsequent Greek, his Lexicon remained until his death an unsatisfactory work, although, even for those ages of the language, the best within reach. Meanwhile the ardent study of Greek literature had produced a number of contributions to Lexicography in the shape of special Lexicons, extensive indexes

and the like,—to say nothing of the more accurate knowledge of antiquities, involving the use of innumerable words, the superior revisions of texts, and the elucidation in various ways of very many obscure passages. Thus, at the death of Passow in 1833, a great mass of materials lay comparatively untouched; and it was far easier at that time to set about the same kind of work, than it was in 1819, when he began to publish as a Lexicographer.

Among the attempts made since Passow's death to supply a want occasioned by his too early removal, the two Lexicons named at the head of this article, and the new edition of Passow by Rost and Palm, take the highest place. Of the latter, which we believe is not yet complete, we shall not speak, and proceed directly to some observations on the two former.

In size, Pape's work is about a quarter larger than the fourth edition of Passow, and seems to contain more than one quarter more matter. Liddell and Scott's closely printed volume of nearly 1600 pages, in small quarto, has about as much printing in it as Passow's two, but seems to have in it considerably more matter. This is owing in part to the smaller number of letters in English words than in corresponding German ones. For instance, Passow's definition of *θάνατος*, 'tod sowohl natürlicher als gewaltsamer,' consists of 34 letters; Liddell and Scott's, 'death whether natural or violent,' is a mere translation and is despatched in 28. Another means by which room is gained in the Oxford Lexicon, is the omission of some of Passow's synonyms, which are often needlessly numerous. And another still is the compression of articles which are sometimes unnecessarily long. For instance, Passow on *θάπτω* after mentioning the general sense of paying the last dues to a corpse, and that of burning it, adds, 'denn aber auch weil die Gebeine meist in Aschenkrüge unter die Erde gebracht wurden wenn die Flamme das Fleisch verzehrt hatte, *beisetzen, beerdigen, begraben*. The same thing is expressed by the Oxford lexicographers in less than half the space thus: 'then, as the ashes were usually inurned and put under ground, *to bury, inter, entomb*.' We do not mean by these comparisons to convey the impression, that the latter work is a mere translation, or even a *rifacimento* of Passow's; the opposite will abundantly appear by and by. All we mean is, that into a given space, its authors are able to bring much more matter than Passow's work contains, and that this is owing to superior compression.

Almost the first thing which strikes us, when we begin to use

a Lexicon, is the amount of pains we must take in hunting out the derivations and the significations of words. For an impatient person and for a young scholar, it is especially important that the typographical arrangement shall be such as to favor rapid and easy consultation. For conveniences of this kind the Germans are not particularly famous. An article in one of their dictionaries is apt to be constructed like one of the sentences in their language; you must go through to the end before getting the satisfaction which you want. Neither Passow or Pape seeks to arrest the eye by making the place where a new definition is inserted, prominent and observable. The Oxford lexicographers have attained this end very happily by the Roman numerals, and the blank space, which precede their principal definitions. We wish that they had also adopted the practice, for which Pape is much to be praised, of separating the parts of compound words by a hyphen;—a practice, which, in most cases, at once reveals the composition to the eye, and prevents the necessity of inserting one of the roots. Thus *ἐμ-μετρος* by this mode of printing shows its parentage, although *μετρος* in brackets does not follow.

A Lexicon may be regarded as a history of each particular word in a language, and as such, will naturally begin each article with the outward shape of words,—their forms and quantity,—and with their derivation. At these points, especially at the two former, it comes into contact with grammar, and ought not to encroach upon this department. It will be enough, therefore, if, while the grammarian lays down rules, the lexicographer, taking these rules for granted, calls attention to whatever may be peculiar and remarkable in the word of which he is treating. In regard to forms, Liddell and Scott enter perhaps into more details than either Passow or Pape.¹ Both the new Lexicons mark the doubtful vowels when they are long; but Liddell and Scott, by occasionally giving the short quantity, only throw doubt into the mind of the student. If the rule, to which Pape rigidly adheres, is observed, of leaving the doubtful vowels without a mark whenever they are short, the youngest learner will find the quantity of Greek words far easier to be remembered than that of Latin

¹ More exact information concerning the forms of words, will of course be sought by the advanced student from Lobeck's edition of Buttmann's largest Grammar, and from the "Greek verbs" of Carmichael, and of Sophocles. The recent work with this title, by a very acute scholar of our own country, is far superior to that of Carmichael in judgment, and may supersede every other aid in this anomalous part of the Greek language.

ones. Of course, where Epic, Attic and later usage are not uniform, where the parts of a verb differ in quantity, or where authorities to determine the quantity are wanting or doubtful, all this will be particularly noticed; but all that is necessary in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, is to put the sign of a long syllable over *α*, *ι*, and *υ*. A question where two lexicographers may reasonably differ, is, whether when the rules of quantity are without exception, there is any need of representing cases under the rule to the eye;—whether, for instance, it is best to indicate in any way the quantity of verbs in *υυω*. Pape passes these verbs by in silence, supposing that his reader is already informed upon the point. The Oxford scholars are inconsistent; they give the quantity in *εἰπύω*, but say nothing of *εὐθύω*, *καλλύω* and other similar verbs. We should think it desirable to mark all such cases; for the knowledge of quantity and of pronunciation, acquired almost insensibly in looking out some thousands of words, is a great help towards mastering the dry minutiae of the rules relating to this driest of all subjects.

The derivation of words, being a point of great importance for ascertaining and feeling their meaning, will of course find a place in every respectable Lexicon. But it is a subject on which so much new light has been thrown by the comparison of languages, and one where so much is as yet unsettled and merely conjectural, that one may well be at a loss how to treat it. This, it is well known, was Passow's weak side; he followed the Dutch school whose speculations have been swept away, as leading back to imaginary roots, and as supposing a state of the Greek which cannot be shown to have existed by proofs found within or beyond the limits of that language. But if we desert Passow's path, what other shall we take? Shall we take a course parallel to that of Döderlein¹ and seek the birth-place of Greek words on their own soil; or shall we follow the opposite method of the Sanscrit scholars—we might better say of some tyros in that language—and derive our Greek words from Sanscrit roots, which, even in their own home perhaps left no descendants. It is plain, we think, that neither plan is safe; nor is any other, which does not recognize an extended comparison of cognate languages, and of the laws deducible from such an examination, on the one hand, while it looks, on the other, to the genius of each particular sister language and explains it, as far as possible, by itself.² But

¹ Lateinische Synonyme und Etymologien.

² The Greek Etymological Lexicon of Kaltschmidt we have found exceed-

such a plan, if carried out would build up a comparative Lexicon for a class of languages, or we may suppose, by and by, for all the dialects used by man. And here for the practical lexicographer who deals with a single language, the previous question arises: Whether a great part of this matter is not for him extraneous; whether in short, it is his business at all to go beyond the limits of the language to which he gives his labors; whether, when he has hunted a word to the borders of its native land, he may not then give up the chase, and leave the further pursuit to another set of trappers and huntsmen. We incline to think that, while it would be well to have an etymological dictionary of the roots of both the Greek and the Latin together, in which could be comprised within a brief space all the results of investigation hitherto reached,¹ a manual Lexicon should confine itself to the language with which it is concerned, if the root in its earliest sense still survives there, and depart from this principle only when the parentage of derivative words must be sought somewhere else, or the original signification of roots needs to be illustrated.²

In looking at what is done in these two works to exhibit the derivations of words, we find Pape usually strict but narrow, while Liddell and Scott have united, with a largeness of views which is somewhat questionable, partiality and inconsistency. In looking at a great number of words in Pape's volumes, we happen to have found one, and only one, where a Sanscrit root is referred to, although no particular reason seems to exist in this case why he should depart from his ordinary practice. In many cases where the root is uncertain, or lost, or foreign, Pape takes

ingly unsatisfactory. To know the roots which he gives,—universal roots they may be called,—is much the same as knowing none at all.

¹ A work of that kind, confined to results merely, and written with due brevity, need not much exceed in size Schmidtheuner's dictionary of German etymology, the second edition of which occupies less than 600 octavo pages.

² Since writing the above, we have found some admirable remarks in Freund's preface to his Latin Lexicon, in which a similar opinion is expressed in regard to the extent to which comparative exicography should be applied. Freund makes the very just observation, that if the opposite course be taken, the same words nearly must appear in the Lexicons of all the languages belonging to a family; for instance, when each of the cognates of our *stand* in Latin, Greek, Sanscrit, etc. is treated of. It may be added that such information is vain and empty when separated from that relation of vowels and consonants, in the sister-dialects of a class, which comparative grammar discloses, and is only calculated without this foundation to turn those who imbibe it into pedantic dabblers and smatterers, who know words but are ignorant of laws.

no trouble to inform his readers that such is the fact. In many other instances we find a word referred to a root, but nothing added to show the connexion of thought between the root and the derivative. Thus we are not told how *ἀγών* and *ἀγείρω* are connected with *ἄγω*; under *ἄξιος* we find this root referred to, but the hint there given, is hardly enough for a student who may not have met with *ἄγω* in its rather unusual sense of *weighing*. Pape seems to think that the student of himself will associate *ἀήρ* with *ἄημι*, and will perceive without explanation how *ἀείρω*, (*αἶρω*) comes from *ἀήρ*. In the earlier part of his work, Pape often prints the radical syllable both of a primitive and of a derivative, in capitals. Thus we have *ἈΓΧόνη* and *ἈΓΧω*. In some cases, indeed, there is a real difficulty in saying which is the primitive and which the derivative. But for the purposes of instruction, it is better to fix upon some one word as the parent form, unless we adopt the method of referring in *all cases* to the radical syllable divested of terminations and uninfluenced by euphonic changes. After a time Pape forsakes this plan of indicating the radical, and gives no notice to the eye of this part of a word. Thus *ἡδύς* and *ἡδω* both appear in small letters. This is perhaps the best plan; but we would suggest that while the capitals be reserved for forms not in use, as the grammarians employ them, some mark which will easily arrest the eye be used to show the parental dignity of the word to which it is prefixed. Pott uses the surd sign of algebra, but something less clumsy would be better. Pape's marks of division, again, inserted between the parts of a compound word are sometimes used without sufficient reason, or need further explanation. Thus we have *ἀνι-τάλλω*, printed as a compound, when it is to all appearance, only an irregularly reduplicated form from *ἀτάλλω*, and *ἄγρ-υπος* without any indication whether *ἄγρ-* is to be referred to the very rare word *ἄγρέω* = *αἰρέω*, which we judge to be Pape's opinion, or to some other root. On the whole, Pape seems to have given little study to this important branch of lexicography.

Turning now to the Oxford Lexicon, we find there much that is useful in the exhibition of derivations, but no very mature system. In a number of cases the results of comparative philology are given, and chiefly on the authority of so excellent a guide as Pott. But—to say nothing more of the empty nature of such information conveyed to a student usually ignorant of the languages drawn into comparison with the Greek, and of the laws of comparative grammar—as the information is partial and

does not extend to many of the commonest roots, the impression is left on the mind of the student that no cognates, or at least, no certain ones have been found for a large part of the more important words. It is the practice again of Liddell and Scott, to print the roots in capitals, but they seem to the writer to have made too many capital words, or else not enough. Thus they print in large letters *πύκη*, *πίτυς* and *πίσσα*, both *πέτρα* and *πέτρος*, *κῆλον* derivative of *καίω*, *βλαστάνω*, *βλαστός* and *βλαστή*, while the equal claims to this dignity made by *κέρας*, *κῆλῆς*, *πίθος*, *πέλανος*, *μύκηξ* and *στόμα* are disregarded. Yet notwithstanding these imperfections, there is a great deal of most valuable information on the subject of derivations contained in this dictionary, of information new to the English student, and fitted to awaken curiosity and reflexion. We notice one practice which deserves to be universally adopted; that of making reference to the significations of the parent word which the derivative follows, particularly when they are the less obvious and ordinary ones.

We have been led, while making these remarks, to feel how little has hitherto been settled, and how much of obscurity remains in Greek etymology. For ourselves at least, we must own that the law which produced so many coördinate roots like *κρένω*, *κλέπτω*, *καλύπτω*; *γράφω*, *γλύφω*, *κολάπτω*; which are, not dependent one upon another, and much of the delicate texture seen in the formation and derivation of words, lie as yet quite out of sight. It is, however, a kind of consolation amid this ignorance to hear such a man as Lobeck call the *wortbildung* of the Greek language *ein noch unberührtes Gebiet*. We earnestly hope that this very eminent scholar will live to complete the plan which he has begun in his *Paralipomena*, and in his recent work entitled '*Pathologiæ Sermonis Graeci prolegomena*,' although in the preface to the latter, he augurs that his life will not last long enough to travel to the end of the road which he is now pursuing. With his assistance we shall probably be able to judge of Greek derivation as completely as can be done under the guidance of one who looks at it chiefly in the light of Greek analogies, and seems averse to, or suspicious of the results of comparative philology. At the same time, it is to be hoped that the adherents to this latter school, always observing the rule in examining a language, to look first and most closely at the language itself, will establish their principles, and form their system of derivation in such a way that the narrow partizans of what may be called the 'domestic system' in language shall not be able to gainsay or resist them.

We now proceed to notice the exegetical element in the lexicons before us, and it will be our aim without following a scientific method in our remarks, merely to make a few observations designed to set forth the characteristic peculiarities of the two works before us. And in the first place, the design of Pape seems to have been one of a scientific description,—to give, as far as possible within his limits, the history of the use of each word of the language, until the time of its downfall.¹ This design is modified by practical considerations, as for instance by the very important one of giving less attention to the writings of the later Greeks which are but little read, than to those of the classical period. It is also a design difficult in itself, for the point of time is hard to be determined where the lexicographer ought to set up his boundaries and say that he will travel on no farther. Practically he may well stop with Nonnus, and leave out of view all the mass of historical, legal, medical and grammatical writers, of christian theologians and pagan philosophers after that period. But should he furnish no aid for reading the fathers of the fourth and previous centuries, some of whom, as Chrysostom, surpass many of their heathen contemporaries in excellence, and even in purity of style? Should he establish the absurd law, that none but heathen can find admission into his catalogue? It is plain that the great length of time during which the Greek was a written language, besides the other burdens which it lays on the lexicographer, makes it hard for him to know how far down he ought to follow the stream of composition. The general scientific lexicon must embrace everything. The maker of a manual scarcely can tell what to embrace and what to exclude.

Pape's plan seems to be this: to begin with a word where he first finds it in the extant remains of Greek literature. If it is in familiar use afterwards, citations are made chiefly from writers of the classical period in order to throw light upon its significations. If the later writers followed the law of the earlier as they usually did, there is no need of supporting a word by their testimony, un-

¹ The proper names of a language are a part of its words, and a part too, it may be, governed in regard to composition and derivation, by peculiar laws. It was this reflexion perhaps, which led Pape to append a collection of such words to his Lexicon, as the third volume, preceded by a preface in which he sets forth the laws of formation which prevail in such cases. The volume may accompany the others or not, as the purchaser chooses. It performs little else besides giving the form of the proper names and the most important passages where they are found. The inscriptions as well as the writings of the Greeks have been rummaged in preparing it.

less there is some peculiar and new shade of meaning added to it—a shade of meaning only new to us perhaps, because so much of Greek literature is lost, but borrowed in reality from some author of the best age. If the later writers made use of new words, as they did of many thousands, it is denoted either generally by Sp. i. e. *later* writers; or by adducing the name of the author; as Diosc. Gal. (Dioscorides, Galen,) or as happens in a vast multitude of cases, by citing one or more passages where it occurs. There are obvious reasons for this difference of treatment lying in the importance of the author, and the greater or less plainness with which the word, according to the laws of the language, interprets itself.

It is clearly impossible for any one postdiluvian man, to read and make excerpts from all the volumes of so copious a literature as the Greek. Men, on whose term of life modern insurance-offices will give an annuity, must be dependent to a considerable degree upon others. Thus Pape shows that he has freely used Passow's labors and mentions in his preface his obligations to the modern revisions of the *Thesaurus* of Stephens. And here Pape exemplifies the difference between a mere book-maker and an honest man; between the hungry literary cormorant and the conscientious scholar; the former of whom will devour other men's labors by the yard, and fill his book with the crude and dissimilar masses from every quarter with which he has gorged himself; while the latter will mingle his own careful study with every hint from another source, and give to all his materials an original and uniform texture. Pape, so far as we have observed, presides over his materials, examines everything, and brings everything into a shape that seems to him the right one.

As the Oxford lexicographers speak of their work on the title page as "based on the German work of Passow," they do not appear before the public in the light of original authors, and are freed from somewhat of that anxious responsibility which such authors usually feel. But their title page hardly does them justice; and it is their highest recommendation that the performance goes far beyond the pretension. On the basis of Passow they have built up a structure including the phraseology of all the Attic writers, of Pindar and Hippocrates before the Alexandrian epoch, as well as of Theocritus and others who flourished afterwards. These they have explored more thoroughly, while the later writers have also been examined although with less care and labor. If much of this work has been performed with the

help of those special lexicons and indexes which have appeared within a half century, and of the Thesaurus of Stephens, still every page shows that a judgment has been passed upon all important words by the authors themselves; and their numerous references to the results of modern criticism and to the best works on archaeology and history indicate that they are familiar, not merely with the names of philologists or with their works in general, but also with those parts of them where each matter is treated of professedly and at length. In the number of such references they far exceed Pape, and this will be thought to be one of the principal merits of their Lexicon.

In giving the meanings of words, besides skilful and well arranged definitions and apposite citations, a lexicographer ought to have in view certain objects, which, on account of the imperfection of earlier lexicons can be only imperfectly accomplished. A perfect lexicon, besides giving the outward form and the arranged meanings of a word, should tell how it differs from or is contrasted with other words, at what period, and especially when first it was used, in what kinds of style it is found, or any particular sense of it has been observed, and whether it is used but once, rarely, or constantly, by all writers of a class, or by one as his favorite term. For instance, it is of no small interest to know that βλέπω is not found in Homer or Hesiod, although βλέφαρον is a common word with them; that μέλω, our *melt*, occurs only once, and that in Homer, until the Alexandrine poets used it in their learned style; that ἐπαίω is rather a favorite word of Plato, that καιρός and ρίος differ, and how, that ἐντελέχεια is a word of Aristotle's own coining, and that δημιουργός had a new meaning among the Attic philosophers which afterwards became quite current. All such knowledge is essential to the full history of the words of any language, but a Greek lexicographer can go but a small distance on those paths, because they have been almost wholly untravelled. In the department of synonyms, for instance, the Greek is very far behind the Latin, as it is indeed in almost all branches of the lexical art. And perhaps the only exception to this remark is furnished by the greater difference in Greek than in Latin between the words of prose and poetry, and by the marked distinctions between the dialects. These differences have induced and enabled modern critics to make those nice remarks on the dramatic and epic styles, which have contributed much to our accurate knowledge of the language.

It will not be strange then, that a deficiency will be felt to ex-

ist in both of the Lexicons before us, as to most of these subordinate departments of lexicography, but it is a deficiency, which is found in all Greek Lexicons whatsoever, with which we are acquainted, and cannot soon be supplied. Their respective degree of merit, so far as they have entered into these departments, we will not attempt to assign; and will merely observe, that Pape has made a beginning in developing the shades of difference in synonymous words, by stating under many articles what similar words accompany, and what opposite ones are contrasted with the word in question.

In regard to the definitions of words, the rule of their divisions and arrangement, it may be said with truth, that no one word is a law for another. At the same time certain rules are clear; as for instance, that the literal sense, that meaning which is deduced from the meaning of the root or from the known laws of transition from physical to spiritual phenomena in the use of language, must stand first; that the passage from the specific to the general, or the opposite, be noticed, as well as that from the literal to the tropical; and that the subordinate shades given to words as they are viewed objectively or subjectively, with reference to space, time, number, purpose, good or hostile quality, etc., be carefully detailed.¹ It is plain that the excellence of a Lexicon depends to a great degree upon the faithfulness with which these nice distinctions are noticed, and the sound judgment with which they are made to follow one another.

A fault which we find with Pape is, that in many articles he does not make marked distinctions in sense sufficiently observable. Thus under the article *στόμα*, we have "*little mouth, opening, especially of a hole,—bit.*" And here amongst other passages, one from Soph. *Electra*, is quoted, where the word is used tropically. Liddell has succeeded better with this word. He has, 1. A small mouth. 2. The mouth of a vessel, also of a grave, or of a cave, hence a *cave, vault*; of the lower world, Aesch. Cho. 807, [this passage, however, is to be otherwise interpreted], in general any *aperture* or *opening*. 3. A *bridle-bit*, etc. Liddell also here cites the passage from Soph., without further notice. We venture to present the definition in a reformed shape thus: *στόμα*, diminutive from *στόμα*. 1. A small mouth. 2. Not diminutive in sense. Spoken only of other openings besides the

¹ See the preface to Freund's Latin Lexicon, whose admirable remarks on the whole subject of lexicography might prove of the greatest service to all who may hereafter labor in this field.

human mouth, (but not of the mouths of rivers?) as of a *cave*, *vessel*, hence, metonymy, a *cave* or *vault*. 3. By metonymy, (something put on or in the mouth, comp. *χείρις*, *glove*, *sleeve* from *χείρ*), (a) a *bit*, (b) tropical in the phrase *στόμα δέχεσθαι τὰμά*, to submit to my authority. Soph. Electr. 1462.

The help to the eye, which is too often withheld by Pape's neglect in subdividing his articles, is too freely given by Liddell. As might be expected, in the Oxford work, Passow's minute divisions are pretty generally adopted. But there is this improvement upon Passow, that the more frequent resort to a double mode of denoting the significations, enables the author to break up his divisions into genera and species. Under ἥνω Passow had nine divisions; Liddell six, of which two are subdivided; and Pape none at all. We believe two or three main divisions only necessary. For the purpose of consultation, Pape's fault is the most inconvenient one, unless the process of subdividing should reach that wonderful extent, of which we have many specimens in Schleusner's Lexicon of the New Testament. This fault, too, leads to the greatest degree of inconsistency; for it cannot be carried out through a whole lexicon, without introducing confusion to an extreme. It must necessarily happen, therefore, that, where such a fault partially obtains, words will stand side by side, which are equally capable of having a principle of division applied to their meaning, but are treated differently without any sufficient reason. We cannot see, for instance, why Pape should unite the two senses of ἀρδην, *lifted up*, and *taken away utterly*, *wholly*, without even separating them by a dash, which he often uses; and yet a few lines below, should reduce those of ἄρδω, under two heads. Here, too, he is singularly careless. His first example, under the first head, is one where ἄρδω is used metaphorically, ἄρδεν δρόσῳ χαρίων, *to water with the Graces' dew*; while his next all relate to literal watering. His second head is as follows: 2. In general, *to refresh, comfort—to increase—cherish*. The word might be treated better, somewhat after this manner, though in the hurry of writing we will not pretend to be very exact. 1. *To supply water to, to water*, spoken of a man's watering cattle, a river's watering land; in the middle voice, of an animal's getting water for itself; metaphorically said of hymns of praise being poured on a person. 2. (Generalized). *To produce an effect, (a) similar to that of water when drunk by a thirsty animal, to refresh, (b) or to that of water on a plant, to make to grow, cherish*. The proofs for all this are furnished by Pape's excellent

collection of examples. We do not believe that he is deficient in discrimination, but only that he has not given himself time to arrange the meanings of words in his own mind, while he has given careful attention to several of the other weighty matters of lexicography. It is owing to this circumstance, that younger scholars, especially, will consult Liddell's work with more satisfaction and profit in the daily reading of the classics.

The definitions are supported in both the lexicons before us, as has been already said, by a far greater number of citations than Passow had brought together. In this consists, as we think, the principal value of Pape's work. Within the compass of two not very large volumes, he has quoted or made references to a large part of the most important passages in the early Greek writers, almost uniformly, to the earliest author, in whose writings a word occurs, and to later writers by name, and with a specification of the place, where it seemed necessary. The passages also are often so chosen that the various constructions of a verb with cases, and the prepositions most appropriately following them will show themselves to the reader. In all this, indeed, much remains to be done, but it is a great advance on Passow to have so much information, concerning the style and *usus loquendi* of the post-homeric period, conveyed within so small a space. We have no doubt that Pape makes ten references to the Attic writers to every one of Passow's. The quotations too, are judiciously made, as far as we have had opportunity to examine them. In some cases, indeed, we have thought that too many, similar in kind, and from the same author, followed one another, as though Pape had some index or lexicon before him, from which he did not know how to stop extracting; but such fulness is far better and more desirable than its opposite, abstinent brevity, and unsupported assertion. It is a very great satisfaction—particularly for a somewhat mature scholar—to have it in his power to test articles in a lexicon, on their positive side at least, by weighing and, if need be, examining in their place, passages which establish a meaning beyond doubt. With this within his reach, even if he but seldom finds it necessary to perform the laborious process, he feels confidence in the results of careful lexicography, and yet independence upon its conclusions; while without the means of investigating for himself, furnished by collections of passages, he is obliged to trust, and yet suspicious of being deceived.

A very good plan which Pape occasionally adopts, is to support
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a meaning by a passage from some ancient glossarist or scholiast. There are many words occurring but a few times, in regard to the meaning of which such authorities are an important aid.

The quotations made by Liddell and Scott, if less in number than those of Pape, are much more numerous than those of Passow. They are gathered chiefly from the writers of the best period, and in part evidently by means of their own reading. Thus the collection of comic fragments made by Meineke has been ransacked as the numerous references prove. We have already noticed the familiarity indicated by these authors with the works of the best modern critics; this is made known by the name of the critics prefixed to a passage where the word occurs and where he has remarked upon it. Constructions are verified by appropriate examples; meanings are supported by authorities, not very copious indeed, but numerous enough for a manual. In fine, this department of the lexicon wears the look of business-like despatch united with the desire to be thorough and critical.

We proceed to test the comparative merits of the two works before us by some miscellaneous examples selected chiefly from among words which we had occasion to examine while reading portions of Plutarch and Aristophanes.

οὐν. Pape starts with the use of οὐν in denoting a necessary consequence; Liddell with the looser one in denoting the mere sequence. Neither of them explains why οὐν in hypothetical clauses, and in repetitions should mean *surely, of a truth, verily*. Both assert that in disjunctive coördinate sentences, οὐν denotes, *as is to be expected, as it surely will, or the like*. But this view of οὐν, in which they follow Passow, is false. It is overthrown by such passages as εἴτ' οὐν ἀληθὲς εἴτ' οὐν ψεῦδος, (Plat. Apol. 34, E), where οὐν accompanies both clauses, and by such as εἴτ' οὐν δικάϊως, εἴτε μή sc. ἔκτεινας, (Soph. Electr. 560,) where immediately follows: λέξω δέ σοι, ὡς οὐ δίκην γ' ἔκτεινας. To support the theory the poet should have said, εἴτε δικάϊως εἴτ' οὐν μή. There is no little difficulty in connecting together the various uses of this particle. Perhaps the difficulty may be removed from the minds of those who can comprehend the murky oracles of Hartung, but we unfortunately are not of that number.

πω. Liddell and others assert that πω is never found but in negative clauses in Homer and Hesiod. Pape says this is *usually* the case. We do not know why he speaks in such qualified terms. Liddell says that πω was "later, sine negat.," but should have added as a general remark, what is clear in the example he

gives, that this occurs only in interrogative clauses which may be resolved into negative ones.

κρίβας. Liddell defines it to be "*a pot or pan wider at top than at bottom.*" This is probably a mere mistake in writing for "at bottom than at top."

τύχη. Liddell defines this as being, 1. *That which seems to govern human affairs, chance, luck.* 2. *That which befalls mankind, a chance, hap, lot;* and under the first head we find several subdivisions. The distinctions are unfounded and unnecessary; and as a consequence the article is long and the divisions run into one another. *τύχη* means, *that which comes in the way of, befalls men, chance, luck, fortune*, whether good or evil, whether viewed without looking at its cause, or as caused; (e. g. as in *τύχη Θεοῦ*) and the same personified. Pape's article *τύχη* is better than Liddell's, though only about half as long.

ἐξέδω. Liddell, *to eat out of*; better, *to eat out*. And the article itself should be merged in *ἐξασθίω*.

παρώρομος. Liddell does not notice the sense of *cognomen, sobriquet*, occurring, Plut. de Ser. Num. Vind. § 17, either under *παρώρομος*, or under *παρερόμιος*, to which Pape assigns it.

διαγλάω. The use of this word with *ἡμέρα* to describe a time of day, as *εἰς διαγλῶσαι ἡμέραν, at day-break, or when day brightens up*, is perhaps confined to later writers, but it is too peculiar and beautiful to be omitted, as both Pape and Liddell have done.

ἀκροχορδών. This word sets Pape's peculiar excellencies in an advantageous light. By an apposite citation from the medical writer, Paul of Aegina, he illustrates the connexion between its meaning, *a wart with a thin neck*, and its derivation. Under *χορδή*, the primitive, Pape omits to notice the sense, *sausage*, to which Liddell calls attention, and for which Mr. Felton's note on Aristoph. Clouds 455 may be consulted.

ταῖν or ταῖν. Liddell's article is excellent, but deficient in the important point of not mentioning that *ὡ ταῖν* is used in plural addresses.

κέλυσος. Under this word we find in Pape the meaning, "*a small boat,*" and in Liddell, "*an old skiff boat.*" It does not appear from the passage where the word is used of a boat, that the notion of a *small* or an *old* boat is necessarily conveyed. The word denoting properly a *shell*, or *pod*, is used by Antiphrilos in an epigram of an old man's boat, because when he died he was covered up in it, as an oyster, or a pea, in its receptacle. See

Valckenaer on Ammonius, Animadv., Cap. xi. Both lexicons have omitted to notice that the word is used, by Crinagoras another epigrammatist, of the *skull*.

ἀνίημι. This article is long and labored in both Lexicons, but the phrase ἀνίημι πῦρ, occurring in Strabo and Plutarch, is not noticed.

δοθιήν. This unusual word wants in Liddell the support of Aristoph., Wasps 1172,—the only passage perhaps in classical Greek where it occurs out of Hippocrates. The sense "*blat-geschwür*" given to it by Schneider and Pape seems better than that of *abscess, boil*, which Liddell assigns to it.

σπαράγμος. Plutarch uses this word and its primitive verb, of *pulling* the rein, or to use the words of Wyttenbach, it denotes *crebra et vehemens fraeni retractatio*. This is unnoticed in either Lexicon. Liddell's arrangement of meanings is objectionable. He puts, 1. A tearing, rending, mangling. 2. A convulsion, spasm. It should be, 1. A pulling, twitching, e. g. of the rein, of the body in convulsions, a spasm. 2. A pulling to pieces, (the result of pulling and dragging).

δίαιτα. Under this word, Liddell quotes Soph. Electr. 1073, for the sense *arbitration*. We know not who has understood it so. The Schol. and Ellendt, properly, as we conceive, explain it as meaning *way of life*; and the latter observes that it is in this passage equivalent to *ὁμολία*.

κολοφών. The connexion *κολοφὼν εἰρήσθω*, (*let it be said as the top-most thing, the most important or decisive*;) and *κολοφῶνα πρὸςβιάζων*, both occurring in Plato, should have been noticed by Liddell. The latter expression Pape also takes no notice of.

χρίπτω. We see no reason for making this verb intransitive, as Pape has done in Soph. Electr. 721. *ἐχρίμψι' αἰεὶ σύριγγα*—a passage, moreover, which needs translation more than most which he quotes. Ellendt says: *χρίπτω, approprietque*, *activé dictum*, and Hermann seems to treat it as an active verb. If Pape meant that like *βαίω*, *αἴσσω*, etc. (see Kühner, § 279. Rem. 5), it is properly intransitive, but takes the thing put in motion as an accusative, he should have said so. In his citation from Aesch. Prom., *ἐπὶ* appears for *πόδα*, which destroys the force and sense of the passage, and we have noticed a number of typographical errors.

ἐπιφέρειω. The use of *ἐπιφ. αἰτίαν*, in a good sense, is not noticed by either Pape or Liddell. It occurs, we believe, in Plut. de Ser. N. Vind.; but we cannot now find the passage.

μεταμέλει. There is a want of condensation and neatness in this article in Liddell, as it regards the construction. We give, as a specimen, all the essential parts of the article, omitting examples. "Construction. 1. Cum. dat. pers. et. gen. rei; more freq. 2. The thing one repents of is in the part. agreeing with the Dat. 3. $\mu. \muοι \acute{o}τι.$ 4. Oft. absol. $\mu. \muοι,$ it repents me, where however, a Gen. or Part. may always be supplied. 5. Also c. nom. rei. So too in Inf." Here No. 4. is useless, unless it be desirable to specify every verb that is used without an object expressed. The rest should stand thus. Construction. 1. The person repenting is in the Dat. 2. The thing repented of is, (a) a nominative, or a substantive clause beginning with $\acute{o}τι,$ or (b) a genitive, or (c) lies in a participle agreeing with the person.

διήμι. Liddell translates $\deltaιήμενος \acute{o}ξει,$ Arist. Plut. 720, *being melted in vinegar.* This is wrong, as is evident from the context. The active sense is given by the Schol. by Eustathius, Küster, Passow and Pape.

σύνικτος. Liddell's explanation of $\acute{o}νυγος—καὶ \acute{o}νικτος$ in Arist. Plut. 946, by a *false treacherous comrade*, must we think be wrong, as the sycophant himself is speaking. Pape after the Schol. renders it, *weak, useless*, and this appears to be the sense, as is shown by the contrasted words $\iotaσχυρὰν \thetaεόν,$ which immediately follow. The sycophant says, 'if I find any comrade,—even as weak and useless as fig-tree wood, [with an allusion in the word to his profession,] I will make this strong god here pay the costs.'

ἰκέω. The sense of this verb corresponding to that of $\etȃμι,$ *I have come*, is noticed in neither Lexicon. See for examples of this sense, Soph. Electr. 8, and Antig. 224.

ἰσίδηλος. To the examples of this word occurring in Aristoph. Plut. 369, Liddell, after a Schol. and Fischer, gives the sense, *like, resembling.* As this meaning has been supported by no other passage, and cannot easily be derived from the primary sense of the word; some doubt ought to be expressed whether it can be the true one. Fischer defends it by observing, in the first place, that a great many significations are known only from one passage; and then adds, that, as the *resemblance* between two things makes something *manifest*, $\delta\eta\lambdaος$ and $\epsilon\pi\acute{i}\delta\eta\lambdaος$ came not only to be equivalent to $\acute{o}\muοιος$ in sense, but also in construction:—a strange mode of reasoning surely, which would prove a great deal too much in philology. Pape seeks to avoid this objectionable explanation of the word, but after all, his translation is open to the same reprehension. The passage is probably corrupt.

μóθω. Pape is inconsistent in his treatment of this word. In the beginning of his article, he pronounces μóθω to be a son of an inhabitant of one of the Laconian country towns, (one of the Perioeci,) admitted to civil rights at Sparta, and brought up with the citizens. At the close, a μóθω becomes a *homeborn slave*, and owing to the character of such slaves, an *impudent person*. Liddell avoids this inconsistency, which arises from uniting two accounts of the meaning of the word.

These are some, out of a number of instances, in which we have tested the two Lexicons in regard to their treatment of particular words. In others, where we have compared them, the two differ little or not at all, except in number of quotations, where the advantage usually lies on the side of Pape. We derive the impression from a good many words which we have examined, that Aristophanes, in reading whom, a good Lexicon is felt to be particularly desirable, has not been quite as carefully studied and examined, as the other dramatic writers, by Liddell and Scott during the progress of their work.

The merits of this work and the long-felt want of a good Greek Lexicon, will no doubt cause a new edition to be soon called for. If these gentlemen will be severe towards themselves, and revise what they have written, with the due degree of labor, we have no doubt that this Lexicon will drive every other Greek dictionary out of circulation, wherever the English language is spoken, and will continue to be used for years, and perhaps for generations to come. Its value, and the language in which it is written, render it even now, a work, to which those who have long used German aids, will turn with confidence and pleasure. For ourselves, we have relied chiefly on Passow, for more than fifteen years, and ought therefore to know something about the meanings of German words; but to tell the truth, it is a very great relief to have an English dictionary to which we can resort, and often have we been much embarrassed for the moment in recalling the exact English term corresponding to the German one in Passow. A Lexicon is a book which we are apt to use in a hurry, and rather than stop to go through the double process of getting the German word for the Greek, and the English for the German, we shall often content ourselves with guesses, which do not quite hit the mark. It is wonderful how great the satisfaction is, when we feel that we have the exact impression in our own language, of a word coined in another; when, for instance, we are reading a writer whose perceptions of character are nice,

and can find the same shade of thought in an English word, which lies in the foreign one, without being obliged to resort to circumlocution on the one hand, or to feel on the other, that a hazy vagueness surrounds the word, which destroys clearness of conception. We believe, too, that words so learned through another language, are sooner forgotten, on account of the less distinct notions which they convey. At the best, the words of a foreign language are but fleeting things. They are properly called winged, not only because they fly out of the mouth with wondrous ease,—organized creations embodying thought,—but also for a reason, which, Homer, if he remembered five and twenty thousand verses, never dreamed of;—that they are so apt to scud away from the memory, and to leave not a trace behind. We therefore fully agree with the opinion expressed in the preface to the Oxford Lexicon, that whatever may be said of having commentaries on the Greek writers in Latin, a dictionary of Greek ought to be in English, at least when it is of that convenient form and size, that it can be used from day to day, and not consulted merely on extraordinary occasions.

Since beginning to write these remarks, we have seen the following announcement from the Harpers of New York. "A new Greek and English Lexicon, including Liddell and Scott's enlarged translation of Passow's Greek and German Lexicon, with additions and improvements from the Greek and English Lexicons of Donnegan and Dunbar, etc., by Henry Drissler, A. M., under the supervision of Professor Anthon."

If this is undertaken with the consent of Messrs. Liddell and Scott, it is all very well. But we presume from the small regard hitherto paid to the rights of authorship in similar cases, both here and in Great Britain, that no such consent has been asked or obtained. Most publishers are like the sellers of old clothes—they care not whose the property is, or by right ought to be, if they can make a good bargain out of it, without coming within the clutches of the law. But there is another reason for thinking that the consent of the authors has not been procured for this republication, and that is found in the extraordinary announcement that the Lexicon is to be interpolated here and there from Donnegan. That any decent lexicographer should consent to such an intertexture is incredible; and it is almost equally so that any book-maker should imagine that the announcement of such "improvements" is a favorable augury for his work. *Ἀρχομένον ἔργον πρόσωπον καὶ θέμεν ἐηλαυγές.* Improvements from Donnegan!

they are like improvements to a standard commentary on the Scriptures from the stores of Millerite criticism. It is as if a house-painter should set about improving the landscape of a professed artist, by touches borrowed from a journeyman's daub. The man who would really improve such a Lexicon, as the one in question, must trust not to his scissors and his paste, but to long and patient reading of the classics, to years of hard work. If the American editor and the learned gentleman who is to bear the part of supervisor, mean to go to work in this way, whether they have had the comity of obtaining the authors' agreement to the proposed improvements or not, we shall rejoice at least in this, that a better help in studying Greek is furnished to our scholars than they before possessed.

ARTICLE II.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF MONASTICISM;—FROM THE ORIGINAL SOURCES.

Continued from No. 3, p. 525. By Prof. Emerson.

LIFE OF ST. MARTIN OF TOURS. FROM THE LATIN OF SULPITIUS SEVERUS.

Preliminary Remarks.

[In the last two numbers of this work, an account has been given of the rise of monasticism in Egypt. The object of the present article is to exhibit its early development in the West, by giving the Life of its first distinguished example and patron.

Doubtless a strong tendency to the monastic life had existed in Europe, for a considerable period, before the time of Martin; but to what extent it had been pursued, we have not the means of determining. Only obscure traces remain in history, of a few who practised at least a partial retirement from social life.

The achievements of Martin were early a theme for the poet as well as the historian. Paulinus Petricordius, a Gallic poet, about the year 460, wrote six books of Latin hexameters, descriptive of the life and miracles of this saint, whose aid he frequently invokes in the progress of his poem. It is, however, little more

than an inflated attempt to embellish the facts presented by Severus, and possesses no independent authority. Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, (whose diseased eyes are said to have been cured through the agency of this departed worthy,) also commemorated his acts in a poem of four books. Though a work of some poetic merit, it is of no historic value, except as indicating the exalted fame of Martin in the last half of the sixth century, when the poem was written. Indeed the author, in his dedicatory epistle to pope Gregory, only professes to have given in verse what Severus had recorded in prose.

But little is known of the personal history of Sulpitius Severus, on whose authority the world must chiefly rely for the wonders he has recorded respecting one of the most remarkable men of his age, and the chief thaumaturgist that has ever appeared in Europe. It is singular, that a historian so universally admired for the elegance of his style, and so powerful a champion for the monks, should have none to record the incidents of his own life. He has frequently been confounded with a bishop of the same name who lived about two centuries later. The following are the principal facts on which we can rely, and are chiefly derived from his own writings and from the fourteen letters which his friend Paulinus of Nola addressed to him, and from the brief notice of him by Gennadius, about a century after his death.

Severus was of noble extract, a native of Aquitain Gaul, and early instructed by Phaeadius, bishop of Auges. Having devoted his youth to the study of eloquence, he afterwards acquired much fame as an advocate, and was married to a lady of consular rank. Subsequently he is supposed to have become a monk under St. Martin, with whom he was certainly familiar, as he was also with Jerome and Paulinus of Nola. Gennadius relates that, in his old age he was led astray, for a while, by the Pelagians; but recovering from his error, he condemned his tongue to perpetual silence—a genuine monkish penance. He was likewise a presbyter at Primulum, a village between Narbonne and Toulouse. He is supposed to have died, at an advanced age, about the year 420. Augustine says he was “a man distinguished for learning and wisdom.”

His style, for chasteness, purity, and elegance, is far superior to that of his age, and resembles closely that of Sallust; and hence he has been called *the Christian Sallust*. Mosheim pronounces him “a very good historian.” Certainly he was very good, considering the age in which he lived. His personal acquaintance

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with Martin and other distinguished monks, afforded him signal advantages for preparing the biography now before us.

Besides this work, he wrote a history of the church, *Historia Sacra*, from the creation to the year 400, which is distinguished for its classic style, and is regarded as his best work. He has also left three epistles concerning Martin, and three dialogues. The first dialogue is on the virtues, or rather the miracles, of the oriental monks; the last two, on those of Martin. Several other epistles of his are lost. He was assailed by Jerome as guilty of the millenarian heresy, especially in his last two dialogues, which were also subsequently condemned, for the same error, by papal authority. See Gennadius, *de Viris Illust.* c. 19. Also Cave's *Hist. Literaria*, and Mosheim's *Ecc. Hist.*

The works of Severus have been often published. The edition from which the ensuing translation is made, was edited by Vorstius, at Leipsic, 1703.

In his prefatory letter, addressed to his friend Desiderius, Severus apologizes for the imperfections of his style, in a manner which shows that he was, like most elegant writers, extremely sensitive on that point; and yet he professes to care but little about it. At the close of his apology he says: Let the readers whose ears may be wounded by my vicious style, also remember, that salvation was preached to the world, not by orators, but by fishermen. For when I first made up my mind to write, (as I thought it a sin that the deeds of so great a man should lie concealed,) I learnt not to blush at solecisms; for, if I had ever attained to any great knowledge of these things, I had lost it all by long disuse. But that so irksome a defence may not await me, let the book be published, if you please, without my name.

From what Sulpitius here says, and from other circumstances noticed in the course of the work, it is manifest that this biography was written at rather an advanced period in his life, and about the close of the fourth century. Notwithstanding the general purity and elegance of his style, this work does indeed contain some solecisms, which a translator, if no one else, may well wish he had corrected, as it is sometimes impossible to give the sense, with equal conciseness, without a like solecism in the translation. The introductory paragraph, and especially the first sentence, will strongly remind the classic reader, of Sallust's introduction to his *Jugurthine War*.]

Early Life of Martin.

Many mortals, vainly devoted to the pursuit of worldly glory, have sought an eternal remembrance of their own names, by writing the lives of illustrious men. This has, indeed, produced a little, though by no means the lasting fruit which they hoped; for they have both transmitted a remembrance of themselves, (though useless,) and, by presenting the examples of great men, have excited no small emulation in their readers. But this anxiety of theirs in noway extended to the blessed and eternal life. For, what benefit to themselves is the glory of their writings, which is to perish with the world? Or what advantage has posterity derived by reading of Hector fighting, or Socrates philosophising? since it were not only folly to imitate, but even madness not most vehemently to oppose their example, because, estimating human life by present action only, they entrusted their hopes to fables, their souls to sepulchres. For they looked for their immortality solely to the remembrance of men, while it is the duty of man to seek eternal life, rather than eternal remembrance—not by writing, nor by fighting, nor by philosophising—but by living piously, holily, and religiously. And this human error, incorporated with literature, has had the effect of rendering many ambitious either of vain philosophy, or of that foolish valor. Hence I have thought it worth my time to write the life of a most holy man, to be hereafter an example to incite the readers to true wisdom, and the heavenly warfare, and divine virtue. And the benefit I also propose to myself is, not the useless remembrance of men, but the eternal reward from God; for although I have not myself so lived as to be an example to others, I have endeavored that he should not be unknown who is worthy of imitation. I shall, therefore, attempt to write the life of St. Martin, and what he did both before and while he was bishop, though I have by no means been able to discover all his deeds, as those are unknown, to which himself only was a witness; for, as he sought not honor from men, he wished to conceal all his achievements as much as possible. And yet I have omitted even many of those I have discovered, because I deemed it sufficient to record only the more excellent. At the same time, a regard was to be had to the readers, lest the accumulated mass should produce satiety. But I entreat those who shall read, to believe what is related, and not to think I have written anything but

what has been ascertained and proved. I would rather be silent than write falsehoods.

Martin was born at Sabaria in Pannonia, [now Stein in Lower Hungary, about the year 338,] but was brought up at Ticinum [Pavia] in Italy. His parents, though pagans, were not of the lowest in worldly dignity. His father, at first a soldier, was afterwards a military tribune. He himself followed carnal warfare in his youth, and served under the emperor Constantine, among the recruits in a course of training, and afterwards under the Caesar Julian;¹ but not willingly, for, almost from his earliest years, the sacred infancy of the illustrious boy aspired rather after the divine service. For, when ten years old, against the will of his parents, he fled to a church and requested to be made a catechumen. Soon being, in a wonderful manner, wholly consecrated to the service of God, at twelve years of age he longed for the desert, and would have indulged his wishes had not his tender years prevented. Still his mind, ever engrossed with monasteries or the church, meditated, even in youth, what he afterwards devotedly accomplished.

But when it was decreed by the emperors that the sons of the veterans should be enrolled in the army, being given up, at the age of fifteen, by his father, who was displeased with his blessed

¹ It is difficult to see how Martin could have served both under Constantine and Julian. For he appears not to have been in the army more than five years, unless we are to add some three or four years for the time spent in preparatory drilling, and which may possibly have been before he arrived at the age of fifteen, when, as our author soon observes, he was compelled to join the army. But with even this addition, the time of service would still be too short, as it could not have amounted to more than some eight or ten years. But Constantine the Great died in 337; and his son, Constantine II, in 340; and Julian was not made Caesar till 355. Our author, therefore, or else some transcriber of his works, must have made a mistake either in regard to the time Martin spent as a soldier, or the names of those under whom he served. The most rational conclusion is, that the name of Constantius, who reigned till 361, should stand in the text instead of *Constantine*, as it appears, from the sequel, that Martin belonged to Julian's army in Gaul, and left it not earlier than the year 356, probably not before 358. And if such was the fact, we are to conclude that Martin was born about the year 338, twenty-two years later than Gregory of Tours and other subsequent authors, deceived perhaps by the mistake just mentioned, have supposed.

Sozomen, (Ecc. Hist. III. 14), says, that Martin distinguished himself as a soldier and became the commander of a band of two cohorts. He probably belonged to the cavalry, as he might have had more than one servant assigned to him.

deeds, and being forcibly taken and chained, he was subjected to the military oaths. In this situation, he was content with a single servant, as a companion—whom, however, the master served, insomuch that, for the most part, he took off his servant's shoes and cleaned them. They ate together, but Martin the more generally served. He was in the army nearly three years before his baptism, yet far from the vices in which that class of men are commonly involved. Great was his benignity and wonderful his endearment to his fellow soldiers; while his humanity and patience were more than human. It were superfluous to praise his frugality, which he practised to such an extent as, even at that time, to be regarded, not as a soldier but as a monk. By these things, all his fellow soldiers became so attached to him, that they most affectionately revered him. Though not yet regenerated in Christ [i. e. baptized], he performed the part of one already arrayed in the good works of baptism;¹ for he assisted the distressed, aided the miserable, fed the needy, clothed the naked, and reserved nothing from his stipend but daily food. Even now attentive to the precepts of the gospel, he took no thought for the morrow. Thus, at a time when he had nothing but his arms and his simple military tunic, in the midst of a winter so uncommonly severe that many perished by the cold, he met with a naked beggar at the gate of Amiens, who was imploring the pity of those who were passing. But as all passed by the wretched man without compassion, Martin perceived that he must take care of the beggar. But what could he do? He had nothing but the cloak in which he was clad, for he had already disposed of his other garments in charity. Drawing the sword with which he was girded, he divided the garment and gave half of it to the poor man, and put the other half again upon himself. Meanwhile some of the bystanders began to laugh at his grotesque appearance in his mutilated tunic. Many, however, who were of a sounder mind, grieved sadly that they had done nothing of the kind, especially, as having more, they might have clothed the poor man without stripping themselves.

¹ An astonishing power was then attributed to baptism, not only for washing away past guilt, but also for preparing the individual for a holy life. The person baptized was accordingly arrayed in a white robe, which he wore for a week, in token of the purity he had thus attained, and which he was to preserve. Should he afterwards fall into sin, this robe, which was to be kept by the priest, might be produced as a witness to his baptismal vows. The text seems to allude to this robe of righteousness.

The following night, while asleep, Martin saw Christ clothed in the part of the tunic which he had given to the poor man. He was commanded most attentively to observe the Lord, and to recognize the garment he had given. Immediately he heard Jesus saying in a distinct voice, to the surrounding multitude of angels: Martin, as yet a catechumen, hath clothed me in this garment. The Lord, truly mindful of his own words—who had before said, Inasmuch as ye have done these things to one of the least of these, ye have done them unto me—acknowledged himself to have been clothed in the person of the poor man, and, as a confirmation of his testimony to so good a work, he deigned to appear in the same habit which the poor man had received. At this sight, the blessed man was not elated with human glory; but, recognizing the goodness of God in his deed, he resorted to baptism, at eighteen years of age. Still he did not immediately renounce the military life, being overcome by the entreaties of his tribune, who was his intimate friend and who promised to renounce the world at the expiration of his tribuneship. Induced by this expectation, Martin remained nominally a soldier for nearly two years after his baptism.

In the meantime the barbarians were rushing into Gaul, and the Caesar Julian, having concentrated his army at the city of the Vangiones [now Worms], began to distribute donatives among the soldiers. According to custom, they were called, one by one, till Martin was summoned. But then, thinking it a fit time to seek his discharge—for he did not deem it right for him to receive the donative when not intending to act as a soldier—Hitherto, said he to the Caesar, I have been *your* soldier; permit me now to be the soldier of God. Let *him* accept your donative who is to pursue the military life; I am the soldier of Christ. It is not lawful for me to fight. Then, at this declaration, did the tyrant rage, saying, that he refused to serve through fear of the battle which was to be on the ensuing day, and not on account of religion. But Martin, undismayed, nay, the more firm as terror threatened him, said, If this is attributed to cowardice, not to faith, tomorrow I will stand unarmed before the front of the battle, and, in the name of the Lord Jesus, protected, not by shield or helmet, but by the sign of the cross, I will penetrate, unharmed, the battalions of the enemy. Consequently, he ordered him into custody, that he might verify his word by being opposed, unarmed, to the barbarians. The next day the enemy sent am-

bassadors for peace, surrendering themselves and all they had.¹ Hence who can doubt that the victory belonged to the truly blessed man, who was thus prevented from being sent unarmed to battle. And although the good Lord could have preserved his soldier even in the midst of the swords and weapons of the enemy, yet, lest the sight of the holy man should be polluted by beholding the death of others, he removed the necessity of fighting. Nor ought Christ to have afforded to his soldier any other than a bloodless victory over the enemy, in which no one should die.²

His Adventures and Achievements after leaving the Army.

After this, Martin left the army and sought saint Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, whose fidelity in the things of God was then proved and known, and with whom he remained for a considerable period. By imposing upon him the office of deacon, Hilary sought to connect him more closely with himself, and to bind him to the sacred ministry; but when Martin constantly refused, declaring himself unworthy, this man of deep penetration perceived, that he might be constrained by assigning him an office in which there would appear to be some abasement. He therefore appointed him an exorcist. This appointment, he did not reject, lest he should seem to despise it as too humble.

Not long after, being admonished, by a dream, with pious care to visit his native country and his parents, who were still pagans, he departed with the consent of saint Hilary, but adjured by him

¹ Julian's campaigns in Gaul commenced in 356. Of course this event cannot have occurred at an earlier date. Probably it did not in fact occur before 338, for Ammianus asserts, that up to this period, Julian's army had received neither a donative, nor even their regular stipend. (Am. Rerum Gest. 17 : 9). And this well agrees with what seems to be suggested in the text, that Martin had been, for about two years, but nominally a soldier, and without pay. And as he was only about five years in the army, and must consequently have been now at the age of twenty, I have ventured to place his birth in 338.

² From such passages as the above, it has been too hastily inferred by some, that none of the early Christians would bear arms. But nothing is more certain than that Christians had been very numerous in the Roman armies from a period anterior to the reign of Constantine; and there are strong reasons for the opinion that, from the earliest ages, the number was not small. The "thundering legion," in 174, are said to have consisted principally if not wholly of Christians, and to have obtained, by their prayers to Christ, a shower of rain which saved the army from famishing of thirst. Still there were doubtless many who, like Martin and Severus, and others since, supposed carnal warfare entirely prohibited by Christ.

with many prayers and tears to return. In sadness, as it is related, did he commence that journey, calling the brethren to witness that he should meet with much adversity, which the event afterwards verified.

And first, while pursuing the sequestered paths among the Alps, he fell among robbers. And as one was aiming his lifted axe against his head, another arrested the blow by his hand. But, Martin, with his hands bound behind his back, was delivered to one of them to be preserved and plundered; the robber, when he had led him to a more secluded spot, began to inquire who he was. Martin replied that he was a Christian. The robber then asked him whether he was afraid. But he most firmly declared, that he was never so secure, because he knew the mercy of the Lord would be especially present in time of danger; and that he rather grieved for him who, as he was practising robbery, was unworthy of Christ's compassion. And commencing a religious conversation, he preached the word of God to the robber. But why be more minute? The robber believed; and accompanying Martin back, implored his prayers, and left him to pursue his journey. The robber seems afterwards to have led a religious life, as the things I have here related, are said to have been heard from himself.

Martin proceeded. And when he had passed Milan, the devil met him on the way, in human shape, and inquired whither he was going. And when he had received from Martin the reply that he was going where the Lord called him, he said to him, Wherever thou goest or whatever thou attemptest, the devil will oppose thee. Then he answered him in the words of the prophet, The Lord is my helper; I will not fear what man may do unto me. And immediately the adversary vanished from his sight. And then, as he had purposed in his mind, he freed his mother from the error of heathenism, his father still continuing in its errors. He also saved many by his example.

Subsequently, when the Arian heresy had sprung up throughout the whole world and especially in Illyricum, and when Martin strenuously contending, almost alone, against the perfidy of the priests, had suffered much,—for he was publicly beaten with rods, and finally compelled to leave the city,—and when, on coming into Italy, he had found that the church in Gaul was also in confusion by the departure of Hilary, [bishop of Poitiers,] whom the violence of the heretics had driven into exile, he built a monastery for himself at Milan. And here also Auxentius,

the leader and chief of the Arians,¹ most sorely persecuted him, and drove him, loaded with injuries, from the city. Thinking it therefore necessary to yield to the occasion, he retired to an island called Gallinaria, accompanied by a presbyter who was a man of great virtues.² Here, for a time, he subsisted on roots; at which period he ate some hellebore for food, an herb which is said to be poisonous. But when he felt the power of the poison acting within him and death to be near, he met the threatening danger with prayer, and all the pain immediately ceased.

Not long after, when he learned that, by the repentance of the emperor, permission had been given for Hilary to return, he endeavored to meet him at Rome, and went to that city.³ But as Hilary had already passed it, he followed him; and after a most grateful reception by him, he built a monastery for himself, not far from the town [of Poitiers].

At this time a catechumen joined him, anxious to be taught the discipline of the most holy man. A few days after, he was seized with a fever. Martin happened then to be gone; and on his return, after an absence of three days, he found him a corpse. So sudden was his death that he departed without baptism. The body, exposed to the view of all, was receiving the mournful attentions of the afflicted brethren, when Martin arrived weeping and lamenting. Then, his mind filled with the Holy Ghost, he directed the rest to leave the cell where the dead body lay; and the doors being closed, he stretched himself upon the lifeless members of the deceased brother. And when he had fervently prayed for a while and perceived by the Spirit of the Lord that virtue was present, rising a little and fixing his gaze on the countenance of the deceased, he confidently expected the event of his prayer and of the Lord's compassion. And scarcely had two hours elapsed, when he saw the dead man gradually beginning to

¹ Severus can only mean that Auxentius was the chief of the Arians in that region. He now filled the episcopal chair at Milan, from which the orthodox bishop, Dionysius, had been expelled.

² Gallinaria was a small and uninhabited island in the Tuscan Sea, on the coast of Liguria. See Sozomen.

³ Severus gives a more full account of Hilary's permission to return, in his Sacred History, II. 45, by which it would seem that the bigoted Arian emperor, Constantius, rather ordered, than permitted him to return to Gaul, and that, not from repentance of his own wicked deed in banishing him to Phrygia, but because of his great influence there against Arianism. He was banished in 356, and ordered back to Gaul in 360; but, as we learn from Jerome, was not restored to his see till the accession of Julian, in 361.

move in all his members, and his loosened eyes to quiver for the purpose of seeing. Then he, turning and with a loud voice giving thanks to the Lord, filled the cell with his shouting. On hearing this, those who stood before the door immediately rushed in. Wonderful spectacle! they saw him alive whom they had left dead.¹

Being restored to life he immediately received baptism, and afterwards lived many years. He was both the first subject and evidence among us of Martin's miracles. The same man was accustomed to relate, that, after leaving the body, he was conducted to the tribunal of the Judge, and doomed to receive his sad sentence in obscure regions and among the vulgar throng; but then it was suggested to the Judge, by two angels, that he was a man for whom Martin was praying; so he was ordered to be conducted back to Martin and restored to his former life.² From this time the name of the blessed man [Martin], shone so that he who was already regarded as a saint, came also to be regarded as mighty and truly apostolic.

Not long after, as he was passing the field of one Lupicinus,

¹ And how "wonderful," too, the contrast between the manner in which this truly able and dignified writer relates these miracles, and that of the evangelists and prophets in relating the wonders they record. Athanasius, in relating the deeds of Antony, deviates less from the style of the Bible. Our modern Papists, on the other hand, set no bounds to their exclamations.

² This miracle, if wrought at all, was wrought in attestation of one of the most poisonous heresies that has ever infected the church—the necessity of baptism for admission to heaven. For had this devout catechumen been baptized before his death, Martin would not have attempted to raise him from the dead; and he was manifestly sent back into life for the special purpose of being delivered by baptism from his "sad sentence." Otherwise, like the heathen who could not pass the river Styx if his body remained unburied, he would have been doomed to wander "in obscure regions and among the vulgar throng." This heathenish heresy, which had long been gaining ground in the church and had before been sanctioned by the visions of Antony, was now completely established, by what Severus, in his third dialogue, regards as the greatest wonder that had been wrought after the days of the Apostles. The following passage will show the light in which many of the fathers of that period regarded the necessity of baptism. Ambrose says, "The catechumen believes; but unless he be baptized he cannot obtain the remission of sins." *De his qui Myst. initiantur*, c. 4. To this may be added a specimen from Fulgentius, of the sixth century. "Without the sacrament of baptism, no one can receive either the kingdom of heaven or eternal life, except those who in the church pour out their blood for Christ." *De Fide ad Petrum*, c. 3. Such as suffered martyrdom were said to be baptized in their own blood, and therefore could pass to heaven without purification by water.

an honorable man in the world's esteem, he heard the lamentations of a company in affliction. He stopped and anxiously inquired the cause of their grief, and was informed that a slave belonging to the family, had strangled himself with a halter. On hearing this, he entered the cell where the body lay; and all the multitude being excluded, he stretched himself on the body and prayed for a short time. Soon, with reviving countenance and languid eyes, the deceased looked him in the face; and endeavoring with feeble effort to raise himself, he took the hand of the blessed man and rose upon his feet, and thus proceeded with him to the vestibule of the house, in the sight of all the multitude.

Martin as a Bishop and a Monk.

About the same time, [perhaps 371], he was sought for the bishopric of the church of Tours. But when he could not easily be drawn from his monastery, Ruricius, one of the citizens, by pretending that his wife was sick, and prostrating himself at his knees, prevailed on him to come forth. Multitudes of the citizens being already arranged on the road, he was conducted to the city under a kind of custody. In a remarkable manner, an incredible multitude, not only from that town but also from the neighboring cities, had assembled to give their suffrages. There was but one will, one desire, one opinion in all, that Martin was most worthy of the episcopate and that the church would be happy under such a priest. A few, however, and some of the bishops who had been called to constitute him bishop, impiously opposed, saying, that he was a contemptible person, unworthy of the episcopate, a man of despicable countenance, sordid dress, and ugly hair. Thus, the madness of those men, who extolled while they wished to vituperate the illustrious man, was put to shame by the people, who were of a sounder mind. Nor was it lawful for them to do any thing different from what the people, by the will of God, compelled them to perform. But among the bishops who were present, one by the name of Defensor, is said to have made special resistance; and hence it was observed that he was fitly designated in a passage of Scripture then read. For, when the reader, whose duty it was to read that day, happened to be away, because prevented by the people, the ministers being in confusion while the absent man was waited for, one of the by-standers took up a Psalter and read the first verse he found. The passage was, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings

thou hast perfected praise, that thou mightest destroy the enemy and the *defender* (defensor). At the reading of this, a shout was raised among the people, and the opposing party were confounded. And so it was thought that the psalm was read by divine guidance, in order that Defensor might hear its testimony of his conduct, as out of the mouth of babes and sucklings the praise of the Lord was perfected in Martin, and the enemy was likewise both detected and destroyed.

What and how great he showed himself, after assuming the episcopate, it is not in my power to describe. For he most firmly persevered in his former course. There was the same humility of heart, the same simplicity in apparel; and so full was he of authority and grace, that he sustained the dignity of the bishop without deserting the purpose or the virtue of the monk. For some time, he occupied a cell adjoining the church; but when he could no longer endure the disturbance from the multitude around him, he built a monastery nearly two miles from the city.¹ The spot was so remote and secluded as to afford the solitude of a desert. For on one side, it was surrounded by a lofty and precipitous crag of the mountain, and the river Loire, by a gentle curve, encompassed the rest of the plain. There was but one way of access to it, and that rather narrow. He had a cell constructed of sticks compacted together. Many of the brethren had made receptacles for themselves in the same manner, but more by an excavation in the rock of the overhanging mountain. There were eighty disciples who were trained after the model of their blessed master. No one there had anything as his own; all was put together in common stock. Unlike the custom with most monks, they were not allowed to buy or sell anything. No art was there practised except that of writing, which labor was assigned to the younger monks, while the older were left at leisure for prayer. Rarely was one to leave his cell except when they assembled at the place of prayer. All received their food togeth-

¹ "The famous convent of Marmoutiers, between the Loire and a steep rock. This is regarded as the oldest abbey of France."

Martin is said to have been the third bishop of Tours, the gospel having been first preached there by St. Gratian in 250, who founded the see and governed it for fifty years. See Gregory of Tours. It is manifest from the notices we here find, that Gaul was but very slowly evangelized, even before it had been overrun by the barbarians. We may also conclude, from the manner in which the term *rustics* is here so frequently used, that the lower and more illiterate portions of the people, the descendants perhaps of the original inhabitants, were the last to abandon their idols.

er, after the hour of fasting. No one tasted wine unless compelled by infirmity. Most were clothed with camel's hair; and to wear softer raiment was then deemed a crime. This was of course the more wonderful since many among them were ranked as nobles, who, being educated quite differently, had compelled themselves to this humility and patience; and most of these we afterwards saw as bishops. For what city or church was there that did not desire to have priests from Martin's monastery.

But I proceed to the other achievements which Martin performed in his episcopate. There was a place not far from the town and near the monastery, which the false opinion of men had hallowed, as though martyrs were buried there; for there was an altar which was supposed to have been placed there by previous bishops. But Martin, not hastily giving credit to uncertainties, demanded of the more aged, whether presbyters or clergy, the name of the martyr or the time when he suffered, because he had great scruples, inasmuch as tradition afforded no self-consistent certainty in the case. When therefore he had kept away from the place for some time, (neither derogating from its religious regard, because he was uncertain, nor accommodating his authority to the vulgar, lest superstition should increase,) on a certain day, accompanied by a few of the brethren, he proceeded to the place. Standing over the sepulchre itself, he prayed the Lord to show him who was buried there, and what were his merits. Then turning to the left, he saw a ghost standing near him, foul and cruel. He ordered him to declare his name and merit. He gave his name; confessed his guilt; that he had been a robber, slain for his crimes, honored by mistake of the vulgar, and having nothing in common with the martyrs; while they were in glory, he was in torment. Those present heard the voice speaking in a wonderful manner, but saw not the person. Then Martin divulged what he had seen, and commanded the altar which had been there, to be removed from the place; and thus delivered the people from the error of that superstition.¹

It happened afterwards, while he was on a journey, that he met the body of a certain heathen, which was being borne to the

¹ In this, Martin was but executing the fourteenth canon of the fifth council of Carthage, which directs, that "the altars which are everywhere erected in the fields or roads, as though in memory of martyrs, in which no body or relics of martyrs are proved to be buried, be overturned, if it can be done, by the bishops who preside over those places." This shows the great prevalence of such mistakes in those days of tender but superstitious regard to the honored dead.

grave with superstitious rites. Beholding the coming crowd at a distance, and not knowing what it was, he stopt a short time; for, as it was nearly half a mile distant, it was difficult to distinguish what he saw. But as he perceived it to be a rustic band, and that the linen clothes spread over the body were fluttering in the wind, he thought the crowd were performing pagan rites; for it was the custom of the Gallic rustics, in their miserable infatuation, to carry the images of demons through their fields, covered with a white veil. Therefore, making before them the sign of the cross, he commanded the crowd not to move from the place, and to lay down their burden. Here might you have seen the miserable men, at first, wonderfully fixed like stones. Then, when they endeavored with all their might to proceed, and were unable to go on, they whirled round in a ridiculous manner, until overcome by the weight, they laid down the corpse. Astonished and looking one upon another, they silently thought upon what had happened to them. But when the blessed man discovered, that it was a funeral and not a religious procession, raising again his hand, he gave them power to depart and bear away the body. Thus, when he wished, he compelled them to stand; and when he pleased, permitted them to depart.

Again, when he had destroyed a very ancient temple, in a certain village, and was about to cut down a pine tree which was near it, the priest of the place and the rest of the heathen multitude began to resist him. For, though they, by command of the Lord, were quiet while he overturned the temple, they would not suffer the tree to be cut down. He earnestly reminded them that there was nothing sacred in the tree; that they should rather obey the God whom he served, and that the tree ought to be cut down, because it had been dedicated to a demon. Then, one of them, more audacious than the rest, said; If you have any faith in your God, whom you say you revere, we ourselves will cut down the tree, and do you let it fall upon yourself; and if your Lord, as you call him, is with you, you will escape. Then he, firmly trusting in the Lord, promised to do it. Thereupon the whole band of heathen agreed to the condition, readily consenting to the loss of their tree, if by its fall they could destroy the enemy of their shrines. And as the tree leaned in one direction, Martin, being bound, was placed at the will of the rustics, where no one doubted it would fall. Then they began to cut down their pine, with great joy and gladness. The admiring crowd stood aloof. And now the pine began to nod to its fall.

The monks stood pale at a distance, and, terrified at the approaching danger, gave up all hope and confidence, expecting only the death of Martin. But, trusting in the Lord and remaining undaunted, when the descending pine had already cracked and now falling, was just coming upon him, raising his hand against it, he opposed it with the sign of safety [the cross]. Then, in the manner of a whirlwind, (you would have thought it driven back,) it fell in the opposite direction, so that it well nigh prostrated the rustics who were standing in a secure place. Then a shout arose to heaven. The pagans were astonished at the miracle. The monks wept for joy. The name of Christ was extolled in common by all; and it was sufficiently manifest that salvation had that day come to that region. For there was scarcely one from that immense multitude of pagans, who did not crave the imposition of hands, believe on the Lord Jesus, and abandon his impious error. And truly, before Martin, very few, nay almost none, in those regions, had received the name of Christ, whereas it so prevailed through his deeds and example, that now there is no place there which is not filled either with numerous churches or monasteries. For where he destroyed temples he immediately erected either churches or monasteries.

About the same time he performed an equal achievement in the same work. For, when he had set fire to a very ancient and celebrated temple, in a certain village, the flames were driven by the wind against a near and even adjoining house. When Martin perceived this, he hastened to the roof of the house and opposed himself to the coming flames. Then might you have seen the fire marvellously turned back against the force of the wind, like some conflict among the warring elements. Thus by Martin's power did the fire operate only where it was commanded. But in a village called Leprosum, when he endeavored to overthrow a temple which superstition had greatly enriched, he was resisted by a multitude of pagans, and repulsed with some injury. He therefore withdrew to a place near by, where, for three days, covered with sack-cloth and ashes, constantly fasting and praying, he besought the Lord, since he was unable to overturn the temple by human means, that he would destroy it by divine power. Then suddenly two angels appeared to him, armed with spears and shields like the heavenly hosts, saying, that they were sent by the Lord, to put to flight the rustic multitude, and bring aid to Martin, so that none might oppose him while destroying the temple; and that he should therefore return and accomplish the

work he had undertaken. So, returning to the village, all the heathen looking quietly on while he was destroying to the foundation the profane building, he reduced all the altars and images to dust. On beholding this, as the rustics perceived themselves to have been stupified and terrified by the divine power so as not to oppose the bishop, almost all of them believed in the Lord Jesus, exclaiming openly, and confessing, that the God of Martin should be revered, and that idols should be despised as unable to help themselves.

I will also relate what was done in the town of the Aedui [probably Bibracte, now Autun]. When he would overturn a temple there also, a furious multitude of heathen rustics rushed upon him; and when one more audacious than the rest, assailed him with a drawn sword, throwing aside his robe he offered his bare neck to the smiter. Nor did the heathen delay to strike. But when he had raised his hand aloft, it fell down powerless; and terrified by the fear of God, he begged for pardon. In like manner, when he was destroying some idols, a man endeavored to strike him with a pruning-hook; and in the very act of striking, the instrument was wrested from his hands, and disappeared. And often, when the rustics opposed his destroying their fanes, he so influenced the minds of the gentiles by his holy discourse, that, being convinced by the light of truth, they themselves destroyed their temples.

His miraculous Cures.

He possessed the gift of healing to such an extent, that scarcely a sick person came to him who was not immediately cured; as will appear in the following example. A certain damsel at Triers was afflicted with a severe paralysis, so that for a long time she had been unable to use her body for any purpose. Prematurely disabled in every part, she with difficulty drew her feeble breath. The sad relatives stood around, expecting only her death, when suddenly it was announced that Martin had come to that city. When the father of the girl heard this, he ran to him to entreat for his dying daughter. It chanced that Martin was just entering the church, when, in the sight of the people, and in the presence of many other bishops, the weeping old man embraced his knees, saying, "My daughter is dying of a grievous disease, and, what is more cruel than death, her spirit only lives, her flesh is already dead. I beg you to come and help her; for

I believe you can restore her to health." Astonished and perplexed by this declaration, Martin refused, saying, that he had not this gift; that the old man had erred in judgment; that himself was not worthy that the Lord should work a miracle by him. The weeping father most vehemently persisted, and begged that he would visit his lifeless daughter. At length, constrained by the surrounding bishops, he went down to the damsel's abode. A great crowd waited before the doors, to see what the servant of God would do. And first, employing his customary weapons in such cases, he prostrated himself on the ground and prayed. Then, looking upon the sick girl, he desired them to give him some oil; and when he had blessed it, he poured a quantity of the sacred liquid into her mouth, and immediately her voice returned. Then, by degrees, each of her members began to revive at his touch, until she arose, with firm steps, in the sight of the people.

At the same time one Tetradius, who had been a proconsul, had a slave who was possessed with a devil and tormented with deadly pain. Martin, being requested to lay his hands upon him, commanded him to be brought. But the vile spirit could by no means be brought from the cell where it was; and it raged with rabid teeth at those who approached. Then Tetradius flew to the knees of the blessed man, beseeching him to go to the house in which the demoniac dwelt. But Martin declared he could not go to the house of a profane and heathen man; for as yet Tetradius was a heathen. He therefore promised, if the demon should be expelled from the boy, that he would become a Christian. Then Martin, by laying his hand upon the boy, cast out the unclean spirit. Upon seeing this, Tetradius believed in the Lord Jesus, became immediately a catechumen, was soon baptized, and ever after, with great affection, regarded Martin as the instrument of his salvation.

About the same time, in the same city, when entering the house of a certain master of a family, he stopped on the threshold, saying that he saw a horrible demon in the hall. When commanded to depart, the demon took possession of one of the slaves in the interior of the house. The miserable man began to gnash his teeth, and to tear all he met. The house was in commotion; the servants were in confusion; the people fled. Martin placed himself before the raving man, and first commanded him to stand still. But when he gnashed his teeth, threatening with open mouth to bite, Martin put his fingers into his

mouth, saying, If you have any power, devour these. Then, as if a red hot iron had been placed between his jaws, opening his mouth wide, he took care not to touch the fingers of the blessed man. And when he was compelled, by pains and penalties, to leave the body of the possessed, but not permitted to come out through the mouth, he was cast out in another way.

In the mean time, when a sudden rumor of a movement and inroad of barbarians had disturbed the city, he ordered one possessed of a devil to be brought to him, and commanded him to declare whether the report were true; and he confessed, that there were sixteen devils who had spread the rumor among the people, that they might at least cause Martin, through fear, to flee from the city; and that the barbarians had no thought of making an invasion. And when the unclean spirit had confessed this in the midst of the church, the city was relieved from present fear and commotion.

Once when entering the gate of Paris, accompanied by great crowds, to the horror of all he kissed and blessed a leper of a miserable appearance; and the leper was immediately cleansed from all disease. The next day, coming into the church with a clean skin, he gave thanks for his recovered soundness.

Nor should I fail to mention, that the hem of his garment and pieces of his sackcloth, frequently had power over infirmities. For, when bound around the fingers or placed upon the neck, they often put to flight the diseases of the sick.¹

A certain Arborius who had been a prefect, but was a man of pious and sincere disposition, had a daughter who was consuming always with the violent fevers of a quartan ague, and he placed on her breast, at the commencement of a fever fit, a letter from Martin which happened to be brought to him; and imme-

¹ This is no singular or even uncommon instance of the credulity of the age in regard to the miraculous power of relics. Such a belief had long been increasing and was now extreme. To allude to one instance out of many in the most respectable authors of this age; Augustine, as Gibbon states, enumerates more than seventy miracles, three of them resurrections from the dead, which were effected in his own diocese, in the short space of two years, by some relics of St. Stephen. And yet he selects only those which were publicly certified either by the subjects or the spectators of the miracles. Nor was his diocese so much favored in this respect, as other cities of Africa. Well might Gibbon remark, in view of such attestations, "that a miracle, in that age of superstition and credulity, lost its name and its merit, as it could scarcely be considered as a deviation from the ordinary and established laws of nature." See Gibbon's *Rome*, III. 132, and Augustine's *City of God*, Book 22.

diately the fever left her. This had such an effect upon Arbo-rius, that he immediately dedicated the girl to God and devoted her to perpetual virginity. And going to Martin he presented the girl to him, as a proof of his power which had healed her although absent; nor when she had assumed the habit of virginity, would he allow her to be consecrated by any one but Martin.

Also, when Paulinus, afterwards a man of great repute, had a severe pain in the eye, and a thick film had covered the pupil, Martin touched it with a brush, and all the pain was removed, and it was restored to its former soundness.

And when Martin himself, by some accident, had been precipitated from the upper part of a house, and falling down the rough stairs had received many wounds, and while he lay half dead in a chamber, suffering excessive pains, an angel came to him by night to cleanse his wounds and to touch his bruised limbs with a healing ointment. And the next day he was restored to soundness, so that he seemed as if he had received no injury. But as it would be tedious to relate each event, let these few suffice out of many. Enough for me, not to have withheld the truth in things so important, nor to have produced satiety by relating too many.

Martin's interview with the usurper Maximus.

And, to insert small things among things so great, (though such are our times, in which all things are depraved and corrupt, that it is almost a peculiar excellence for clerical firmness not to have yielded to royal adulation,) when many bishops had assembled, from different parts, around the emperor Maximus, a man of ferocious disposition, and elated by victory in the civil wars; and when the base adulation of all about the prince was notorious, and the sacerdotal office had subjected itself with degenerate inconstancy, as a client to royal favor, the apostolic authority remained in Martin alone. For although he had to supplicate the king in behalf of some, he rather commanded than entreated; and when frequently invited to the king's feast, he declined, saying, that he could not eat at the table of a man who had killed one emperor and driven another from his kingdom. Finally, when Maximus affirmed that he had not assumed the empire of his own accord, but had defended it by arms, after it had been thrust upon him by the soldiers agreeably to the divine will; that God, under whom the victory had led to so incredible a result, was not displeased with him;

and that none of his adversaries had fallen except in battle; then Martin, conquered at length either by reason or entreaties, came to the feast, the emperor marvellously rejoicing in having gained his object. There were present at the entertainment, as if called forth on a festal day, the greatest and most illustrious men, Evodius who was both prefect and consul, and than whom no man was ever more just, and two consuls of the highest power, the brother and the uncle of the king. Between these reclined one of Martin's presbyters; himself was seated in a small chair by the king. Near the middle of the feast, an attendant, according to custom, brought a goblet to the king, which he commanded to be given to the right reverend bishop, expecting and desiring to receive it from his hand. But Martin, when he had drunk, gave it to his presbyter, as he thought no one more worthy to drink after him, and that it would not be right for him to prefer to his presbyter, either the king himself or those next to the king.¹ This deed the emperor and all present so admired, as to be pleased with the very thing in which they had been treated with contempt; and it was noised through all the palace that Martin had done, at the king's dinner, what no one of the bishops would have

¹ It is quite possible that this goblet, thus ceremoniously passed round, according to custom, at the imperial feast, contained wine. And if so, what became of that excellent rule of temperance, by which this same St. Martin had before bound both himself and all his monks to drink no wine except when compelled by bodily infirmity? Was the monk to be considered as now merged and lost in the bishop? Certainly not; for our author has assured us very positively, that Martin maintained the same rigid self-discipline when a bishop that he had before practised. This rule, too, is recorded as in force for him and his monastery after he became bishop. We have then some reason to fear, that, amid the glory of this imperial feast, and the signal honor he was there enjoying and the superior dignity he was claiming both for himself and his presbyter, the bishop had forgotten his monastic rules. Or perhaps he would justify himself on the score of expediency, in departing from his good rules, as in the case of his communing with the persecutors of Priscillian, recorded in the third dialogue. Be this as it may, we need not much wonder at his own complaint of the diminution of his power to work miracles after he became bishop, if that power was, as he supposed it to be, in proportion to his integrity and humility. See Dialogues II. and III. Nor need we so much wonder at the people of France for regarding their patron saint as also the patron of wine-bibbers, and for celebrating his annual festival, which occurs on the eleventh of November, with carousals. This monk and bishop might surely have thought of another reason besides the one he urged, for not participating in the imperial carousals. But why did it not occur to Severus, while describing this scene, that he had before committed a slight mistake while depicting the undiminished virtues of Martin's monastic life?

done at the feasts of the lowest judges. He also long beforehand predicted to the same Maximus, that if he proceeded, as he desired, to carry the war into Italy against Valentinian, he would be victorious in the first attack, but would perish in a short time. And so we saw it to be. For at his approach, Valentinian was put to flight; but, nearly a year afterwards [388], he slew Maximus, who was taken within the walls of Aquileia.

Martin's power over Devils.

It likewise appears that angels were often seen by Martin, and that they conversed familiarly with him. And he had the devil so completely subject to his vision that he recognized him in any shape, whether in his proper substance or transformed into diverse figures and spiritual wickednesses [Eph. 6: 12]. But when the devil perceived that he could not elude him, he often assailed him with reproaches, because he could not deceive him by wiles. At one time, holding the bloody horn of an ox in his hand, the devil rushed with a great noise into Martin's cell, and displaying his bloody hand and exulting in his recent villany, said: Where, Martin, is your power? I have just killed one of your people. Then, calling together the brethren, he related what the devil had indicated, and directed them to examine every cell, to see who had suffered in the case. They reported that no monk was absent, but that a rustic, hired to bring wood in a cart, was gone into the forest. He therefore ordered some to go and meet him. And so he was found, not far from the monastery, almost dead; but drawing his last breath, he indicated to the brethren the cause of his death and of his wound,—that, having yoked the oxen, and while tightening the loose thongs, one of the oxen, tossing his head, thrust his horn into his groin. Soon after, he died. You see by what judgment of the Lord this power was given to the devil. It was remarkable in Martin, that not merely this which I have just related, but many other things of the same kind, whenever they occurred, he saw long before hand, and told them to the brethren as they were announced to him.

Often the devil, among the thousand arts of mischief with which he attempted to impose upon the holy man, appeared to him in the most diverse forms; for he presented himself, sometimes in the shape of Jupiter, frequently in that of Mercury, and very often with the countenance of Venus or Minerva; while Martin, never daunted, defended himself against him with the

sign of the cross and prayer. There were also often heard the taunts with which a throng of demons would insolently assail him; but knowing all to be false and vain, he was not moved by their reproaches. Some of the brethren even testified, that they heard a demon reproaching him, in insolent language, for having received into the monastery some of the brethren who had lost their baptism by diverse errors, but were subsequently converted, the devil setting forth the crimes of each. Martin, contending with the devil, firmly replied, that past offences are purged by the practice of a better life, and that, through the mercy of the Lord, they who cease to sin, are to be absolved from their sins. The devil rejoined, that the offenders could not be pardoned, and that no mercy was offered by the Lord to those once fallen. Upon this, Martin is said to have exclaimed: If thou thyself, O wretch, wouldst desist from pursuing men and wouldst repent of thy deeds, even at this time when the day of judgment is at hand, I, assuredly trusting in the Lord, would promise thee the mercy of Christ.¹ O what holy presuming upon the compassion of the Lord, in which, although he could not adduce authority, he showed his feeling. And, as I am speaking of the devil and his arts, it seems not out of place, though a foreign matter, to relate an anecdote, both because it shows something of Martin's powers, and because the occasion of the miracle may well be recorded as an example of warning, if any thing of the kind should hereafter occur.

A most noble youth, by the name of Clarus, afterwards presbyter, now blessed in a happy departure, left all to follow Martin, and soon shone on the pinnacle of faith and of all the virtues. And when he had pitched his tent not far from the bishop's monastery, and many brethren were dwelling with him, a youth call-

¹ Whether Martin or the devil was here the greater heretic, might be a matter of doubtful disputation. It is manifest, from the next sentence, that Severus is anxious to put the best possible gloss upon that part of Martin's avowal, which himself thought rather too bold and unsustained by scripture authority. But, on a subject so grave as that of the nature and extent of Christ's atonement, and the consequent conditions of pardon to penitent men, it is most lamentable to observe the deep and increasing ignorance that appears to have rested on nearly, if not quite, all the uninspired writers in the early ages of the church. Hence, on the one hand, their notions about the power of baptism to wash away sins, and of the well nigh forlorn condition of those who relapsed after baptism, and of the atoning nature of penances, and of purgatory; and, on the other hand, the bold fancy of Origen and Martin and some others, that even the devils might enjoy the benefits of God's grace, if they would repent.

ed Anatolius came to him, under the profession of a monk and feigning all humility and innocence, and lived for a while in common with the rest. In process of time, he affirmed that angels were accustomed to converse with him. And when no one gave credit to his pretensions, he persuaded a great part of them to believe by certain miracles. He finally went so far as to declare, that angels passed between himself and God; and now he would fain be regarded as one of the prophets. But Clarus could by no means be induced to believe; and Anatolius began to threaten him with the wrath of God and present plagues, for not believing in the saint. At length he is said to have broke forth in this declaration: Behold, the Lord will this night give me a white robe from heaven, and clad in it, I will appear in the midst of you; and it shall be a sign unto you that I am the power of God, who am presented with God's robe. Great then was the expectation of all, at this declaration. So, about midnight, every monastery in the place seemed to be disturbed by the noise of men leaping about, and you might see the cell in which the young man was, gleaming with many lights; and there was heard in it, a noise of those running about, and a murmur of many voices. A silence ensued, and he came forth, and called one of the brethren, named Sabatius, and showed him the tunic in which he was clad. He, astonished, calls together the rest, and Clarus himself comes with them. A light is brought, and all carefully examine the garment. It was of the utmost softness, and of surpassing whiteness and brilliant purple; but it was impossible to tell of what nature or substance it was. Still, on the most minute examination by the eyes or fingers, it seemed a garment and nothing else. Meanwhile, Clarus warns the brethren to betake themselves to urgent prayer, that the Lord would show them more clearly what it was. The rest of the night was therefore spent in hymns and psalms. And at break of day, taking him by the hand, he endeavored to conduct him to Martin, well knowing that he could not be imposed upon by the art of the devil. Then the miserable man began to resist and to cry out against it, and said he was forbidden to show himself to Martin. And while they were compelling him to go against his will, the garment vanished from between the hands of those who were dragging him along. Hence, who can doubt, that even this power belonged to Martin, that the devil should no longer be able to sustain or conceal his illusion when it was about to be subjected to Martin's eyes.

It has, however, been remarked that there was a young man in

Spain, about the same time, who, after acquiring authority by many miracles, became so elated as to pretend that he was Elias. And when many inconsiderately believed in this pretension, he proceeded to say, that he was Christ. And even in this, he so far succeeded, that a certain bishop, named Rufus, adored him as the Lord; on which account we afterwards saw him ejected from the episcopate. And many of the brethren have likewise told us of one in the East who, at the same time, boasted that he was John. Hence, from the existence of false prophets of this kind, we may conclude, that the coming of Antichrist is at hand, who is now working in them as the mystery of iniquity.¹

Nor should I omit to mention with what art the devil assaulted Martin in those days. For, at a certain time, as Martin was praying in his cell, the devil stood before him, preceded by and himself surrounded with purple light, that he might the more easily elude by the brightness of the assumed splendor, clad also in a royal vestment and crowned with a diadem of gems and gold, his shoes embroidered with gold, his countenance serene, his aspect joyful, so that he would be thought anything else rather than the devil. And as Martin was dazzled at the first sight of him, both for a

¹ Severus, with many in his time and before, believed the day of judgment and the end of the world to be near, and that antichrist, whom some supposed to be Nero, would first make his appearance. Severus, speaking of Nero, (*Hist. Sac.* li. 29,) says: 'Although he transfixed himself with his sword, he is believed to be alive, his wound having been healed, according to what is written of him, "His deadly wound was healed," and that he will be sent near the end of the world, to practise the mystery of iniquity.' But in regard to this pretended re-appearance of ancient prophets and apostles, if this is a part of the mystery of iniquity, we may well suppose it will not cease to work till men shall cease to become insane, as no hallucination of a disordered mind is now more common than for one to imagine himself to be some other person, whether of the dead or living. The records of our lunatic asylums present many singular though mournful instances of this kind. Nor have men as yet entirely ceased, even in our own land, to be influenced by the imaginings or the pretensions of such men. A few years ago, I was acquainted with the case of a man of reputed piety, and who gave no other indication of insanity except that, in a religious meeting which he was accustomed to attend, he surprised his pastor and his friends by the declaration that himself was one of the old prophets. This declaration he continued to maintain, till some began to give heed to his prophesyings and his denunciations.

It is to be remembered in reference to what follows, that our author, though in later years revered as one of the saints by the papal church, was considered as favoring the millenarian heresy and expecting the speedy appearance of Christ to judge the world, and to reign visibly upon the earth; just as he has often been expected, and is now expected by some.

long time kept profound silence. Then the devil said, Martin, acknowledge him whom thou beholdest. I am Christ. About to descend to earth, I would first manifest myself unto thee. When at this, Martin was silent and made no reply, the devil dared to repeat the audacious profession : O Martin, why art thou slow to believe, when thou seest ? I am Christ. Then,—the Spirit so enlightening him that he understood it was the devil, not God,—Martin said, The Lord Jesus has not predicted that he will come clothed in purple and glittering with a diadem. I do not believe in Christ's coming, except in the same form and habit in which he was crucified, and bearing the marks of the cross. At this word, the devil immediately vanished like smoke, and filled the cell with such effluvia as to leave indubitable proofs that it was the devil.

Severus visits Martin.—Martin's Character.

That this fact took place as I have above related, I have ascertained from the mouth of Martin himself, lest some one should perhaps think it fabulous. For, having formerly heard of his faith, his life, and his miracles, and having a burning desire to see him, I joyfully undertook a journey for the purpose. And, being at the same time eager to write his life, I sought a part of my information from him, so far as he could be interrogated, and learned a part of it from others who knew what they related. It can scarcely be accredited with what humility, what benignity, he received me on that occasion, greeting me much and rejoicing in the Lord, because I had regarded him so highly as to undertake a journey to see him. Miserable indeed was I, when he deigned to give me a seat at his sacred feast, (I scarcely dare to confess it,) and himself brought water for my hands, and at evening washed my feet ; nor had I the firmness to resist or oppose ; so overborne was I by his authority, that I should have thought it impious not to acquiesce. But his discourse with me was all to this effect, that the allurements of the world and the burdens of this life should be abandoned, so that, free and unencumbered, I might follow the Lord Jesus. And he pressed upon me the example of the illustrious Paulinus [of Nola], whom I have before mentioned, an example the most noble in our times, who, having given away immense wealth and followed Christ, was almost the only one in those days that had fulfilled the gospel precepts. Follow him, imitate him, cried Martin ; and blessed is the present age in an

example of such great faith and virtue; since, according to the Lord's declaration, being very rich; and selling all and giving to the poor, he has, by his example, made that possible which it was impossible to do.¹

But now, in words and conversation, what gravity, what dignity was there! And how sprightly and forcible, and in solving questions of scripture, how prompt and ready was he! And, as I know many are incredulous in regard to this part, because I

¹ From some remarks in his own letters and from other sources, it would seem that Paulinus, after all, did not quite perform the *impossibility* here ascribed to him by Martin, as he still retained some of his great estate. In one of his letters, he compared his own conversion with that of our author, and gave the decided preference to the latter, "because he [Sulpitius] had at once shaken off the yoke of sin and broken the bands of flesh and blood, in the flower of his age; and at a time when he was renowned at the bar and in the career of worldly honor, he despised human greatness, that he might follow Jesus Christ." Paulinus was born at Bordeaux in France, about 353, of patrician rank; became a popular advocate at Rome, and finally a consul, about 375; and married Thesuvia, a rich lady, by whom he gained a large estate, and by whose pious counsel he was led to enter upon a more retired life. Accompanied by her, he travelled in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and became acquainted with Ambrose, Martin, and others of distinction in the church. "He was baptized at Bordeaux, in 391, and gradually parting with most of his large estate, which he bestowed in charity, he retired to Barcelona in Spain, where he lived some years as a recluse or monk. In 393, he was ordained a presbyter at Barcelona. The next year, he removed to Nola in Campania, where he had a small estate." Here he became a bishop, in 409, in which office he continued till his death, in 431. "This holy bishop," says Milner, "was the delight of his age. He led a retired and temperate life, but with no great austerity." See Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* i. 306; Milner, ii. 503; Gennadius de Viris Ill. c. 48.

As it is not probable that Martin would speak of Paulinus, in such exalted terms, till some time after his baptism, we may conclude that this interview between him and Sulpitius, was very near the close of the fourth century, and therefore just before he wrote this life of Martin. Indeed, as a great object to be accomplished by his visit to Martin was, to collect materials for writing his life, we may well suppose that he immediately committed to writing the stories which Martin then told or confirmed to him. And moreover, as this biography, so far as it goes, was actually published during the life-time of Martin, we cannot believe that it contains anything which Severus did not suppose Martin would sanction as true; nor do we learn that Martin ever contradicted any part of it. What, then, are we to think of these wonders? Are they all only part and parcel of the pious frauds of the age? Then did that age need to be taught one of the first principles of the oracles of God. Or were both actors and spectators, and the subjects likewise, all deceived? Then was the age as simple as it was superstitious;—unless we are indeed to suppose, that at least a portion of the miracles were real. But Severus, as it would seem from the next paragraph, was suspicious that men would be more inclined to doubt Martin's mental, than his miraculous powers.

have seen those who did not believe even upon my word, I call Jesus to witness, and our common hope, that I never heard from the mouth of any one so much of knowledge, so much of talent, so much of good and pious discourse. Still this is indeed faint praise for a man of Martin's virtues, but it is wonderful that such grace should be found in an illiterate man.

But as my book must now end, I close my narrative ; not that all has been said which might be said of Martin, but because, like an indolent poet, negligent at the close of the work, I succumb under the mass of materials. For although his acts might be exhibited in some way, yet his inner life and daily conversation and mind ever intent on heaven, his perseverance and due proportion in abstinence and fasting, his power in vigils and prayers, the nights as well as the days spent by him without any cessation from the work of God for indulging in either rest or business, can never be depicted in any language, as I verily believe. Nor did he allow himself either food or sleep, except as compelled by necessity. And truly do I confess that not Homer himself could give the description, were he to emerge from the shades ; so much greater were all virtues in Martin than words can express. Never an hour or a moment passed in which he was not engaged in prayer ; even if he were doing anything else, he relaxed not his mind from prayer. For, as with blacksmiths who, at intervals in their operation, strike on their anvil as an alleviation of labor, so Martin, while he appeared to be doing something else, was always praying. O truly blessed man, in whom there was no guile ; judging no one, condemning no one, rendering to no one evil for evil. For such patience had he acquired against all injuries that, although a chief priest, he could be injured with impunity by even the lowest of the clergy ; nor did he, on that account, either remove them from their places or, so far as it was in his power, repel them from his charity.¹

No one ever saw him angry, no one saw him disturbed, no one saw him grieving, no one saw him laughing. One and the same always, bearing on his countenance a kind of celestial joy, he seemed beyond the nature of man. Never was there any-

¹ John Vorstius, the editor of the works of Sulpitius, says that Sulpitius "calls the door-keepers, readers, and acolyths, the lowest of the clergy." For the order of clergy included not only bishops and priests, but also deacons, subdeacons, acolyths, exorcists, readers and door-keepers."—Here are about as many orders in the clergy as are now acknowledged by the Nestorians, who were separated from the catholics soon after this period.

thing on his tongue but Christ, never anything in his heart but piety, anything but peace, anything but compassion. He also used often to weep for the sins of his calumniators who, with envenomed tongues and a viper's mouth, assailed him while quiet and remote from them. And I have in fact found some, envious of his miracles and his life, who hated in him what they saw not in themselves and what they were unable to imitate. And, O lamentable and doleful impiety! his traducers, were no other than bishops; though very few, they are still said to have been no other than bishops. Nor is it necessary to name any one, though most of them are barking around me. Enough, that whoever of them shall read and appropriate this, should blush; for if he is angry, he will himself confess it spoken of him, when perhaps I thought of others. But, if there are any of this sort, I am not loth to share their hatred with such a man. This I am confident of, that this little work will be grateful to all the pious; and as to the rest, if any one shall read these things unbelievingly, he will sin. I am conscious of being impelled to write these things by the certainty of the things and by the love of Christ, and that I have set forth what is manifest, and spoken what is true; and, as I hope, not he that reads, but he that believes, shall receive the reward prepared by God.

[It has already been mentioned, that three letters from the pen of Severus are still extant. And as they all treat of Martin, it may be well to present the more important parts of each. The first is addressed to Eusebius a presbyter, and begins thus.]

Yesterday, when many monks had come to me, amid our continual conversation and long discourse, some mention was made of the small book I published on the life of the blessed man, Martin, and that it was studiously read by many, which I most gladly heard. In the mean time, it was told to me, that some one, incited by an evil spirit, had said that Martin, who had raised the dead and repelled the flames from houses, was himself liable to dangerous casualties, having been lately scorched in a conflagration. O this wretch, whoever he is! In his words we recognize the perfidy and the language of the Jews, who reproached the Lord on the cross in these words: He saved others; himself he cannot save. [After filling nearly half his letter with invective and argument against the audacious unknown—in which he maintains that it was at least as great a miracle for Paul to emerge alive from the deep, when he had been buried beneath its

waves for three days and nights, as for Peter to walk secure upon its surface,—he thus proceeds]. Hence this which is adduced in proof of Martin's weakness, is full of dignity and glory; since, being tried in a most perilous casualty, he conquered. But no one need wonder that this was omitted by me, in the small book I wrote on his life, as I there professed that I could not embrace all his deeds; for, if I would have given the whole, I must have put forth an immense volume. But that I may not suffer the one on which the question was started, to lie hid, I will state the whole affair as it occurred, lest I should seem arbitrarily to have passed by that which could be adduced to the disparagement of the blessed man.

When, near mid-winter, Martin had come to a certain parish according to custom, (for it is the practice for bishops to visit their churches,) the clergy prepared him a lodging in the vestry of the church, and placed much fire under a now shattered and very small pavement [or furnace], and made him a bed with much straw. Afterwards, when Martin had placed himself to lie down, he recoiled from the unwonted effeminacy of the alluring couch, as he had been accustomed to lie on the bare ground, with only a sackcloth thrown over him. Therefore, as though indignant at an injury, he threw away the whole bed. By chance he heaped a part of the straw he had removed, upon the little furnace. Weary with his journey, he reposed, as was his custom, upon the naked ground. About midnight, the fire, burning through the shattered pavement, kindled the dry straw. Martin, on being roused from sleep, betook himself more tardily than he ought to the aid of prayer, having been prevented by the unexpected occurrence, the critical peril, and especially, as he said, by the snare and the instigation of the devil. For, wishing to escape abroad, and struggling long and hard at the bolt with which he had fastened the door, he found the flames around him so intense as to burn the vestment he had put on. Coming at length to himself, he saw that his help was not in flight but in the Lord; and seizing the shield of faith and prayer, and turning wholly to the Lord, he lay down in the midst of the flames. Then, the fire being miraculously caused to retire, and the circle of flame being rendered innoxious to him, he prayed. But the monks who were before the door, as the fire was crackling and raging, broke down the bolted doors; and the fire being parted asunder, they brought out Martin from the midst of the flames, when he was supposed to have been already entirely consumed by the fire which had been

so long burning. But, as the Lord is witness to my words, he told me himself, and not without a groan did he confess it, that in this he was deceived by the art of the devil, as, being roused from sleep, he had not the wisdom to resist the peril by faith and prayer; and that the fire raged around him as long as he, in his troubled mind, was striving to break through the door. But when he had sought the aid of the cross and the weapons of prayer, the flames in the centre receded; and he then felt bedewing him what he had before found sorely burning him. Hence, whoever reads this, may understand that Martin was indeed tried by danger but approved.

Martin's death.—His funeral.

[The second letter "is on the death and apparition of St Martin."]

Sulpitius Severus to the deacon Aurelius, health.—After you left me in the morning, as I was sitting alone in my cell, that came into my mind which very frequently occupies it, the hope of the future, a disgust at the present, a dread of the judgment, a fear of punishment; and, as the consequence and the cause of the whole train of thought, a recollection of my sins had made me sad and dejected. Afterwards, when the anguish of my mind had spent itself and I had lain down upon my couch, sleep stole upon me, as a common effect of grief. This sleep is always in the morning more light and uncertain as well as suspended; so that, being almost awake, you know yourself to be asleep,—which does not happen in other sleep. In this condition, suddenly, I seemed to behold the holy bishop Martin, clothed in a white robe, with a glowing countenance, shining eyes, purple hair; and he so appeared to me in the same form and habitude of body which I had known, that, what is rather difficult for me to express, he could not be beheld (*aspici*) although he could be recognized. And smiling upon me a little, he reached forth the book I had written on his life. Embracing his sacred knees, I employed as usual his blessing; and, by the blandest touch, I felt his hand placed upon my head, when, amid the customary words of benediction, he repeated what was so familiar to his mouth, the name of the cross. Soon, while my eyes were intent upon him, (as I could not be satiated with his countenance and aspect,) he was suddenly borne away on high, until, having passed the immensity of the air, though I still followed him with my

eye as he was borne upward on a swift cloud, he was received into the open heaven, and could be seen no more. And not long after, I saw his disciple, the holy presbyter Clarus, who had lately departed; ascend the same way as his master. I, impudently desiring to follow, awoke while meditating and attempting lofty strides; and being roused from sleep, I began to rejoice in the vision, when a boy of the family came in to me, sadder than common, and with the countenance of one speaking and at the same time lamenting. What are you, so sad, attempting to say? Two monks, said he, have come from Tours; they say Martin is gone! I confess I fell; and tears arising, I wept profusely; and even while writing these things to you, brother, my tears flow, nor do I admit any solace of my most ungovernable grief. But I wish you, when this is announced, to be a partaker of my grief, as you was a companion of my love. Come, therefore, to me immediately, that we may equally bemoan him whom we equally love; though I know the man is not to be bewailed, who has vanquished and triumphed over the world and received his crown of righteousness. And yet I cannot command myself and cease to grieve. I have indeed sent my patron before me, but I have lost the consolation of the present life; and, if grief would admit of any reason, I ought to rejoice. For, as he is now mingling with apostles and prophets, he is, as I hope and believe and am confident, (I would say it with the leave of all the saints,) inferior to no one in that assembly of the just.

[After portraying his monastic life as that of a continuous and voluntary martyrdom, and telling how gladly he would in fact have been a martyr had Nero been now on the throne, our author thus proceeds].

O man truly ineffable in piety, compassion, love, which, in this cold age, is daily becoming colder, even in pious men. But in him it continually increased to the end. This goodness of his I even especially enjoyed, as he loved me peculiarly, though unworthy and undeserving. And again my tears are flowing; nay the groan bursts from my breast: In what man hereafter shall I have a like repose?—in whose love, a solace? O miserable, wretched me! Should I longer live, can I ever cease to grieve that I survive Martin? Shall life hereafter be pleasant? Shall there be a day or an hour without tears? Or in speaking with you, can I ever speak of any but him?¹

¹ The ancients, except some of their philosophers, appear to have given much freer scope to the emotions of grief than is common among us; or, at

But why move you to tears and lamentations? Behold, I, who cannot console myself, would now console you. Believe me; he will not desert us, he will not, he will not desert us. He will be present to us while discoursing of him; he will stand by us while praying. And, as he has now this day deigned, he will often allow himself to be seen in his glory; and, as but lately, he will protect us by his frequent benediction. And then, according to the order of the vision, by which he has shown heaven to be open to his followers, he has taught whither he is to be followed; he has instructed us whither our hope is to stretch, and to what the mind should be directed. But what shall be the event? For I am conscious to myself that I shall not be able to ascend that arduous height and enter, my grievous burden of sin so exceedingly oppresses me, precludes my ascending to the stars, and is dragging me, wretched, down to Tartarus. But yet there is hope; that one, that last hope, that I may at least acquire by Martin's praying for me, what I cannot by myself obtain.

[The last letter of Sulpitius was written from Toulouse to his mother-in-law, Bassula, at Treves. In the first part of the letter, he complains of some one for having sent her the letter he wrote to Aurelius, and consents to comply with her request for further information respecting Martin's death, on condition that she "will read the account to no one." He proceeds.]

Martin foreknew his own death long before it took place, and told the brethren that the dissolution of his body was at hand. In the mean time he had occasion to visit the parish of Condate; for the clergy, of that church were contending among themselves, and being desirous to restore peace, though not ignorant of the end of his days, he did not for such a reason refuse to go, thinking it a good consummation of his achievements if he should

least, they talk much more of their tears, if they did not in fact weep more profusely or feel more keenly than we do. The above is only a sample, though a strong one. I have given the more of it, for the purpose of showing this characteristic of the times and especially of our author. By this, as well as by his general manner of writing, it will be seen that he is somewhat prone to the eulogistic and the extravagant.

What follows will indicate the superstitious regard which had then begun to be paid to departed saints. It is said, that "Saint Martin was the first to whom the Romish church offered public adoration." This, if true, was doubtless owing, in no small degree, to these glowing accounts of him by Severus, then so universally read and admired.

leave peace restored to the church. So, departing with that most holy retinue of his disciples, as always very numerous, he espied cormorants in the river, pursuing the fishes and gorging their rapacious crops with the prey they were continually taking. This, said he, is a type of the demons. They lie in wait for the incautious; they take the ignorant; they devour their captives, and can never be satiated with what they devour. Then, with the potent virtue of his words, he commands them to leave the stream in which they were swimming and seek the dry and desert regions, using the same command over those birds with which he had been wont to put demons to flight. So, all those fowls, being congregated into one flock, left the river and sought the mountains and woods, to the admiration of the many who saw such great power in Martin as to command even birds.

At length, after spending some time in the village or the church to which he went, and peace being restored among the clergy, when he now thought of returning to his monastery, he suddenly began to fail in the powers of his body; and calling together his disciples, he told them he was now to be released. Then was there sorrow and grief in all—one voice of those wailing, Why, father, dost thou desert us? Or to whom wilt thou leave us, desolate? Rapacious wolves will invade thy flock; and when the shepherd is smitten, who will prevent them from devouring us? We know thou longest for Christ; but thy rewards are safe for thee, nor will they be diminished by delay. Rather pity us whom thou art deserting. Then, moved by these tears, (as he was always all bowels of compassion in the Lord,) he is said to have wept; and addressing the Lord, he answered the weeping company in this brief sentence: O Lord, if I am still necessary to thy people, I refuse not the labor; thy will be done. For, between hope and love, he almost doubted which to choose, as he wished neither to desert them nor to be longer absent from Christ, yet, leaving it not to his own desire or will, but committing himself wholly to the will and power of the Lord. Does he not seem to you, in these few words, to say,—O Lord, the battle of this corporeal warfare is indeed severe, and it is enough that I have thus far contended; but if in this labor thou commandest me still to stand before the camp of thy people, I refuse not, nor will I plead my drooping age. I will devotedly discharge the duties thou dost assign; under thy banners will I war as thou shalt order; and though a release after labor is desired by the aged, yet courage is victor over years, and knows not how to

yield to age. And if now thou dost spare my age, good, O Lord, is thy will to me. But these for whom I fear, thou wilt guard.—O ineffable man; neither conquered by labor nor to be conquered by death; who inclined to neither part, neither feared to die, nor refused to live. Accordingly, when he had now for some days been confined by fever, he ceased not from the work of God. All night long in prayers and vigils, he compelled his weary limbs to serve his spirit, lying in that noble envelope, sackcloth and ashes. And when he was entreated by his disciples at least to suffer some poor straw to be placed under him, Children, he replied, it becomes not a Christian to die but in ashes. If I leave you any other example, I sin. With eyes therefore and hands continually directed towards heaven, he relaxed not his unconquered spirit from prayer. And when requested by the priests who had then flocked to him, to relieve his body by a change of position, Suffer, he said, suffer me, brethren, rather to look towards heaven than earth, that my spirit, now to take its journey, may be directed to the Lord. As he said this, he saw the devil standing near: Why, O bloody beast, said he, art thou standing here? Dismal being, thou wilt find nothing in me. Abraham's bosom receiveth me. And while his spirit, by divine aid, was uttering these accusations, he surrendered it to heaven.

Those who were present have declared to me, that they now beheld a glory in the body of the glorified man. His face shone clearer than the light; and not so much as a small spot obscured his other members; and even in those parts which in him alone were not shameful, there appeared the comeliness of a boy of seven years. Who would believe him ever to have been clad in sackcloth, or enveloped in ashes;—so much purer than glass, whiter than milk, was he now presented, and in a kind of glory of the future resurrection, with the nature of his flesh changed.

It is incredible what a multitude of men now assembled at his funeral. The whole city rushed forth to meet the body. All from the fields and villages, and many even from neighboring cities, were present. O, what weeping of all; and especially what lamentations of the mourning monks, nearly two thousand of whom are said to have assembled,—the special glory of Martin; so fruitful, by his example, had been the stock, to the service of God. Verily, the dead shepherd was driving before him his flocks, the pale bands of that holy multitude, the mantled hosts both of the aged who were excused from labor and the tinos bound by oath to Christ. And then the choir of virgins, ashamed

to weep, because they saw they ought rather to rejoice over him whom the Lord had now taken to his bosom, with what holy joy did they mantle their grief, though affection extorted a groan while faith forbade them to weep. For exultation on account of his glory was as holy, as grief at his death was pious. You would pardon the weeping; you would congratulate the rejoicing; for it is both pious to rejoice with Martin, and pious to weep for Martin, as each one has occasion to weep for himself while he ought to rejoice for Martin. So the multitude followed the body of the blessed man to the place of burial, chanting celestial hymns.

Let men compare now if they please, the secular pomp, I will not say of a funeral, but of a triumph, and what will be found like the obsequies of Martin? Let them conduct forth before the chariots the captives with their arms bound behind their backs. Those are following the body of Martin who, under his direction, have conquered the world. Let the insanity of the people honor them with their confused plaudits. Martin is applauded in divine psalms; Martin is honored with celestial hymns. They, after their triumphs, are thrust into cruel Tartarus. Martin, joyful, is received to Abraham's bosom; Martin, here poor and small, enters heaven rich. Thence, I trust, does he look down as a guardian upon me while writing and upon you while reading these things.

Concluding Remarks by the Translator.

The period of Martin's death, like that of his birth, is a matter of some uncertainty. Ambrose died in 397; and Gregory of Tours asserts, that Martin died seven months after. Many therefore suppose him to have died in the course of that year; but the greater part place his death in the year 400. If we are right in fixing his birth in 338, he was probably about sixty two years old when he died.

From age to age, both his memory and his relics have been exceedingly revered, especially in France and Germany. A contention arose for the possession of his remains even before they were placed in the grave. The author of the *Lives of the Saints*, in his account of Martin, tells us, that "the inhabitants of Poitiers warmly disputed the possession of his body; but the people of Tours carried it off." He was interred in a small grove at some distance from his monastery. The same author goes on to state, that "St. Martin's successor, built a chapel over his tomb; and

St. Perpetuus, the sixth bishop of Tours, about the year 470, founded upon that spot the great church and monastery, the saint's sumptuous tomb being placed behind the high altar." Such facts are, indeed, worthless, except as showing the character of the times, the superstitious regard which was then paid and has since been paid to such personages as Martin. In this respect, they are replete with instruction. I will therefore give a few more sentences from the pen of the same devout papist. After mentioning the kings of France, the patriarchs of Jerusalem, the archbishops of Mentz, and a multitude of other prelates and princes, as officially connected with the monastic establishment at Martin's tomb, he adds: "The extraordinary devotion which the French and all Europe has [have] expressed to St. Martin, and to this church for the sake of his precious tomb, would furnish matter for a large history. The Huguenots rifled the shrine and scattered the relics of this saint. But this church recovered a bone of his arm and a part of his skull. Before this dispersion, certain churches had obtained small portions which they still preserve;—two of his teeth are shown in St. Martin's at Tournay.—Many miracles wrought at the shrine of St. Martin and through his intercession immediately after his happy death, some of which are recounted by St. Gregory of Tours, Fortunatus and others, excited exceedingly the devotion of the people."

Such is the superstitious reverence with which Martin has been adored, from the day of his first notable miracle in raising from the dead his unbaptized catechumen. While alive, his disciples kneeled before him to receive his blessing; and now, when dead for fourteen centuries, the devout papist honors him in his prayers, and the drunken papist honors him in his cups, and both regard him as a patron and an intercessor.

To this brief view of the life of Martin, might be added about an equal amount of the like matter respecting him, from the dialogues of Severus, and from the works of such later saints as Gregory of Tours. There are also abundant materials for continuing the early history of monasticism to a much greater length. But perhaps enough has already been given to accomplish the chief object I had in view. In the lives of Paulus, Antony, and Martin, as given by their own admirers, the reader will see, if he did not know before, what sort of men the more enlightened part of the world will have to follow, and themselves to become, if they see fit to revert to papal institutions. Here are its founders and its principal saints—still adored, and to be adored and im-

itated while monkery shall last. If their spirit is the right spirit, if we are to sacrifice our reason on the altar of superstition, if we are virtually to depose Christ from his mediatorial throne and substitute our own righteousness in the place of his, and if we are to count it a sin even to allow ourselves "some poor straw" to die upon—then may we think the present widely extended movement towards Rome, the brightest as well as the most conspicuous characteristic of the church at this period.

But I have preferred and still prefer to leave the reader to his own reflections. My object has been to supply an unpardonable chasm in the materials for *just* reflection on themes so important as those which are continually presented in these memoirs. I will only repeat, what I suggested at the beginning, that the chief light in which the lives of the early monks can now be regarded as important, is that of beacons to warn the whole church, and each individual, so far as his action is concerned, of the fatal rocks on which the early church was dashed. In this respect they are invaluable, especially to those who are to act as her pilots in the present storm.

ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

By James Davis Butler.

THERE is a chapel in St. Peter's at Rome which bears the name of Chrysostom, because his ashes repose beneath its pavement. Whoever enters the Basilica makes haste to this chapel; for it is daily filled with the Sistine choir, it is near the matchless dome of Michael Angelo, and still nearer the mosaic of Raphael's last and greatest work.

As few of the Fathers were more worthy of perpetual anthems than Chrysostom, we are glad that so many adventitious circumstances combine to secure due homage to his remains. But we lament that the papal world is so hostile to the principles of him whose sepulchre it has built, and that the protestant world is at so little pains to commune with one so well fitted to be its ally,

teacher and friend. His works are encircled with no fewer extrinsic attractions than his tomb, and besides possess such intrinsic merits, as may well induce visitors in the Basilica of the Greek fathers to turn their first steps towards his pulpit.

PATRISTIC STUDIES.

As even the New Testament is oriental in its spirit and style, all oriental writings are in a degree interesting to the Biblical scholar. They derive an additional charm from the freshness and bloom, which a new medium of vision can give to withered and seedy truths. Yet many Orientals, especially the Hindoos, are surcharged with conceits too monstrous, and we had almost said frantic, to be tolerated by cool-blooded occidentals. The Greek fathers, standing on the confines of the East and West, and attempting oriental gorgeousness with Grecian taste, can more easily win our attention. But the Greek fathers, with their translations, annotations, and works attributed to them, amount to hundreds of ponderous tomes, a library which we may safely say no man ever read through. Sailing on such an ocean, we must fix on one course and deviate from it only by necessary tacks, or we shall never reach our desired haven. Entering this foreign realm, we shall do well to sit down in one place, till we have learned something of its language, customs, prejudices and other peculiarities; or if we may be pardoned a Germanism, till we have *orienteed* ourselves. In plain language, a judicious student of patristics will begin by making himself familiar with one author before he indulges himself in miscellaneous excursions.

CLAIMS OF CHRYSOSTOM ON THE STUDENT OF PATRISTICS.

Among the reasons which may lead many to begin their study of the Greek fathers with Chrysostom, are the following: First, almost all his works are extant and preserved in their perfection. On the other hand, the works of the Apostolic and many subsequent fathers, as Origen, have been utterly lost, or incurably corrupted, and are sometimes of doubtful genuineness. Secondly, he played a conspicuous part in no less a theatre than the two chief cities of the East, Antioch and Constantinople. Thirdly, his era was marked by banishments, persecutions, revolts, wars and earthquakes. His public life was commensurate with a great ecclesiastical epoch, the sun-set of spiritual Chris-

tianity; the apparent overthrow and extinction of paganism, the *real* transfusion of its worst elements into the veins of popery. Fourthly, the life of Chrysostom is of itself a picture-gallery, portraying a pious youth, a hermit, commentator, polemic, and preacher, an almoner, a church-ruler, a missionary and an injured exile. Fifthly, his writings betray little of that allegorical vagary, anile superstition, or simpering childishness which, disfiguring many early christian writers, instigated Milton to say so contemptuously, "Whatsoever time or the heedless hand of blind chance hath drawn down from of old unto this present, in her huge dragnet, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen; those are the fathers." Sixthly, his failings leaned towards virtue's side; and his errors are rich in instruction, since, says Dana, "no truth can be fully brought out nor its virtue proved, till it has undergone every experiment to which perverted ingenuity can subject it, and every modification which the mistakes of its friends can give it." A rock on this side and a whirlpool on that, designate the channel in which we may sail safest. Seventhly, his Biblical commentaries have been repeatedly translated into other tongues, and remain in many particulars unsurpassed. Eighthly, though he is not always consistent, yet his views of all essential doctrines often tally surprisingly with the standards of modern orthodoxy. In this regard, he deserves to stand prominent in the cloud of witnesses to the truth, which Merle has written a good book to illustrate, that "the voice of the church is one under all the successive forms of Christianity." Our assurance redoubles, as we study his remains, that his faith and ours are both fundamentally true. Ninthly, his folios are a *thesaurus* of knowledge in relation to ancient Christianity. The remark in the *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, that "the perusal of the Life of St. Anthony by Athanasius, (which fills only some fifty or sixty pages,) would convey a more exact and vivid idea of the state and style of religion in the fourth century, than is to be obtained by reading volumes of modern church history," is equally just in respect, not only to the life of Chrysostom, but to any equal portion of his works. We often image to ourselves his thirteen folios as a patristic Herculaneum where specimens of all that is rich and rare in Christian antiquity lie garnered up, ready to reward the labor of excavation. Our only regret is that a dead language, ligatures, barbarous contractions, interminable paragraphs, and bulky editions cover this antique city with a lava-crust so hard and thick. Tenthly, Chrysostom is worthy of study

not only as a commentator, theologian and painter of his age, marked by sound sense and varied experience, but chiefly as a pulpit orator, who was the most eloquent of the saints, and if preaching had been duly prized by papists, would have been canonized the fifth doctor of the militant church. The number of his homilies is a full thousand.

OBJECT OF THE PRESENT ARTICLE.

In our times when every day brings forth a new book of which we must all learn something, it is idle for any man to think of studying more than a tithe of Chrysostom's tall and huge folios. The difficulty which meets us at once as we open his volumes is, hesitation what part to select in the infinite museum. We feel the distraction amid exuberance, *l'embarras des richesses*, of the Italian traveller; we long for the red hand-book of guidance which is his Mentor, and for want of which we may weary ourselves again and again, without getting any adequate idea of the master among whose productions we wander.

In the present Article, we neither attempt to furnish such a guide-book for Chrysostom, nor to supply the desideratum which has long existed for want of a systematic exhibition of his tenets in English; our endeavor is simply to sketch the leading incidents of his life, and to intersperse them with some account of his opinions.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION WITH REGARD TO CHRYSOSTOM.

In preparing the subjoined Article recourse has been had to the following among other authorities; first, the Historical Dialogue in Greek concerning the life of Chrysostom, written by his contemporary and disciple, Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, who flourished about A. D. 401;¹ secondly, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Liber VI, by Socrates, the scholastic, of Constantino-ple, who flourished near A. D. 440, and Liber VIII, by Sozomen, who died near Gaza about A. D. 450; thirdly, the *Bibliotheca Graeca*, by Fabricius, Vol. VII pp. 555 et seq.; fourthly, the *Vita Chrysostomi* by Bernard de Montfaucon, at the end of the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom, (Tom. XIII pp. 91—177, Paris, 1738); fifthly, Montfaucon's synopsis eorum quæ in operibus Chrysostomi observantur, appended to his biography of Chrys-

¹ This memoir has been justly stigmatized "as a partial and passionate vindication by a blind admirer."

ostom; sixthly, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und die Kirche, besonders des Orients, in dessen Zeitalter*, by A. Neander, (Berlin 1821—22). An English translation of this learned work by J. C. Stapleton, which appeared several years ago, has not come to our hands. The materials for the following account, however, were collected in great part during a perusal of Chrysostom's commentary upon Matthew, his treatise on the Priesthood, his sermons "concerning the Statues," many occasional discourses, and some other portions of his remains.

CHRYSOSTOM'S CHARACTER; AIM OF LIFE AND INFLUENCE.

Chrysostom may be characterized as akin in feeling and rhetoric to the beloved disciple, somewhat as his contemporary, Augustine, was thought to reproduce the reasoning logic of Paul. Of the Pagans, he resembled Plato more than Aristotle, yet gave all his speculations a practical turn. Of the moderns he belonged to the class of Luther, rather than to that of Calvin, though he was perhaps inferior in practical wisdom to them both. He lived during the latter half of the fourth century, (A. D. 347—407,) when the alliance between the church and the state was beginning to corrupt Christianity by fostering a neglect of the Scriptures, formalism, hypocrisy, venality and heathenism masked by specious names. He struggled to crush this serpent-brood, by his preaching, writings, authority as a church-ruler, sufferings as a martyr, and by his whole life. He was often rash, or acted from false views of truth, and was at last overwhelmed by the flood of degeneracy; but he gave utterance to many truths, which we are prone to fancy were reserved for a later age to discover.

He is included by Ullmann in that triumvirate of ancient saints, who were most decidedly transformed into the image of their Saviour. The affections were so prominent an element of his nature, that his heart ruled his head. The instances were numerous in which his feelings rectified his reasonings, so that the under-current of sanctified emotion counteracted his speculative errors. On the whole, his influence was so powerful and salutary as to convince us, that a very few men like him, and in stations such as his, would have prevented the church from ever sinking into that lethargy in which it slumbered through the dark ages.

ANTIOCH IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

The city of Chrysostom's birth, and where he resided till within ten years of his death, was Antioch, the metropolis of Syria. Although it is now known chiefly as the place where the disciples of Jesus were first called Christians, yet during a long course of ages, the felicity of its position, upon the chief river of Syria, in the heart of the East, and almost equi-distant from Constantinople, Alexandria, Babylon and Athens, rendered it a royal capital, and adorned it with the title of the Queen of the East.

In the time of Chrysostom it was the seat of the Roman government over Asia, and was surpassed in population only by Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome itself.¹ Its relative station, then, among Roman cities may have been the same that Naples now fills among European capitals.² The mountains which overlooked its walls, one of them, Mount Casius, so high that the sun-rising might be seen from its summit when the bottom of it was yet enveloped in darkness, gave it another feature of resemblance to Naples. Moreover the Neapolitan fields of Elysium might have found a parallel at Antioch, in what Milton describes as "that sweet grove of Daphne by Orontes." As a spot where the rites of Baal and Venus were amicably blended, Antioch was as noted for voluptuousness as Corinth.³ Being in the neighborhood of Palestine, it became an asylum for crowds of Jewish exiles. Besides, in the last days of classical civilization, it seemed to reproduce the literary life of Athens, by schools of philosophy

¹ Chrysostom makes the three following statements: 1. That the population of Antioch was 200,000. 2. That the Christians were 100,000. 3. That they were a majority of the population. Gibbon (XV. 161), in ignorance, it should seem, of the first statement, endeavors to show that the population of Antioch was 500,000, of which the Christians formed but a fifth part, and that the second and third statements cannot be literally consistent. Here it may be fitting to add, that he describes "the church as always claiming an uninterrupted succession of miraculous powers" (XV. 73), although Chrysostom affirms the long discontinuance of miracles as a notorious fact, and that he mistakes one of Chrysostom's mildest passages on the delay of baptism as his severest. (XX. 68). See Milman's notes on Gibbon, I. p. 507, 510, 524. But the great historian frankly acknowledges himself "almost a stranger to the voluminous sermons of Chrysostom." XXXII. 43, note.

A frontispiece in Milman's Poems, (Vol. III.) is a fine view of Antioch reposing at the foot of a craggy mountain, of the beetling cliffs between which the Orontes flows, of the stations of our Saviour leading up the steep, etc.

² See Opp. Chrys. I. p. 440. a.

³ See Opp. Chrys. II. p. 178. c.

and eloquence, which might be compared to those of Plato and Isocrates.

A war had been waged for three hundred years at Antioch, between Christianity and the various other faiths, when, about the middle of the fourth century, the balance of power inclined decisively in favour of the Christians. At that time the city began to glory in its having given origin to the name of Christian, and to be styled the *city of God*, or Theopolis.¹

CHRYSOSTOM TILL HE BECAME A MONK.

The year of Chrysostom's birth was in all probability A. D. 347, although some writers reckon it as A. D. 351 or 352.² Indeed the dates of most events in his life were disputed till the time of Montfaucon, who seems to have fixed them with great pains and precision, and whose authority we shall accordingly follow in this respect, without, however, thinking it necessary to encumber our pages with the lengthened refutation of chronological errors. The name, Chrysostom, or *Mouth of Gold*, was conferred on him of whom we write, only after his death, and by reason of his eloquence. His name during his life was John of Antioch, or John of Constantinople.³

The parents of Chrysostom were above the middle class in rank and property, and were both Christians. Secundus, his father, who was a military officer, died while his son was yet in the cradle. Anthusa, his mother, who except one aunt is his only relative respecting whom any record remains, was left a widow at the age of twenty, but resolved instead of marrying again, (as was then the prevalent custom,) to be wedded and consecrated to her only surviving child; for while educating him she seemed still to look upon and commune with her husband. She managed pecuniary affairs so well that her son was never annoyed by embarrassments, or obliged to give his thoughts to secularities. Her

¹ See Opp. Chrys. II. 150. c. p. 176.

² Murdock in his translation of Mosheim, Vol. I. 241, assigns A. D. 354, as the date of Chrysostom's birth. But this date is rejected by Schroeckh, Montfaucon, Gibbon, and we think Neander, (though we quote from memory). As Montfaucon has proved, it is scarcely compatible with the facts of Chrysostom's life.

³ Soon after his death Chrysostom was honored by several epithets in allusion to his eloquence, e. g. *μελοταγής, ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυσοῦς, χρυσοῤῥήμων*. His present name was conferred in A. D. 680 by the sixth council at Constantinople.

pains-taking to train him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, was likened by Chrysostom himself to that of Hannah for Samuel; it determined the course of his life, and entitles her to be called the mother of his heart and mind. Neander adds, that at least three others, who shone as the chief ornaments of the church in Chrysostom's time, owed their piety, humanly speaking, to their having sat on the knees of pious mothers, namely, Theodoret, Gregory Nazianzen and Augustine. No man was better aware than Chrysostom in after life, how frequently the impressions stamped on infantile minds in the nursery harden through all subsequent time; and he painted with the darkest shades the curse which heathen nurses, teachers, and cradle-songs sealed upon the children of Christians.¹

Chrysostom was early a pupil in philosophy, of Andragathias, and in eloquence, of Libanius. Of his progress in philosophy, no record remains, but such was his proficiency in eloquence that, but for his conversion, he would have succeeded his master, who was second to no orator of his age, and is styled by Gibbon "the last glory of expiring Paganism." The same master admired a eulogy, which Chrysostom had written on one of the emperors, so much, that, in the spirit of Alexander's words concerning Achilles, he declared that emperor happy inasmuch as he was vouchsafed such a herald of his fame. It was also related, that although himself a pagan, he was so moved by the self-denial to which the mother of Chrysostom subjected herself for the good of her son, as to exclaim: Ye Gods, what women have the Christians!²

George of Alexandria states that Chrysostom, while yet a youth, travelled to Athens and studied there, but he also pretends that Chrysostom wrought miracles, and he is branded by all critics as an arrant fabulist. We shall therefore seldom notice his reveries, or the fantasies of the legendaries, who during the middle ages composed and read in the refectories of convents a thousand and one romances respecting him.³

After completing his academical studies, Chrysostom entered the forum as an orator, and even frequented the circus and thea-

¹ See Opp. Chrys. VII. p. 29. c. Nean. I: 74.

² See Opp. Chrys. I. p. 340. Socrates L. VI. p. 3.

³ Specimens of the fictions invented by Leo, Zonaras, Glycas, Nicephorus, Cedrenus and other chroniclers are these: that a white dove alighted on him at his ordination, that an angel with a sword, stood as guardian of his palace, and that a touch of his coffin cured men of the gout.

tres, notwithstanding that the church forbade resorting to such haunts of dissipation. But he thus penetrated the mysteries of iniquity, so that he could afterwards expose its *tacenda* with unrivalled power;¹ and these sallies of youthful curiosity were soon repressed. Besides, at the age of about eighteen, the young advocate was induced by his companion Basilus, to put off the toga of a public speaker, and become a student of christian theology under Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, by whom, at the end of three years he was baptized. He and Basilus, each loving the other as his own soul, resolved to sequester themselves in the solitudes of the adjacent mountains, that their inter-communion might be uninterrupted, even to the end of their days. The execution of this scheme was deferred, on account of the remonstrances of Anthusa to whom the face of her son was the soul of life, and was at length prevented altogether by other circumstances. Chrysostom, however, immediately began ascetic austerities, would often see no one but Basilus, and condemned himself to long tasks of Pythagorean silence. He mingled, however, with his old associates so far that he persuaded some of them to renounce the forensic career which they had begun, and wrote several epistles to one of them who, having once devoted himself to a monastic life, was about to be married. In this correspondence he maintains that matrimony is incompatible with the highest style of piety, a dogma which as he increased in experience he gradually retracted.

In or near A. D. 372, as Chrysostom had become convinced that his friend Basilus was well qualified for the ministry, he prevailed upon him to receive ordination by a promise that he would be ordained himself. But he had no intention of keeping, and did not keep his word.² On being reproached by Basilus for this pious fraud, he defended himself at large, alleging among other things, that he was as justifiable as the physician who deceives a man to save his life. This apology for his duplicity, which in the end swelled to a dialogue in six books, (*Περί ἰσποσύνης*,) presents the qualifications requisite for a minister, his duties, trials and responsibilities, so truly and vividly, that no minister can read it without trembling. We never open it without more wonder, that its author ever became a preacher at all, than that he postponed his first sermon till his fortieth year. In the judgment of Schroeckh, it is every way superior to a volume

¹ See Opp. Chrys. XI. p. 464. f.

² See Opp. Chrys. I. p. 365.

which was written on the same theme, and about the same time, by Ambrose.

CHRYSOSTOM AS A MONK.

The twenty-seventh year of Chrysostom's life, A. D. 374, found him still a retired student, in the house of his mother. One day he was walking with a friend towards the shrine of a martyr, without the walls, where they espied a parchment roll floating down the Orontes, and one of them made haste to pull it ashore, while the other cried, *halves*. It proved to be a book of magic, the possession of which was a capital offence, and a soldier coming up that instant, they were in great danger, but escaped unsuspected. This incident, and, according to Neander, still more the death of his mother led Chrysostom to renounce the world, and take up his abode at a mountain monastery in his neighborhood.¹

It is hard not to be charmed with the monastic life, as painted by so friendly if not flattering a pencil as Chrysostom's. The bright particulars concerning it, which sparkle in so many of his works, make it credible that many, who visited the monasteries only as sight-seers, lingered and lingered, and became monks themselves. In so dissolute a city as Antioch, it was not unnatural for men to imagine that they had no alternative but libertinism or monasticism. In those days of manuscript books, the monks were useful as scribes, and in some degree supplied the place of our Bible Societies. Blind asylums were unknown except among the monks. Idleness had not yet become the opprobrium of monastic recluses. Those of them who were not copyists, often practised some mechanical art. We read of monastic smiths, weavers, builders, etc., who devoted the avails of their labor to relieve the indigent. Many children, whose innocence could not but be tainted in the malaria of Antioch, were stimulated to virtue in the pure air of conventual heights, Opp. I 109. Such parents, as were forced to send their children to schools taught by pagan teachers, were glad to let them spend their holidays in bearing a present to some hermit on a rocky pinnacle, because they would thus receive his blessing and instruction. Many apothegms are recorded, by which anchorets in a moment stamped on children of gaily solemn impressions which were never forgotten. Moreover, more of the ancient monks became mis-

¹ See Opp. Chrys. IX. p. 293. III. p. 94.

sionaries than is now generally supposed. In the sequel of this Article we may need to say more of this particular, but cannot now omit a passing notice of one Abraham, who with other monks went on a mission to Mount Lebanon, and christianized a whole village which had been exclusively pagan. The missionaries, unable otherwise to make a lodgment in the place, gave themselves out as merchants, and hired a house as if for purposes of trade. They then held a meeting in their court. The rabble, who were drawn together by the sound of the Christian hymns, tore the doors from their hinges and maltreated the worshippers, but meeting with no resistance, paused to listen to the new doctrine, and came again and again to hear. An exorbitant contribution was just then exacted by the local governor; it was paid by Abraham with money which a friend advanced him; the villagers were lost in admiration of his Christ-like spirit, and all at last renouncing paganism chose him for their pastor.¹

The daily life of a monastic fraternity, as depicted by Chrysostom, may be seen in outline from the following selected and abridged features of his portraiture.

Monks, says he, rise with the first crowing of the cock, and after a hymn and prayer together, separate at sun-rise, to make baskets and sack-cloth, or to copy the Scriptures. They nail themselves to their labors. Their dress is of skins, or woven of goat's and camel's hair. Their food being bread, water and acorns, is plainer than that of the poorest men. Their roof being often the sky, and their lamp the moon, they need no oil or servants. There is but one table for the servants, if they have them, and the served. They know not the words *mine* and *thine*, and whatever may have been their rank, they make their own fires and cleave their own wood. They never speak to each other except at social *reunions* in the evening.²

The same year that Chrysostom became a monk, namely, A. D. 374, the Arian emperor Valens persecuted the whole monastic class, because as a body it was orthodox. Some were imprisoned, others impressed into the army. This calamity moved Chrysostom to draw up a systematic defence of the life he loved so well, and also to publish a tract to prove that a monk is superior to a king. (Opp. I. 116.) The effect of his writings is not known. But whatever may have been the fate of others, he

¹ See Neander.

² See Opp. Chrys. VII. p. 674 etc., p. 705. b. p. 126. a.

spent four peaceful years in a sequestered fraternity, and then secluded himself for two years more in a lonely cave, much of the time as a silentary, till his watchings, fastings, and persisting in a standing posture had ruined his health. Thus, when he had for six years stood aloof from society, his infirmities obliged him to enter Antioch once more.

No diary was kept of Chrysostom's occupations in his years of separatism upon the highlands, but every page of his works testifies, that he never ceased to unroll the volumes of inspiration, to scrutinize every wonder which nature spread out beneath his mount of vision, to commune with his own heart, and to revolve again and again whatever he had learned. We do not discredit the statement that ill-health drove him from his hermitage, yet in our judgment his turn of mind was changed, so that the predilections which had inclined him to secluded contemplation, henceforth stimulated him to active and public exertions.¹

CHRYSOSTOM AS A DEACON.

Within a short time after his constrained withdrawal from his highland retreat, Chrysostom was ordained a Deacon at Antioch by his spiritual father Meletius, near the close of A. D. 380.² About the same time, and while confined by sickness, he wrote several long epistles to a friend, who was a prey to fits of melancholy, or in the current phrase of those times, to demoniacal possession, and was hence thought to be in danger of committing suicide. The views of the object and tendency of affliction which fill these letters, are not only eloquent and glowing, but singularly sound and enlightened. His cardinal sentiment is, that the heavier our cross, the brighter will be our crown, and that no temptation can necessitate or be a valid excuse for sin.

As in the times of Chrysostom deacons never preached, and as his deaconship continued five or six years, he had leisure for theological study and composition. Among the works of his pen during these years were the following: A Letter of consolation to a newly-bereaved young widow; A plea for Celibacy; A Eulogy on St. Babylas; A synopsis of the Scriptures; The six books on the Priesthood, of which we have already spoken, and which though outlines of them may have been earlier published, could

¹ See Opp. Chrys. VI. p. 145. VII. p. 706. c.

² See Montfaucon, p. 97.

hardly have reached their ultimate perfection till this time.¹ This last work is mentioned by Hagenbach, as containing the germs of an Encyclopedia of certain departments of theology. All these works are replete with acute thought, warm feeling, and startling flashes of eloquence. In one of them we find almost the earliest declarations, that persecution is forbidden by Christianity. Edicts of the Emperor Valentinian, a few years before, had proclaimed unlimited religious freedom. Chrysostom argues that the admitted downfall of paganism proved it false. He says: "Nobody has fought against you, pagans, since it is not allowable for Christians to suppress the teaching of error by external violence; they must strive for the salvation of men only by persuasion and reasoning in the spirit of love."² It must be confessed, however, that his sentiments, or at least his language, as well as the imperial laws, afterwards underwent a striking change. Thus in his forty-sixth Homily on Matthew, we read, "The Lord forbids us not to set bounds to heretics, to bring them to silence, to curb their wanton out-breaks, to break up their meetings and societies, but only to put them to death."³

The might of christian love, the worthlessness of all forms, the folly of lamenting that miracles had ceased, and what is most surprising, the wickedness of slavery are so graphically delineated in some of the other works which are attributed by Neander to this period, that few who begin to read can lay them down without reluctance. It cannot be pretended that the works we have just noticed, are free from errors and puerilities. One of the secrets of such deformities, may be found in Chrysostom's morbid reverence for a conventional and complicated ceremonial. Had he lived when a few more centuries had attested, that there is no creating a soul under its ribs of death, or had not his piety and imagination been so fervid that he saw nothing in forms but the spirit of which they were symbols, such a reverence could not have existed.

CHRYSTOSTOM AS A PRESBYTER AND PREACHER AT ANTIOCH.

It is worthy of notice that Chrysostom, like Augustine and some other famous preachers, did not begin his public ministrations till he had reached middle life. It was in A. D. 386, and in

¹ See Montfaucon, p. 94.

² See Opp. Chrys. I. p. 374—75. II. p. 540. a. Neander. II. 155.

³ Opp. Chrys. VII. 482. d.

his fortieth year that he delivered his first sermon. At this time, he had just been ordained a presbyter by Flavian, Bishop of Antioch. It was not without a struggle that he resolved to become a minister, for his ideal of the sacred office was high, as is clear from what we have said of his work on the Priesthood, and ministers had then some burdens to bear from which they are now exempted. They served for instance, *ex officio*, as overseers of institutions for relieving strangers, widows, orphans, the poor and the sick. Among Chrysostom's favorite expressions were these: that he never read Heb. 13: 17 without trembling; that he felt as inadequate to the priest's office as a child would feel to the command of an army on a day of battle; that a pastor's life is much more arduous than a monk's, as piloting out at sea is more arduous than in a harbor; that a preacher is prone like a heathen sophist to seek for the reputation of eloquence, or as a speculator to lose himself in unfathomable mysteries, or to rust in indolence, defending himself by perversions of the language of Paul, with regard to "the foolishness of preaching," and "enticing words of man's wisdom." He had observed that some ministers were found fault with for not visiting their people, or for visiting the rich more than the poor, for addressing one with more smiles, or in a louder tone, than another, and even for partiality in dispensing their looks in the midst of a discourse. He further complains that many a bishop owed his office, to his being rich, noble, intriguing, an object of fear, or a recent proselyte.¹

The reluctance to being invested with the office of priest, springing from such considerations as we have noticed, was overcome, in our judgment, more by Chrysostom's own reflections on the exigencies of the times, and on the duty of activity in the vineyard of Christ, than by the state of his health or by the entreaties of friends. Yet we regret that it kept him dumb so long, for it was never more true of any man than of him, that he found the pulpit the niche he was ordained to fill.

The fame of Chrysostom is mainly founded on his excellence in preaching. Augustine was a more subtle metaphysician, Jerome was a more skilful interpreter, Athanasius wielded better the iron pen of controversy, but Chrysostom was by way of eminence and without a rival THE PREACHER of the ancient church. His power as a preacher was doubtless in part the result of natural advantages, the voice, figure, countenance, and feelings of an orator. But it was also derived, in a still greater degree, from

¹ Opp. Chrys. I. 400. b.

recluse study rivaling that of Demosthenes, from striving like Tully after *aliquid immensum infinitumque*, and from daily practice and efforts in speaking on themes which filled his heart.

Moreover, in his opinion the orator is made not born, and few orators have found themselves in circumstances, so adapted as his were, to task, exhibit, and improve their capabilities.

The Christians at Antioch in Chrysostom's days were a hundred thousand, yet they had but one principal church, though doubtless other places of meeting, and but one bishop assisted by several presbyters. Chrysostom's custom was to preach on two days weekly, and at certain festival seasons every day.¹ His discourses may in general be read aloud each within an hour; they are textual, topical and expository, but usually of more than one of these species combined. They can seldom boast of unity; they are luxuriant even to rankness in apostrophe, hyperbole, and other figures of rhetoric, but above all in similes, and those not unfrequently wire-drawn into allegories or marred by something of toy-shop taste.

The standing conclusion of each sermon is the following supplicatory formula, "That we may obtain good things to come, through the grace and love to man of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and Holy Spirit, be glory, power and honor now and forever, even to ages of ages, Amen." A few discourses are closed by a prayer. Examples may be found in Opp. Chrys. II. pp. 132, 180.

The zeal of Chrysostom was inflamed by his persuasion, that the Christianity of his time had degenerated very far from apostolic purity. It appeared to him, (to use his own words,) as a woman who had been rich, and who still retained the caskets in which her treasures had been repositied, but from whom the treasures themselves had been stolen away.² His one principle, his corner-stone was this, that the inward feeling of a man is everything, and that all rites, except as flowing from such a feeling, and all circumstances are nothing at all. It is the glory of his eloquence that it was consecrated, sometimes indeed through ill-judged means, to establish and illustrate this principle, as well as to constrain men to show a paramount regard to it in their practice.

On this account we have often thought an ancient picture of him found at Constantinople, an engraving from which forms the frontispiece in the Benedictine edition of his works, singularly characteristic. He is portrayed standing in his Library, and pointing

¹ See Opp. Chrys. II. 445. b. VII. 533. d.

² See Neander I. p. 183.

his finger at a scroll inscribed as if with the last result of his researches, *ἔχον τῶν πνευματικῶν : ἐντέλεια τῶν βιωτικῶν*.

On opening a volume of Chrysostom, next to the truly Homeric copiousness of diction, we notice nothing sooner than that the modes of presenting the truth are accommodated to popular assemblies. There are no "distinctions too fine for hearers." The style is so diffuse that every idea is fully unfolded; but as few hearers are cautiously attentive, the sentiment which has been expanded through a whole paragraph is often at its close condensed into a sort of apothegm, which rouses attention by an air of paradox but on a moment's reflection is seen to be true. Men understood the paragraph and remembered the apothegm. Again, the preacher either spoke extemporaneously, or has every appearance of so doing. He passes from theme to theme according to casual associations, seems to correct himself as if he had inadvertently spoken too strongly or too feebly. He is fond of drawing his illustrations from what has just met his view, or from the objects to which the thoughts of his audience may be supposed to have wandered, or on which they could be easily fastened. Among his allusions of this sort we may specify his interweaving in his discourses digressions, to some whom he saw smiting their foreheads, to others who whispered, smiled, or went out during service, applauded him with clapping, or who were diverted from his sermon by the lighting of the lamps. He sometimes adverts to his having passed through a crowd of shivering beggars as he approached the church, or to the inspiring and almost inspiring aid which the singing sometimes ministered to him. He further adapts his words to his hearers by singling out classes, not merely the men or women, the young or old, but the covetous, the usurious, the keepers of parasites, the dancers at weddings, the theatre-goers, the magistrates, and "ye who are slow to give alms," or "ye who are criminally obsequious to your wives, and stand in awe of them even to fear." But while individualizing almost to personality, and exclaiming "wherever there is a dance there is a devil," or, "there are not a hundred who will be saved in all the city," he so tempered his roughness as seldom to offend. Thus he speaks of his hearers as all in fact preachers, as having come to church to get arguments with which they could silence cavils, so pious as to teach bishops and raise Antioch above Rome, and clinging round him as young birds flock around their mother. He includes himself in his condemnations, saying, "I too, your physician, have need of healing." In general, though an acute reasoner, he chose

to win by the expanded palm of rhetoric, rather than to smite with the fist of logic. He is so fond of dilating upon the love of God and Christ, and the brotherly kindness of the first Christians, as incentives to piety; he himself glowed with such tender affections to his flock, that the motto inscribed on the title page of his life by Neander is singularly appropriate. It is this: And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is *charity*.¹

Few have shown better than Chrysostom, how admirably the variety of prose and poetry, narrative and reasoning, the plain and the obscure in the Scriptures recommends them to our desires; and no one has been at more pains, or striven with better success than he, to suit his ministrations by an analogous method to the cravings of his auditors. After a sermon of child-like simplicity, his next discourse would present truths clothed in oracular mystery; stating enigmas without any solution, premises without conclusions, as Bishop Butler advises, or breaking off in treating a topic as abruptly as a tale in the Arabian Nights. In a third sermon, or in private if any puzzled by the difficulties called upon him, he would clear up whatever had appeared obscure. His defence of this proceeding, was a reference to our Saviour's custom of stimulating curiosity by parables and dark sayings, till men were astonished at his doctrine, and said, "How can these things be?" or, "Declare unto us this parable."²

Another of the modes, in which Chrysostom added the charm of variety to his exhibitions of truth, was by *expository* preaching. As he is said to have publicly expounded the whole Bible, it is obvious, that a mind so versatile as his would thus bring to view the most dissimilar or even contrasted phases of revelation. Of his works in this department, there are extant seventy-five homilies on Genesis, about the same number on the Psalms, one hundred and seventy-seven on the Gospels, fifty-four on the Acts, and two hundred and forty-four on the Epistles. No scholar can now read a page in these expositions without enthusiasm, and although many of their flowers have been silently transplanted into modern commentaries, many still remain to be culled. Bloomfield places them first in enumerating "the fountain-heads of interpretation." There are shining thoughts, enough *acutè dicta*, among others which have already been appropriated, or which are antiquated,

¹ For illustrations, see Opp. Chrys. VI. 147. b. III. 248. VII. 490. a. VI. 273. b. 121. a. IX. 198. b. V. 131.

² For an instance, see Opp. Chrys. II. pp. 92. b. 98. d. VII. p. 45. b.

or worthless, or of temporary value, to fill more than one volume. The "Concordantia discordantiarum" appears to us singularly ingenious. It were not easy to over-rate the *eclat* with which such expositions would be naturally received by the mercurial and imaginative men of Antioch, who, without a figure, leaped for joy and denied no feeling its full expression.

Many testimonials, evincing Chrysostom's distinguished merit as an interpreter, might be easily collected from Montfaucon's "Testimonia Veterum." We will content ourselves with quoting a *dictum* of Thomas Aquinas. He was wont to say of the mutilated comment upon Matthew, that he would rather have it restored to "its original" perfection, than to be made owner of the city of Paris. For the opinion of a distinguished modern, the *Opuscula* of Reinhard (II. pp. 134, 298) may be consulted. In the dark ages, it was a popular tradition that the notes on Paul's epistles were dictated by Paul himself appearing in a vision.

Another way in which Chrysostom sought to vary the charms of truth, was by tact in bringing it to bear upon contemporary vices, and in taking advantage of particular occasions. His skill was manifest on every anniversary of a martyr's death, or other festival solemnized by the church; but it became much more conspicuous when a criminal took sanctuary in his church, or in times of drought and inundation, barbarian inroads and domestic insurrections, earthquake and conflagration. Moreover the easily besetting sins of all men, pride, revengefulness, and avarice are treated of, not in the abstract, but with such discriminating particulars as show the form, complexion, and dress which they assumed in his own time and beneath his own eyes. The peculiar faults also of the men around him, are sketched to the life. Among them were theatre-going, profaneness, the use of Bibles as amulets, usury, divorces, maintaining parasites, luxury in dress, particularly in shoes, complaints because miracles had ceased, faith in heathen talismans, allowing children to be contaminated by heathen nurses and teachers, heretical and Judaizing tendencies.¹ Among the heretics whom he condemns, besides the Manicheans and Anthropomorphists, it is remarkable, that we not only find Perfectionists² and Universalists,³ but find their tenets upheld

¹ For some of Chrysostom's favorite common places, see Opp. Chrys. VII. 510. c. 573, 605. a. V. 145. VI. 127. c.

² Under the *alias* of Cathari and Marcionites, see Opp. Chrys. XI. 105. e. XII. 355.

³ See Opp. Chrys. V. 120. c. IX. 44. b. For a sketch of the heresies which

by some of the same sophisms as in the present day. So true is it that error walks in a circle, and more artifices of evil than we often imagine can boast a pre-existent state.

While thus opposed by men of corrupt minds, he continually struck out sparks of new truth to such an extent that, as Isaac Taylor has said, a complete system of orthodox doctrines might be collected from his remains. In general, however, the character of his works is not so much doctrinal as practical. It could hardly have been otherwise, six centuries before the first body of systematic theology was formed. He lacked then the various *nuclei*, around each of which a modern preacher is led to draw a separate circle of truths. A slight attention to his works will teach us, that his favorite topics, or fixed ideas, are fewer than those in many theological catechisms. It were no easy task, to count the times that he treats of the peacefulness Christianity had wrought in the world, of its thriving under persecution, crushing paganism by its moral power, and simplifying truth so surprisingly as to make doctrines clear to a child, which had been obscure or unknown to Plato. He repeats again and again that life is a warfare, but that no man can be wounded except by himself, that a man's own character, not his ancestors, his intercessors, his ritual observances, determines his future condition. Yet, though the inward is everything and the outward comparatively nothing, he unceasingly stimulates his auditors not to delay baptism, to make the sign of the cross, give alms, study the Bible, train up their children well, sustain and extend missions at home and abroad. These themes with others related to them, a few doctrinal topics, and the vices of his age to which we have referred, are almost the whole range of subjects upon which Chrysostom expatiates.¹

Notwithstanding Chrysostom was confined to a narrow round of themes, yet few readers of his works, and none doubtless of his auditors, could accuse him of any fault akin to monotony. He avoided such an imputation, not only in the various modes we have already indicated, but by means of the multitudinous forms into which his imagination, circumstances, and youthful studies enabled and urged him to mould every truth. Very many times, in perusing his sermons, have we declared him a believer in a

were most rife in Chrysostom's era, consult Montfaucon's "Synopsis," Opp. Chrys. XIII. 186 et seq.

¹ For illustrations see Opp. Chrys. V. 186. b. VIII. 379. b. VI. 20. d. VII. 79. b. 73. a. 528. a. 136. c, etc.

pre-established harmony between the visible and the spiritual worlds, and a demonstrator of it. According to this theory, one thing is so set over against another, that every feature of moral truth is shadowed forth in some object which every man sees every day. His endeavor was to associate every such object with its respective truth, so that it should be viewed as that truth incarnate. So numerous are his illustrations of this sort, not only from nature but from the arts, customs, and other peculiarities of his time, that a considerable volume has been filled with curious particulars of antiquarian interest, gleaned from his remains.¹ Again, he had studied the Scriptures so much in the ideal presence of scriptural personages, he had so worked his way into their manner of thought and feeling and speech, that he plausibly represents them in imaginary circumstances, and puts imaginary speeches in their mouths. Any subject, then, which he may have in hand, he can enliven not only by every analogous narrative in the Scriptures, but by the supposable actions or words of scriptural personages in fictitious scenes. By carrying on a dialogue with the men whom he thus, as it were, raises from the dead, he often vivifies and impersonates abstractions.²

The circumstances in which Chrysostom preached, enabled him in many ways to prevent familiar truths from becoming common place. From the mountain beneath which his hearers dwelt, he could almost see the Holy Land. He was not only nearer to the apostles in time than we are to the reformers, and a preacher in the city where the disciples of Jesus were first called Christians, but preached in a church founded by an apostle. The language of the New Testament was his. Its spirit was oriental like his. He addressed men of such tastes, that he did not need to deny himself any energetic figure or phrase, because it was coarse or vulgar, or to forego any illustration, because it might be gaudy or ceremonially unclean. He had no dread of offending "ears polite." There was no fear before his eyes, of being thought rather a singular man for a preacher.³ He spoke where a gaudy style was vindicated by a gaudy nature, amid the costumes, architecture and national festivals, which we most appropriately call gorgeous, not far from those who originated such names and things as arabesques. He addressed a people easily

¹ See Opp. Chrys. XIII. *Synopsis and Index Rerum.*

² Examples may be found in Opp. Chrys. VII. 531. II. p. 165.

³ See for illustrations, Opp. Chrys. VII. 101. 713. d. II. 717. b.

blown about by passions; now festooning and petting the streets; anon, after an earthquake, impelling one another, to hear his words, stamping their foreheads, giving him sympathetic smiles: for such auditors, his soul expanded with full could not only venture on as abrupt exordiums, as the first oration against Catiline, with magical success, but was impelled to such extravagant expressions, as he afterwards found too fervid for the more occidental meridian of Constantinople.¹ The fancy of Chrysostom did not realize what has been fabled of Richter, that in sixty volumes he repeats but two or three figures, hanging a jewel upon every grass-blade and sowing the earth with orient pearl; nor does it like Jeremy Taylor, possess him and lead him astray; but it adorns the plainest and even deformed subjects with unexpected attractions. It often reminds us of the vigor with which Italian verdure leaps over every wall, shoots out at the loop-holes of terraces, entrenches itself on domes, and seems to gush out from the smooth rock. Or we may compare it to the decorations of the chapel in which he lies entombed. Armorial bearings are artfully inlaid in its marble floor, its ceiling is of gilded stucco, moulded in artistic forms, mosaics glowing upon its walls, and not a seat or panel is without elaborate carvings, at once pictures to the eye and emblems to the fancy.² We can fortify our view of the aid which fancy lent to Chrysostom's exhibitions of truth, by a remark of Coleridge, who, whatever may be thought of him as a philosopher, had no superior in criticism. Looking over an extract from this ancient preacher in Jeremy Taylor, he cried out, "What a vivid figure! It is enough to make any man set to work to read Chrysostom." (*Lit. Remains*, III. p. 317).

The month of February, of the next year after Chrysostom began to preach, A. D. 387, was signalized by a crisis worthy of his genius. A tax which was at this time imposed upon the Antiochians, appeared so exorbitant that they rose in rebellion. The police and municipal troops were overpowered. Statues of the emperor and empress, which had adorned the market-place, were mutilated and hurled from their pedestals by the wanton rabble.

¹ See *Opp. Chrys.* I. 587. c. II. 213. c. *Montf.* 116.

² For instances see *Opp. Chrys.* VII. p. 634. c. VI. p. 255. a. III., and the charges against him before the Synod of Chalcedon, in *Palladius*.

³ *Bunsen, Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, I. 2.

But a Roman legion soon entered the gates and the revolt was at an end. Then began a reign of terror; for the Roman prefects were accustomed to be so systematically cruel, that no people but the men of Antioch, who were as volatile and reckless as the modern Parisians, would have had the imprudence to kindle their wrath. Those clearly guilty of insubordination died at once by the lictor's axe. The suspected were dragged before a military tribunal, many were tortured, the noble degraded, the rich beggared. The friends of the victims were speechless and dared only raise their eyes and hands towards heaven. The Forum, where crowds had lounged away the day and lingered far into the night, became like that in a city of the dead. Yet present ills were less than horrible imaginings. It was a general foreboding, that the city was to be razed to the ground, the men crucified, the women enslaved.

After a silence of seven days, Chrysostom harangued a crowd who had flocked into his church, many of them for the first time. His pulpit, as there is some reason to think, was a mere platform like the stage of a theatre. He had seen the wealthiest families wandering homeless, and exclaimed, "How truly is all vanity!" He had seen men put to death for not putting down or resisting the rioters, and asked, "What will become of us if the blood of souls be found in our skirts?" He had marked the impotence of the noblest mother to stay the punishment of her son a moment, and bade his hearers infer what the last judgment must be. Pagan sophists had fled and hid themselves in caves. "Where," he asked, "are the reasoners of this world, who were wont to be so proud of their canes, cloaks and beards?" Monks had come down from the neighboring mountains, had saved the lives of some by their intercessions, and spoken comfortably to more. "After such deeds," he cried, "of those who have appeared like angels from heaven to strengthen you, need we books, sermons and words to prove our faith true?" The aged bishop, in the beginning of the troubles, had hurried to Constantinople to beg mercy for his flock. "Why," asked the preacher, "does he risk his life in this perilous journey? Is it not because his master laid down his life for the sheep?" Theatricals and the sports of the hippodrome had been suppressed. "Shall this," he exclaimed, "be for a lamentation? What are they but fountains of evil and roots of vice?"

But we refrain from multiplying these hints at the topics on which the eloquent preacher insisted. Their spirit evaporates

while we labor to pour them from one language into another. We are well aware that such *disjecta membra* are as useless and as tantalizing, as the bits of foreign wonders which some travellers are at such pains to bring home.

For many days, the fate of Antioch hung in even scale. For well-nigh as many days Chrysostom preached as a dying man to dying men. No occurrence was too trivial for his magic to transfigure into a gem sparkling instruction. The rumors, the panics, the closed shops, the fear of demons, the broken statues which had led to the existing calamities, became each as a thing of life and endowed with the gift of tongues. The stone cried out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answered it.

Chrysostom, though uttering golden words from his lips of gold, was content to remain a plain presbyter of Antioch. He once said, that if he had leisure he would fain go on a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to stand by the ashes of Peter and Paul; yet his heart's choice was to dwell among his own people. When ill health forced him to spend a few days in the country, he came back to his flock nightly in dreams. (Opp. II. 279. c.) Meantime, the arch-bishopric of Constantinople as among the highest offices in the world, whenever it fell vacant, was fought for by a host of candidates with a rage which would have disgraced a political canvass. But the emperor's prime minister, Eutropius, while on a visit at Antioch, had been much captivated with the eloquence of Chrysostom. On this account, upon the decease of the Constantinopolitan prelate in A. D. 398, he secretly persuaded the emperor to appoint the eloquent preacher to fill the vacant diocese. Chrysostom, whom twelve years of labor had so endeared to the Antiochians, that a tumult was feared from any attempt to remove him publicly, was summoned to meet an imperial officer in the suburbs, informed of his promotion, put on the spot into the carriage of a courier, and by a literal abduction hurried away to Constantinople.¹

CHRYSOSTOM AS ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Chrysostom in A. D. 398, on becoming the court-preacher and archbishop of New Rome, as Constantinople was then often styled, became one of the highest dignitaries of Christendom. He was equal in power and authority with the pontiff of Rome,

¹ Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. VIII. 2. Montfaucon, 130.

and perhaps bore the Jewish title of Patriarch.¹ At court, in company, and on all great occasions, he took rank before the four great officers of the state. His eloquence was as much admired in the metropolis as it had been in Antioch, and drew throngs to the churches. Shocks of an earthquake, a flood, the anniversary of Theodosius, and a disinterment of Martin's relics, so called forth and displayed his genius that it was speedily appreciated. He was idolized by the empress Eudoxia who ruled the emperor, and by the imperial minion Eutropius. In such a posture of affairs, he thought he could venture to smite with a high hand the fashionable immoralities, and to commence in earnest an ecclesiastical reform.

He repressed the libertinism to which the prevalence of celibacy had given rise. He forced the lazy clergy to hold meetings on week days, and to keep nocturnal vigils. That he might give more to the poor he retrenched his household expenses, turned off supernumeraries, abolished sinecures, and exhorted the rich and noble of the city to a similar procedure. He attacked heretics of all names, not only in the pulpit, but by bands of street-singers, like the *Chorknaben* in German cities at the present day. He induced many who had long been immured in monasteries to go forth on missions, especially among the Goths. He denounced with all the point and fearlessness of Bridaine at Paris, the prevalent sins of the time, such as greediness of gain, and luxurious expenditures, particularly in dress and equipage.²

All these measures on the part of Chrysostom were doubtless prompted by good motives; yet many steps were rashly taken, if in the absence of other criteria we may judge of them by the events or issues to which they led. His first essays, however, were successful. The so-called consul, Eutropius, who had persuaded the emperor to nominate Chrysostom archbishop, finding him a stern and plain-dealing rebuker of his self-conceit and vices, instead of the serviceable tool he had expected, was alienated from him. He could wound Chrysostom by aiming a blow at ecclesiastical immunities, he therefore procured an imperial edict to abolish the custom which allowed churches to be places of sanctuary for criminals. But, just at that crisis, the garrison of the metropolis mutinying and demanding his death, as the janizaries in the same city have since often demanded the head

¹ See Murdock's *Mosheim*, I. pp. 232, 323.

² See *Hist. Eccles.* by Socrates, L. VI. and Sozomen, L. VIII.

of a Turkish vizier, he was fain himself to make the church his asylum, and was there generously welcomed. The speech with which Chrysostom at the risk of his life pacified the mob, who had burst into the church and were ready to tear the obnoxious refugee from the altar, is eloquence itself. The privilege of the sanctuary was maintained inviolate, although Eutropius soon after, stealing away from the altar, was seized and put to death.¹ Chrysostom next measured his strength with Gainas the Goth. This man who was a commander in the army, being an Arian had left no means untried for inducing the emperor to annul the law, which prohibited the Arians from having a place of worship in the metropolis. He was on the eve of success when in a conference with Chrysostom he was prevailed upon, according to Montfaucon, to desist from his endeavors.² When he afterwards raised a revolt in Thrace, and persecuted the orthodox in the cities he passed through, Theodoret states, (L. V. 32.) that Chrysostom undertook a long and perilous journey and successfully interceded for his suffering friends.

It was soon, however, his ill-fortune to incur the enmity of the empress, who, as she felt that his denunciations of extravagance in dress applied to herself, concluded them to be aimed at her. In that despotic government, to fall under the displeasure of the higher powers was to be hated by a myriad of vassals. He was also assailed by heretics of every name, by the rich whose unscrupulous means of getting gain he had stigmatized, by all on whom his reforms had passed heavily, by the court, ladies whose tricks to conceal their age or ugliness he had exposed, and by all to whom his eloquence was as the piercings of a sword. For a time, however, he stood unshaken. He made a long journey to Ephesus, and called a synod there, at which six or, according to Sozomen, thirteen bishops, being convicted of simony, were deposed. He exercised a similar severity in Nicomedia. On his return to Constantinople, finding that numbers of the country clergy were living luxuriously in that metropolis, he ordered them to leave it, and make their abode each on his own benefice. Among these absentees was Severin, Bishop of Gabala in Syria, who during Chrysostom's absence had supplied his pulpit. This bishop, having abused the confidence reposed in him, and being detected, was silenced by Chrysostom; that is, forbidden to preach in Con-

¹ See Opp. Chrys. III. p. 382. Socr. L. VI. 5. Sozo. L. VIII. 7. Gibbon XXXII. note 30.

² See Socr. 6: 6. Sozo. 8: 4. Montf.

stantinople. Having insinuated himself into court-favor, he retired to Chalcedon only to be recalled by an imperial order, with the forced consent of Chrysostom. A public reconciliation of these antagonists followed. It was sincere to all appearance on the part of Chrysostom, but false and hollow on the side of Severin.

About this time the empress Eudoxia, who had long been stung by Chrysostom's invectives against wasteful pomp, was exasperated even to fury by a letter which he addressed her, to remonstrate against her holding a vineyard which, after letting its owner perish unjustly, she had torn from his widow. From the date of this remonstrance she sought opportunity to ruin her reprover, if it were possible with a show of justice. She did not seek long in vain. Eighty Egyptian monks presented themselves at the palace of Chrysostom, representing that they had been driven from the Egyptian deserts to which they had repaired as hermits, and further, had been forced to flee from Palestine where they had taken refuge, by Theophilus, the archbishop of Alexandria. The real cause of this banishment was, that the monks would not take part in the covetous schemes of Theophilus; the ostensible cause of it was, that they refused to give up reading the works of Origen. It being soon apparent that Theophilus would seek to expel the Egyptian refugees from Constantinople, Chrysostom interposed in their behalf, and wrote more than one conciliatory letter to Theophilus. Origen as an interpreter had been condemned for allegorizing; and his principles of interpretation differed from those of Chrysostom. Yet Chrysostom not only admired his genius, but believed that his error was less pernicious than the dull literalism, which had supplanted it. Accordingly, he favored the study of his works as an antidote against sensualizing tendencies.

No sooner was the mediation of Chrysostom spurned by Theophilus, than he would fain have avoided any interference in a controversy, which he had lost all hope of bringing to an end. But when the monks threw themselves at the feet of the empress, and implored her protection, she gave orders that a synod to examine their complaints should meet at Constantinople under the superintendence of Chrysostom. Her secret purpose was to entangle him in difficulties, and it was not frustrated. There were many classes of men who viewed him with an evil eye, or could be easily prejudiced against him; and all such were rallied and organized by Theophilus who was a master of intrigue. Many

were cut to the heart by his individualizing rebukes of popular vices ; others who like him originated in Syria, envied his elevation above themselves ; some of the inferior clergy thought he had not shown them sufficient courtesy or hospitality ; others charged him with austere exacting too great zeal in their functions ; others, tainted with anthropomorphism, branded all his departures from the dead letter of the Scriptures as heresy.

As soon as the plot was ripe for execution, Theophilus appeared at Constantinople with bribes in both hands. Through his intrigues the synod was convened at the adjacent suburb of Chalcedon instead of at Constantinople, and its first proceedings were the examination of certain charges which he preferred against Chrysostom. Most of these charges are so frivolous as to show, that little ground of complaint against him really existed ; some of them prove him to have been superior to the formalism and superstition of his time. One charge was, that he used too gorgeous and poetical language ; another that he ate alone ; another that he used the warm bath after others, that he did not pray as he entered church, that he administered the sacrament to men who had eaten dinner, that he represented it as never too late to repent, and that he let pagans take sanctuary in the church. Four other charges, which at first sight have a more formidable front, were either calumnious, ill-grounded or exaggerated, namely ; that he had spoken evil of the clergy, exercised authority out of his diocese, excited the people to rebellion, and called the empress Jezabel. The synod at Chalcedon, consisting according to Palladius, Tillemont, etc. of thirty-six bishops, summoned Chrysostom to appear before them and answer to these charges.¹ Although a counter-synod of forty bishops had collected around him, he answered the synod, that he would obey their summons, provided only that three or four of his enemies were excluded from the numbers of his judges. His overture was rejected ; and the synod before which he refused to appear, at the end of fourteen days deposed him from his arch-bishopric and delivered him over to the civil power.

Viewing these proceedings as illegal, not to say unjust, Chrysostom resolved to abide with his people till forced away. He

¹ Photius as quoted by Gibbon (XXXII. note 49.) states the number of bishops in this council to have been *forty-five*. "Tillemont," says Milman, "argues strongly for the number of thirty-six." We may add that Gibbon with characteristic subtlety leaves the impression, *though he does not assert*, that Tillemont advocates what he in fact opposes, the number of forty-five.

first cheered up his brother bishops, who were sinking in despondency, and next addressed the people, who at short intervals for three days crowded his church. He praised their fearless coming together to hear his last words. He bade them be tranquil and cheerful, since nothing could harm him while he was stayed on God, nothing could put him asunder from those with whom God had joined him together; for if disunited in place they were united in love, and even though he were parted from them by death, his soul would not cease to care for them. At length, learning that a band of soldiers had been dispatched to arrest him, he yielded himself into their hands, and was immediately ferried over to the Asiatic shore. But an earthquake, which the same night shook the city, being interpreted by general consent, as the frown of Heaven upon the deposition of Chrysostom, and combining with his popularity to threaten a worse earthquake of popular sedition, constrained the emperor to sign an order for his immediate recall. As he returned to the city, the Bosphorus was almost bridged with boats which were filled with gaily dressed thousands, waving banners, and escorting him back with songs and shouts. Torch-trains awaited and welcomed him at his landing on the European shore. His first intention, which was for good reasons to retire to a country-seat, till a new synod had been convened to annul the decree against him, was overcome by the entreaties or rather by the demands of the populace. Overjoyed at receiving him back, they would not disperse till they had brought him in triumph to his episcopal throne, received his blessing, and listened to an extemporaneous harangue from his lips.¹

The importunities of Chrysostom were unceasing, that the emperor would convoke another synod in order to rescind the decree, in pursuance of which he had been torn from his people; and at length a proclamation for such a synod was issued. But in the mean time he had again fallen out of favor at court. Having inveighed against certain pagan rites, at the erection and dedication of a statue of the empress Eudoxia near his church, which had disturbed his services, he was in consequence reported to have spoken treasonable words. Besides, on the anniversary of the martyrdom of John the Baptist, he is said though probably falsely by Sozomen, L. VIII: 20, and Gibbon, xxxii. note 41, to have begun a sermon thus: "Again Herodias' daughter dances,

¹ See Hist. Eccles. Soc. VI: 7-10, 15-16. Soz. VIII: 9. Palladius, Montfaucon.

rages; demands the head of John." The name of Chrysostom in his life-time being John, and Eudoxia resembling in more than one point the daughter of Herodias, an exordium like this would have been fatal to any man. Whether such a sermon was preached or not, the synod which soon assembled, being creatures of the court, compliant to its bidding, decreed the deposition of Chrysostom. The pretext for the deposition was simply this: he had returned at the emperor's order to the exercise of his archiepiscopal functions. But he thus transgressed a church-law, that no deposed arch-bishop could be reinstated except by a vote of a new and larger synod than that by which he had been deposed, and that whoever acted as arch-bishop before being so reinstated, was *ipso facto* deposed forever. Chrysostom refused to submit voluntarily to this sentence, since the law by which he was judged had been enacted only by an Arian synod. Declaring as before, that he would yield only to force, he continued to hold meetings. On one occasion three thousand persons presented themselves for baptism, but in the midst of the rites the assembly was assailed and dispersed with violence and bloodshed, by a military detachment. A man of doubtful sanity, who about this time attempted Chrysostom's life, was saved from torture only by the arch-bishop's intercession. When a few days afterwards he received an express order from the emperor to leave the archiepiscopal palace, he made a parting speech to the deaconesses in his baptistery and to his ecclesiastics in his vestry, bidding them all be subject to his successor, and thanking them for their having seconded all his plans. The mule on which he used to ride had been previously prepared for him at the door of the church, but seeing a multitude assembled there, and fearing a tumult, he passed out by a private passage, and delivered himself to a police officer. He was immediately put on board a caique, and transported across the Hellespont. The time was the twentieth of June, A. D. 404, when this candlestick of a burning and shining light was removed out of its place in the midst of a people, who declared his ceasing to preach, a worse calamity than if the sun were cast down from heaven.

CHRYSOSTOM IN EXILE.

Ill health detained Chrysostom several weeks in Bithynia; but he was conveyed into the heart of Asia Minor as soon as possible, while the place to which he should be banished was not yet de-

terminated. He made efforts to get an agreeable place of residence vouchsafed him, but after long suspense was ordered to live in Cucusus. This city was seventy day's journey distant, perched on a bleak ridge of mount Taurus, and infested by barbarian inroads. His journey thither was in the heat of summer and full of danger from predatory Isaurians; he was deprived of the comforts which habit and his infirmities had made necessities; he was several times detained by sickness, and as often mal-treated by Christians who had learned from his maligners to think him worse than an infidel. Upon arriving at Cucusus he was harassed by an illness resulting from the fatigues and privations of his journey; he had no good physician or medicine; his house was incurably smoky or cold; he could not bathe or get exercise; and as if that no variety of affliction might be wanting, a contagious disease broke out in the city. When his health became better, he found himself cut off from the world, since the couriers were killed by the barbarians or perished in the snow. Cucusus was always exposed to the incursions of nomadic tribes, and in consequence he lived in perpetual alarm, and was often obliged to seek safety in flight.

Yet he was not long in devising, or supine in executing schemes of usefulness. He wrote and despatched several hundred letters, of which two hundred and forty-two are still extant, to all parts of the world. Some were to his brother bishops, especially those of Italy, requesting their intercession for the termination of his banishment, or the re-judging of his case. Some were to the missionaries, whom even in exile he joined with his enemies in sending among the Goths and Persians. Some were to his partisans at Constantinople, styled Johannists, who, as his church had been burned on the day of his banishment, were falsely accused of having set it on fire. Others were to early friends, to those who ministered to him of their substance in his bonds, to his flock at Antioch which was in his vicinity, and to his followers who were persecuted for their adherence to him. In many of them the value and the frequent needfulness of suffering, as a discipline of virtue, are portrayed with surprising power and liveliness. How undaunted his own spirit remained will appear, from the following passage in his correspondence, which is a specimen of a hundred others:—"When driven from the city, I cared nothing for it. But I said to myself, if the empress wishes to banish me let her banish me; the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. If she would saw me in sunder, let her saw me in sunder;—I have

Isaiah for a pattern. If she would plunge me in the sea; I remember Jonah. If she would thrust me into the fiery furnace; I see the three children enduring that. If she would cast me to wild beasts; I call to mind Daniel in the den of lions. If she would stone me, let her stone me; I have before me Stephen the proto-martyr. If she would take my head from me, let her take it;—I have John the Baptist. If she would deprive me of my worldly goods, let her do it; naked came I from my mother's womb and naked shall I return. An apostle has told me, "God respecteth not man's person," and "if I yet pleased men I should not be the servant of Christ."¹ Even Gibbon cannot refrain from remarking that these epistles "show a firmness of mind much superior to that of Cicero in his exile," xxxii. note 54.

The influence of Chrysostom by means of his letters, of the numbers who made pilgrimages to visit him, and of the sympathy which his sufferings everywhere excited, was not only as powerful as salutary, but roused again the wrath of his implacable foes. The Roman patriarch, Innocent I., indeed, renounced communion with the Eastern churches, and the emperor of the West, Honorius, wrote more than once, interceding and demanding an oecumenical council on his behalf; but their distant and procrastinated interposition came too late. Early in the summer of the year A. D. 407, in the sixtieth year of his age, he was forced to set out on foot for a new place of exile, called Pytius, upon the Euxine Sea, "the last frontier of the Roman world." His journey was intended to be as long as the whole breadth of Asia Minor. He had to cross alternately snowy heights and parched plains, and to traverse regions where the comforts of civilization were unknown even by name. The soldiers who had him in charge, had been promised promotion if he died on the road. One of his conductors secretly showed him not a little kindness, but they all agreed that their orders obliged them to make all possible haste. Their leader hurried away from every place where Chrysostom would fain refresh himself by a bath, paid no attention to the entreaties of those he met, that he would deal gently with his captive, and took a fiendish delight when he saw the bald head of his victim exposed to rain and mid-day suns. This pilgrimage had already, according to Palladius, lasted three months, when the soldiers finding their prisoner unable to proceed, were one day obliged to return to a hamlet at the tomb of a martyr where they had lodged the night before. The spot was

¹ See a similar sentiment, Opp. Chrys. IV. p. 422.

near the city of Comana, in Pontus, and well-nigh the same place where, fourteen hundred years afterwards, Henry Martyn was to welcome death in circumstances not altogether dissimilar. The time was the fourteenth of September, A. D. 407. Then and there this much enduring servant of Christ, having been, in conformity to the customs of the time, dressed in white robes, and uttering for the last time his favorite motto, *δέξα τῷ θεῷ πάντας ἰσχυάς*, closed his eyes in the sleep of death. Thus vanished from the firmament the evening star of spiritual Christianity, while so dark a night ensued that popery was hailed at its first appearance as an auroral radiance.¹

His remains were at first interred near the place of his death. Thirty-one years afterwards, they were transferred to Constantinople, with almost as much *eclat* as marked the recent removal of Napoleon's ashes from St. Helena to Paris. The young emperor Theodosius kissed the coffin, and prayed for his parents that the manes of the saint would forgive them, and accept these late honors as the only possible atonement for his sufferings at their hands. At a later period, the bones of Chrysostom were carried as relics to Rome, and about two centuries ago, were deposited by Pope Urban VIII. in their present resting-place, within the walls of St. Peter's.²

The *dénouement* of no tragedy is more moving than the corruptions of Christianity, which, reared from seeds sown long before, were ripening during the era of Chrysostom. In tracing the progress of such corruptions, it is natural for us to be most affected by the lives of individuals; even as our feelings are most enlisted in the prowess and fate, not of masses, but of single heroes in the battles of the Iliad. The life we have now sketched, showing certain truths not in the abstract but incarnated and in action, is adapted to give them such a lodgment in our memories and hearts, that they shall affect not only our principles but our conversation and conduct. One of the lessons which may thus entrench themselves, seems to be, that prelacy, Erastianism, and cumbrous ceremonies, even in the first century of their prevalence, showed themselves to be parent-principles of evil. Besides contributing to a neglect of the Scriptures, formalism, hypocrisy, venality, and heathenism masked by specious names, they entangled Christianity with political strife, drove Chrysostom from his sphere of usefulness, and compassed his death. If such was

¹ See Pallad. Socra. 6: 21. Sozo. 8: 28.

² See Bunsen, Besch. der Stadt. Rom, I. 2. S. 190. Montfaucon, p. 177.

their influence, in their first days of comparative innocence, while Chrysostom and others of like character, by preaching, writing, authority as church rulers, example and martyrdom, labored to keep them from perversion ; what things deserve to be denounced as of more dangerous tendency ?

If we have a spark of piety, the life we have passed in review may fan it to a flame. If Chrysostom, clogged by the impediments we have just noticed, sent forth missionaries even from his place of banishment, and what is more from hermitages, what is our duty ? If, when cast down from the second station in the civilized world lower than any slave, he still cried, " Glory to God for all," how shall we bear our light afflictions ? He rejoiced in full assurance, that no labors for the gospel will prove in vain, although as he lay down to die the aim of his life seemed frustrated, and if his eye had been prophetic he might have seen his church turned into the mosque of St. Sophia. Our assurance should be doubly sure, since we have not only seen the reaction in his favor which soon followed his death, but may survey his posthumous power, preaching during fourteen centuries, and still unexhausted.

His letters were early collected ; his harangues which he never thought of committing to writing were penned down by admiring disciples ; his tragical end gave immortality to many of his works, which might otherwise have been ephemeral. In the ninth century, the only book in the famous monastery of Iona was one by Chrysostom. Portions of his sermons, according to Cave, were translated into Arabic. In A. D. 1470, very soon after the invention of printing, his collected writings appeared in a Latin translation at Rome. Several other editions of his complete works have since appeared, as that of Saville,¹ (Etonæ 1610—12), and the editio optima by Montfaucon, (Paris 1718—38). Each of these editions was enriched by not a few discourses, which had not been known to be extant by previous editors. The editions and translations of portions from his tomes, comprised in volumes to be held in the hand and read by the fire, which after all, as Johnson remarks, are those that change the face of the world, have been almost without number. The exposition of Galatians was interpreted into Latin by Erasmus. One of his treatises was publish-

¹ The expense of this edition, which was equivalent to \$130,000 at the present day, was defrayed by Saville alone. " This, says Hallam, " was the first work of learning on a great scale, published in England." *Introd. to Lit. of Eng. III. p. 11.*

ed at London in 1542, with the title, "*That no man is hurted but of hymselfe*;" which, no doubt nerved the heart of many a martyr under the bloody Mary. Another appeared at the same place in A. D. 1553, entitled, *The restitution of a Sinner chiefly made against Desperacyon*. Another treatise, that addressed to Theodore, published in A. D. 1654, was translated by Lord Viscount Grandison, prisoner in the Tower. Another, called "*The golden book*" from the hand of Evylin, appeared in 1659. The first English version of the books *On the Priesthood*, was printed in A. D. 1728. But these are mere specimens of what was published from his works in those times. His influence is most conspicuous in the last prayer of the Litany endearing him to every churchman, in his interpretations studding here and there a hundred commentaries, and in his select sentences transplanted not only into Barrow and Jeremy Taylor, but into Baxter and Flavel. Pope assigns to even the *petit-maitre* clergyman of his day, "A Chrysostom to smooth his band in."

On the continent his posthumous influence is still more clearly attested. Some evidences of it are these: the lives of him by Erasmus, Tillemont, M. Hermant, Montfaucon, Neander, and Schroeckh; the essay on his eloquence by Rosenmüller; the antagonist polemics, *Chrysostomus Catholicus*, and *Chrysostomus Lutheranus*; ¹ "the Russian clergy" says Pinkerton "are proud of having learned eloquence in the school of Chrysostom;" ² and the plan of publishing an Italian edition of his writings, including several newly discovered works, under the supervision of the best patristic scholars, though now interrupted, is by no means abandoned. ³

A favorite project of the late President Porter, was to publish a volume of selections translated from Chrysostom. He had organized a club of students for this purpose, and not a few sermons had been translated, before the failure of his health with other untoward events frustrated his design. Yet our hopes are sanguine, not only that a similar scheme will be executed, but that among other causes the pretensions of prelacy and Puseyism will more and more lead our scholars to study, and in due time to publish the works of that "old man eloquent," whose life we have now endeavored to sketch.

¹ Fabricius VII. 560.

² Pinkerton's Russia, 1833.

³ Foreign Quarterly Review Oct. 1842.

ARTICLE IV.

INTERPRETATION OF THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA: *Βαπτίζεις τινὰ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.*
 MATT. 28. 19.

By Dr. H. E. Bindseil, Halle. Translated from the "Studien und Kritiken," 1832, by Rev. Henry B. Smith, West Amesbury, Mass.

THE expression, *Βαπτίζεις τινὰ εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τινος*, in Matt. 28: 19, seems to require a more exact investigation, than it has yet received. Many understand it as meaning, that the baptism imposes the obligation of reverencing those, in whose name the individual may be baptized. Others interpret it by the phrase, to baptize into the confession of faith in some one. Our own view is that *ὄνομα* is here to be understood in its original signification, and the whole expression to be interpreted, by means of baptism to give to one the name of another: that is, by baptism one is named after another. This is the interpretation of Clericus in his *Animadv. in Hammondi Annot.* Vitringa, in his *Observatt. Sacr. T. I. l. iii. c. 22. § 2*, cites his arguments, and endeavors to refute them. Clericus relies, with justice, upon 1 Cor. 1: 12, 13; and upon the rabbinical expression *על לשם*. In 1 Cor. 1: 12, 13, Paul speaks thus: "*Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?*" From this it is clear, that the baptized person was accustomed to take the name of him, in whose name he was baptized. If this were not so, how could Paul, from the fact that some called themselves *Paulinists*, have any fear, that it might thence be inferred, that he had baptized them in his own name?

The rabbinical phrase, *על לשם* likewise confirms the same interpretation; for this signifies, to baptize, and by this means to affix a name. For example, *לשם עבדות*, to the name of servitude; *לשם בן חורין*, to the name of the son of free parents; *לשם גירום*, to the name of proselytism;¹ so that the baptized person was called

¹ The word *מגיר*, which is not to be found in Buxtorf's *Lex. Chald. Talm. Rabb.*, is derived, according to the analogy of *עצרת*, from *גר*, stranger, proselyte; and defines the condition of a proselyte, that is, proselytism: just as *עבדות* denotes the condition of the *עבד*, that is, servitude.

a slave; the son of free parents, a proselyte. The circumstance, that he, who, e. g. מִן־עַבְדֵי־לֵוִי by baptism had received the name of a slave, is at the same time actually a slave, can by no means be a proof, as Vitringa, in the passage above quoted, asserts, that the proper signification of the phrase is, that the person is a slave. Wherever this is actually the case, it must always be inferred from the connection, but is not included in the literal signification of the words.

From this it is evident that the words, *Βαπτίζουσιν τινα εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, literally mean, to baptize some one, and thus to bring him to the reception of the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; or, by means of baptism to effect, that a person be called after the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. In the Scriptures, baptized persons are actually so called, by the name of each one of the three persons of the Godhead. They are called *υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *δοῦλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and *πνευματικοί*. These expressions designate the closest connexion of the parties; of son and God; of servant and Christ; of the spiritual and the Spirit.

We are now to inquire, what is meant by this bestowal of a new name.

1. He, that receives the name, is thus declared to be subject to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For the giving a name, is a sign of the subordination of the party that receives it, and of the supremacy of the party that confers it. Many examples of this are to be found in the Orient, as well as among the Greeks and Romans. Pharaoh gave to Joseph another name, Zaphnath-paaneah (Gen. 41: 45); or, as Michaelis assumes, Photonpanech. When Pharaoh-nechoh made Eliakim king of Judah, he "turned his name to Jehoiakim." (2 Kings 23: 34 and 2 Chron. 36: 4. Comp. the commentary of Clericus on the passage). In the same way, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, when he made Mattaniah king of Judah, changed his name to Zedekiah, (2 Kings 24: 17). The prince of the eunuchs, in the name of his king, gave to Daniel the name of Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach; and to Mishael, of Meshach; and to Azariah, of Abednego, (Dan. 1: 7). In the same way, Zorobabel, in his exile at the Babylonian court, received the name of Sheshbazzar, (Ezra 1: 8), in token of his subjection. Paulsen in his work upon the governments of the Oriental nations confirms this position; "the giving and change of names has been always regarded as a sign of supremacy; and in the East is still so regarded," (p. 79).

He cites the following example, (p. 64. No. xxii.); "the East-Indian princes give new names to those elevated to a higher rank. This occurs in other Oriental kingdoms, as in Siam; where the king gives new names, not only to his officers and to the Mandarins, but even to his elephants."

Among the Romans, it was formerly the custom for the slaves to have the prænomen of their masters; e. g. Marcipores, Lucipores, Publipores, (derived from Marci, Lucii, Publii pueri,); vide Adam's Roman Antiquities, Part I pp. 72, 76. Even after they were manumitted, they took a prænomen and the name of their master, to which they appended their own name as an agnomen. The freedman of Marcus Tullius Cicero called himself Marcus Tullius Tiro. Those who received Roman citizenship, often took the name of the friend who assisted them in obtaining this right.

As those who were subject to worldly masters received other names, in sign of their subjection; so, for like reasons, the worshippers of a god assumed the name of the god. To this class belong those frequently occurring names of persons among the Hebrews, Syrians, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, which either consist wholly of the names of their gods, or are composed of these with the annexation of a word (e. g. *עֲבֵד*) denoting their subjection to these divinities. Vide Simonis Onomasticon, V. T. Sect. x. cap. 4. § 6. Comp. his Onomast. N. T. § 17. In respect to the Syrians, Grotius upon Zach. 12: 11, gives the evidence of this custom. D'Herbelot cites examples among the Persians, in his Oriental Biblioth. Th. I. S. 529, under the word, Baharam. Many similar instances are adduced by Gesenius, in his Commentary on Isaiah, 7: 6, and in his History of the Hebrew language, p. 225.

2. We are now to show that the bestowal of a new name, was also often the sign of an elevation in dignity; although, the idea of subjection on the part of the one who was exalted, and of supremacy, on the part of the one who gave the exaltation, was always included therein. The examples we have cited for our first position, confirm this also. The change of Joseph's name occurred, when Pharaoh had placed him over all Egypt, (Gen. 41: 40—45). Eliakim and Mattaniah were promoted to a higher rank in conjunction with the change of their names, (2 Kings 23: 34, 2 Chron. 36: 4, and 2 Kings 24: 17). Zorobabel, (Ezra 1: 8), also received his new name, Sheshbazzar, when he was appointed

prince of Judah. This may be inferred from the above examples, and from Ezra 5: 14. Thus, too, with the giving of names in Daniel 1: 7. Comp. 4: 5. These examples show us why God changed the names of Abram and Sarai, (Gen. 17: 5), and afterwards of Jacob (Gen. 32: 28). While God thus gave them to see his supremacy, he elevated them, in conjunction with the change of name, to a higher dignity, which was connected with great promises. Even now, the same custom is observed in Oriental nations. When an East Indian prince exalts one who has pleased him, to a higher grade of honor, and esteems him worthy of greater trust, he gives him a new name. Vide Paulsen, as above quoted, B. I. Hauptst. II. No. xxii. S. 64. And Oriental kings, even when not subject to any higher ruler, from whom they might receive a new name, yet give themselves one at their coronation. Even in Occidental nations, this is not unfrequently the case, at the accession to the throne. Examples of this Oriental custom may be found in Paulsen, as above, No. xxi. S. 64, and § 17. S. 79; especially Anm. 44, and in Harmer's Beobachtungen über den Orient. Th. III. Anm. lvi. S. 370. Hence, in the East, to receive a new name, or to give one's self a new name, means the same as, to arrive at a higher dignity, to enjoy a more fortunate position. Hence the expression in Isaiah 65: 16, "*call his servants by another name*," is to be interpreted with Gesenius, in his Commentary on the passage, *to be happy, to be blessed*. Another instance is in Isa. 62: 2: "*Thou shalt be called by a new name which the mouth of Jehovah shall name*." The addition, "*which the mouth of Jehovah shall name*," shows, according to what we have said, that it is God, who elevates to this higher dignity, and transfers to this more fortunate position; but it also shows, that He is their Lord, who does this of his own good pleasure. Both these points are clearly brought out in Philip. 2: 9—11: "*Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: That at the name of Jesus*," etc. The words, "*God hath highly exalted him*," give the ground of the addition of the new name. At the same time, the dependence of Jesus upon the Father, is here declared, since it is the Father who has exalted him and given him the new name. Thus in Rev. 2: 17, *ἐρως νέου*, the new name, written in the white stone, which is given to him, who has overcome the evil of the world and remained true to the doctrine of Christ, is the sign of a new dignity, in virtue of which, the receiver of the name, attains to the king-

dom of heaven. Comp. Rev. 3: 12, 21. 1: 6. This new name and this new dignity, they receive from Christ; by which it is, at the same time, intimated that they will ever remain dependent upon him. Hence, the designation of Christians, as *Kings*, (*Βασιλεῖς*, Rev. 1: 6), agrees well with their designation, as *servants*, *δούλοι*. The highest officer in the Orient, rules, as a king, over those subject to him; but yet, ever remains the servant of his master. From these passages it is clear, how the word, name, can be used as exactly synonymous with, dignity.

Applying all this to the passage in Matt. 28: 19, we obtain the result, that, *Βαπτίζειν τινὰ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, means; to baptize one, and thus to give to him the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and to declare, that by receiving this name, 1. he acknowledges his subjection to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; but 2. also, that with this new name, he is at the same time elevated to a higher dignity, since he has come into a closer alliance with the Godhead.

Vitringa brings another objection to this interpretation, besides the one already mentioned; viz. that Christians are never elsewhere called by these three names, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in immediate succession. But this proves nothing against the interpretation. What object could there be in making use of this three-fold designation, on any other occasion than baptism. It was necessary in baptism, that the baptized person, in this solemn act of consecration, might hear his new name in full, and thus be reminded of all the duties and promises included in these names. Thus it always is, when any one is to be greeted or treated in the most solemn manner, his whole name or dignity is alluded to or announced. Of such allusion, there are examples in the Revelation of John. When the Godhead is solemnly worshipped, seven words of worship are used, on account of the seven attributes and works of God, e. g. Rev. 7: 12. See Eichhorn's Bibliothek der bibl. Litt. Th. III S. 203. The whole name is used in Matt. 16: 17, in the solemn address of Jesus to Peter, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona!" And it is worthy of notice, that when one receives a new name, it is communicated in full to him as well as to others; but afterwards, when the person is to be addressed, in conformity with his ordinary circumstances and position, if he has several names, that one of them is usually selected, which in a sense includes the others. This is particularly applicable to the three names of Christians. Each one of

them can be perfectly well used for all three : since no one of them can be given to him, to whom all three do not belong ; for that which is designated by each of them, has the closest affinity with what is denoted by the others.

ARTICLE V.

THE COLLOCATION OF WORDS IN THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES, EXAMINED IN RELATION TO THE LAWS OF THOUGHT.

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It has been common with those who have written on the nature of language to assert, that words are purely arbitrary signs of thought, that they have no natural relation with the things they signify, and that their propriety as expressions of thought is entirely the result of convention.

This assertion, if it is regarded only as a popular and general statement, may perhaps pass without criticism. It serves, with sufficient distinctness to separate the language of words from the language of signs, and of passionate cries. In a strict and scientific view, however, it cannot be regarded as any part of the definition of artificial language. To say, as is sometimes said in defence of this position, that the sound of a word has no resemblance to the object, or the thought, which it may be appropriated to express, amounts to nothing ; for sounds have resemblance to nothing but sounds ; and if this can prove their use in every sense arbitrary when applied to express other things than sounds, the argument would be equally valid against every sign in the whole range of natural language. The paleness of fear, the burning flush of insulted honor, the cold averted look, and the gently inclined attitude betokening invitation, would all be arbitrary signs, for they are not like the things they signify. In this way would all the objects in the realm of creation, that differ from each other, become isolated ; and nature herself would no longer be one. Her domain would no longer be pervaded by a common spirit, but would be rather a *hortus siccus*, from which the common life had fled, and each thing was there for itself

alone. The position of which we are speaking, that language is purely arbitrary, would, if carried out rigorously to its results, evacuate all scientific inquiry of its significancy and its hope. It would be equally fatal to the arts which invite and reward the imagination. But these thoughts we cannot develop in this place.

If we examine analytically the point before us, we readily perceive the important limitation with which we must receive the popular statement, that language, in its materials and its structure, is an arbitrary invention.

It is not necessary here to entertain the inquiry whether language is a special gift from God, given to man in its perfected form, or is a product of man's inventive powers. The answer, whichever way it should be given, would not materially affect the present discussion. We shall speak of it, however, only in the latter of the two views, as a product of the human mind. Notwithstanding the imposing names of some of the advocates of the contrary hypothesis, they generally appear under the disadvantage of being possessed by some preconceived theory, necessitating them to their conclusions. Most unbiased inquirers will probably accept, as their own creed on this point, the plain and racy saying of Herder, that "God gave men faculties, and left them to find out language by the use of them."

If language then is the product of mind, we may expect to find in it the impress of mind, wherever such a trace is possible. It will be obvious that the most ready source of finding what we here seek, will be in the words which are employed to designate sound, for here is the possibility of more or less actual resemblance between the word and the thing it signifies. The illustrations here are too trite to justify dwelling on them at any length. We may say, however, even at the risk of repeating what is well known, that the comparison of such words as *slap* and *slam*, of *hit* and *hiss*, of *rattle* and *roar*, will show that, when the sound ends suddenly, the word employs a smooth mute, and when the sound is prolonged, the word expressing it employs a liquid.

To pass to a less obvious illustration, why do almost all languages employ, for a child's first expressions of endearment to its parent, words whose consonants are labials, or the lingual *t* or *d*; why but because these organs, the tongue and lips, have, by the appointment of nature, been called into use from the first day of the infant's life?

We might mention, as illustrations of this point, the fact that the simple past tense in most languages differs from the imperfect in the precise particular in which the action, as they respectively represent it, differs; the former employing a short, the latter an expanded form; that the past participle tends to take a mute for its final letter, while the present, indicating continuance of the action, closes with a liquid or nasal sound. We mention these only as examples, and not as a complete enumeration of the illustrations the subject affords. They might be extended indefinitely, showing the mind's adaptive power in the whole process of forming language. In the lexicons of different languages, the class of words in which a given letter performs the same office will be found to have a common idea at the basis, underlying the various significations which the catalogue presents. Let us not be here misunderstood. There has no doubt been misdirected effort on the science of philology. The subject has intrinsic difficulties; from the impossibility of having a fixed standard by which to compare the fleeting sounds of words in different ages, from organic peculiarities in different nations, from the influence of prescription; and, were all these difficulties removed, there would still remain the fact, that language, like every other instrument, is but an imperfect means for the accomplishment of its end.

But obstacles scarcely less formidable than these lie in every path of historical inquiry. And even science exhibits the failures and errors of its votaries, as one of the elements of its progress. Philology is not more remarkable for the misdirected labor of its cultivators than is the science of chemistry. The one has united nations of men; it remains for the other to unite the kingdoms of nature.

In objecting to the position here assumed, that language in its last analysis is a natural expression of thought, it is not enough to present words in which no trace of their natural fitness to the thoughts they express can be discovered. The objector is bound to maintain, that words, in whose very form there is a manifest fitness to the thing they express, cannot be adduced in sufficient number to make it unreasonable to regard the fact as purely accidental. Will he then compare the words *lead* and *smile*, and say here is no adaptedness, or only an accidental one, of the word to the thought. Is the liquid flow breathed into one without any vital sympathy with the mind that is filled with the thought;

and is the sharp tension of the organs which give utterance to the other anything else but part and parcel of the feeling which clenches the hand and hardens the muscles for the blow? Have the words *soothe* and *gripe* no natural meaning at all of their own, aside from arbitrary convention? Does not the word *soothe* actually soothe, once and always, when spoken? and would the word *gripe* be a happy one to tell you how the mother smooths the pillow for the fevered child, charms away its pains, and lulls its weary heart to rest? Or does all the specific virtue there is in these words depend on convention, and, to support their claim, must they appeal to the record made for them in the respectable octavo dictionary? Words like the above are in truth the vocal embodiment of the thought for which they stand. They are fresh coins from the mint of the soul.

To deny the conclusion to which these indications would naturally lead us, because there are comparatively few words whose very sound seems thus instinct with their meaning, would be to forget the limitation to which, on a subject like that of language, we must necessarily be subjected. It would be more unreasonable than it would be to deny, when looking on the play of the ocean's billows, that the minute ripples that run athwart, and dance over the larger waves are the index of law, and the result of definite and exact forces.

The word that comes into the critic's hands for examination may be an ancient coin stamped in the earliest days. It has come down through eras of history, and, in its long service, the traces of its first impression have been worn quite away. So the real piece of coin with which you traffic, may by long use have lost all trace of the pillars, that are so useful in distinguishing it from the smaller coin, which it so much resembles. Yet this search for the pillars is thought to reward the closest scrutiny, if one may judge from the interest which it is sometimes seen to awaken. And we say further, that when found these marks on the coin have a value for other ends than those of traffic. These mementos of a Spanish monarch's power and aims, carry the enquiring mind back to former ages; and when interpreted, they open to his view a wide vista in the history of geography, of the political changes of Europe, and the civilization of the modern world.

If, then, language be a living product, and not a mechanical contrivance, we may expect to trace its relation with the laws of

mind in its structure and arrangement, not less than in its materials. It is the object of this essay to investigate the principles of collocation in reference to the Latin and the Greek.

These languages are selected for obvious reasons. For though the principles of collocation will be found, on a close analysis, to be essentially the same in all, yet in most other languages the application of them is restrained within the narrowest limits by the fixed form of the words, which are to a great extent indeclinable. An exception to this remark may be made in reference to the German. The Latin and Greek, however, were formed under the influence of the free spirit of art, seeking, as by instinct, the most varied and expressive forms of arrangement, and at the same time, by their full declension, removing the obstacles which in other languages obstruct the realization of this aim. The subject before us may, then, most fitly be discussed in reference to the two languages above named, since it is here alone that the principles of arrangement can be seen in their free development. We may be permitted to add also, that, as the Latin and Greek form the first and chief subjects for philological study in our system of liberal education, there may be a practical value to instructors and students in whatever may be appropriately said in the analysis we propose.

The leading fact that meets us, on comparing these languages with the modern, is the inversion of phrases and periods, placing them in an order, the opposite of modern usage, called the unnatural or artificial order. The question is, Is this order unnatural? Is it in violation of the laws of thought, or is it in conformity with them? In the first place, it would be not a little strange that languages, possessing, by their copious inflections, the power of adopting any arrangement whatever, should in fact have adopted one which violates, instead of conforming to, the natural laws of the thoughts they express. We should *a priori* conclude, that the most exact conformity to the thought would be expressed by languages which possessed the most varied powers of collocation, while it would be left for those languages which, by the inflexibility of their forms, have but a very limited power in this respect, to exhibit a defective arrangement.

In assuming that such is the fact, it is not necessary to claim for the Latin and the Greek an entire freedom from defect in this particular. No language is perfect; and allowance must be made, in discussing this topic, for the defects of the languages under review. A badly arranged phrase will sometimes escape a clas-

sic author; it will be taken up and repeated; pass into use, and thus become the "*jus et norma loquendi*." The whole literature of a language is in fact a record of adjudged cases respecting the use of words. The last will show, as do the highest prized records of law-courts, occasional deviations from the requisitions of perfect law. But it is not an unworthy pursuit in either case to discover the universal idea under the various forms, which, with more or less complete approximation, exhaust it. To do this fully in the case of any language, would be to write a Blackstone's Commentaries on the common law of the language.

The grammars of the Latin and of the Greek, have different degrees of merit, in regard to the topic now under review. In most of them whatever is said, is in the form of mere mechanical rules, without so much as the suggestion, that there is any mental law concerned in determining the arrangement. In some of the later grammars a better method has been adopted. In none, however, has the analysis been conducted with strict reference to the logic of the thought; and some important facts have been omitted, which are necessary to even a complete formal statement.

But we do not design to dwell on what others have not done. We propose to exhibit what we regard as the leading principles on the subject, with some rules and examples deduced from them.

A sentence, like a discourse, may be regarded in two points of view; either as designed to communicate mere thoughts; or, to utter with impressive emphasis such as are already in the mind, or are so familiar as to be awakened by a slight suggestion. These ends may indeed be both combined in a sentence, as in a discourse; but it will generally be found that the one or the other predominates. It is from an examination of a sentence with reference to these aims, that the principles which govern the collocation of its words must be discovered. So far as the end to be gained in a sentence, is the statement of new thought, the general principle of collocation is perhaps best expressed in the adage quoted by Campbell,¹ "Nearest the heart, nearest the mouth." The word forming the key to the thought, essential to connecting the thought with what goes before, must take an early position in the sentence.

When, however, the design is to give impressive utterance to thoughts already suggested, we remark two things. First, just in

¹ Rhetoric.

proportion as the general thought, of which the sentence under the writer's hand is a particular expression, has been suggested by the previous discourse, so that the reader or hearer may anticipate it, in that proportion may the particular word expressing it be postponed without loss to the clearness of the thought. Secondly, when it is designed to give the most effective expression to a thought already anticipated, it is not only admissible, but it is requisite, that the word or phrase, expressing this thought, be if possible the last to fill the ear. This is an indispensable requisite for impressive speaking, as necessary in a sentence as in a discourse. This law is obeyed by every rhetorician, consciously or unconsciously. The reasons on which it rests, are not difficult to understand; and we will state them, though we may have occasion to recur to them, and perhaps repeat them in another place. By postponing to the last the word designed to give strong utterance to a thought, already in some general form in the mind, opportunity is given to introduce, first, every explanatory idea, so that when the chief stroke is given, the whole ideal picture shall stand instantly complete before the mind. Further, by postponing the effective word to the last, the imagination is aroused, and kindles as the sentence progresses towards the culminating point. Finally, by having the expectation awakened, there is the possibility of an additional pleasure, when this executed expectation shall be satisfied, or surpassed by the happily chosen word which the author may select to close the period. This word is the peroration of the sentence.

Hence, we see there are two vital points in a sentence, the opening and the close; the first, the emphasis of thought; the second, the emphasis of feeling; and thought and feeling gather on these two points, like the opposing forces on the poles of a magnet.

From these leading statements, a few definite rules may be deduced, and illustrated by reference to the classic authors. These rules will relate first, to the relative position of the leading parts of a sentence—the subject, verb, and object; and then, to the position of each of them separately, in relation to the words which limit or modify them.

RULE I. The word most important for connecting the thought with what precedes, requires the earliest possible position.

This rule, it will be observed, regards sentences not as isolated expressions but as parts of a whole. This is regarded as an essential consideration. It has been common to give rules on this

subject, as if sentences were independent of each other. In this way, they can no more be fully understood, than men can be fully understood by studying them merely as individuals. It is but a counterpart of this rule, directly deducible from it, that words not essential to connecting the thought with what precedes may be postponed, and occupy a later position.

The most common illustration of this rule is when the subject precedes the verb, as it does in all languages in the simplest form of unexcited narrative. Passing by instances of this form of arrangement as too common to require specification, we come to sentences in which the verb precedes the subject.

Cic. in Cat. I. 2. *Decrevit* quondam Senatus ut L. Opimius consul videret, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet; nox nulla intercessit; *interfectus est* propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus; *occisus est* cum liberis M. Fulvius, consularis.

These examples from history are adduced to prove that the decree of the senate would be a sufficient warrant for the consuls, should they put Catiline to death. The connexion is between the idea of the decree and of the punishment. In the first sentence, the verb precedes the subject, because the orator had just spoken of a recent act of the senate; the general idea was already in the hearers' minds; he now speaks of a former act of that same senate, *decrevit* quondam; here the act is qualified, while the subject is unchanged. Hence the emphatic particular is the action, not the subject.

In the clause following, *interfectus est*, et cet., the object is to represent the punishment of death as following inevitably and quickly on the decree. The *person* who suffered death was of no importance to the argument; and moreover was well known to the hearers. The same reason controls the arrangement of the final clause, *occisus est*, et cet. So, "fuit, fuit, ista quondam in hac republica virtus," placing the emphasis on the assertion of the fact. So, Pro Lege Man. 13: Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris.

The same law of arrangement will be found to prevail in the Greek. Xen. Anab. 1. 1. 3: *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος*.—Here the verb is placed before the subject, because the latter is already in the reader's mind. Darius had just been spoken of as sick. This renders the new verb applied to the same subject, emphatic. Anab. 1. 1. 6: *τότε δ' ἀπεσπένεσαν πρὸς Κῆρον πᾶσαι, πλὴν Μιλήτου*. The preceding statement is, "The Ionian cities belonged to Tis-

saphernes formerly, having been given him by the king." The verb *ἀφιστήμιασαν*, is placed before the subject to bring their present state of revolt into distinct contrast with their former condition. The subject—cities—having just been mentioned, was already present to the mind. So Plat. Phaed. 1: *Τί οὖν δὴ ἴστω ἅπαντα εἶπαι ὁ ἀνὴρ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου.* "What said the man before his death." Every reader feels how exactly this arrangement fits the form of the thought.

The examples above given exhibit the verb preceding the subject. Not unfrequently the object precedes both verb and subject. We do not here allude to the commonly recognized case of inversion in which the finite verb closes the sentence. The majority of such cases follow a different law, as will be seen in its place. The case now in hand brings forward the object for the purpose of distinctive emphasis, and not for impressive emphasis. The following is an example. It well illustrates the power of the language, and its fitness will justify its length. Xen. Anab. 1. 4. 7: *Καὶ Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων ἐμβαίντες εἰς τὰ πλοῖον, καὶ τὰ πλείστον ἄξια ἐνθήμενοι, ἀπέπλευσαν, ὥς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἰδόκουν, φιλοτιμηθέντες, ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν, παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας, ὥς ἀπύοντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα, εἶα Κύρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν.*

The English idiom will barely admit a translation in conformity with the arrangement of the original. "And Xenias and Pasion, embarking, and putting on board their most valuable effects, sailed away, as the greater number supposed, offended, because their soldiers, who had gone over to Clearchus, as if they were designing to depart for Greece, and not to go against the king, Cyrus permitted Clearchus to retain."

Here the object of the infinitive which closes the sentence is placed before the sentence on which it depends. But this arrangement, unusual as it seems, is necessary to give a just picture of the thought. It permits the introduction in close connexion with the word *φιλοτιμηθέντες* of the words which suggest the occasion of their resentment, and which also are necessary to fill up the picture, so that when the closing words, are uttered, the whole head and front of the offending is, at once, brought to view. Let the reader attempt the translation of the above by beginning with the subject and finite verb, dragging in the long train of circumstances afterwards, and ending without a close, and he may become aware of the beauties of what is sometimes called the natural or logical order.

The rule that has been given respecting the introductory member of a sentence, may be applied to determine the position of the remaining parts with respect to each other. It will be found that the member introducing what is new, precedes that which is designed to impress what has been already suggested; the word essential to perspicuity precedes the word designed for impression. This may not inaptly be called the emphasis of thought. The rule and the illustration that have been given will explain instances of inversion, only where the design is to give a perspicuous expression to thought. A large proportion of the cases of inversion have reference to a different object, and must be explained by a different law. This brings us to the mention of another rule.

RULE II. Expressions designed to give forcible utterance to thoughts already suggested, are placed last in their respective sentences.

It is not meant to imply that any phrases are used solely for the purpose of impressing what is already in the mind, without contributing in any degree to the thought. But a little examination will show, that in ordinary discourse only a small proportion of the ideas are so new, as not to have been in any degree suggested by the tenor of the preceding language.

The idea, anticipating the direct expression, may have been suggested by the mention of a related thought, by a word of contrast, or in any of the ways that bring it under the law of association; and the suggestion may vary to any extent in distinctness, from the most manifest and pointed reference, to the faintest allusion, concealed in the etymology, or peculiar use of a word which none but a scholar would detect.

Now, just in proportion as the idea is suggested before it is uttered, may the specific expression for it be postponed, while the mind gathers up all the particulars that shall give it completeness and power, and the billow of thought swells and rolls onward till it breaks on the shore.

That we may be fully understood on this point, we will refer to a well known passage from a celebrated American orator: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, with fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the re-

public, etc."—Who does not feel, that should he pause at this point, even in the first hearing of this passage, the key note of that patriotic anthem has been struck; and, though we may not anticipate all its varied and rich melodies as it winds to its close, still we are prepared for it. It is not strange; and as it falls on the ear it only elevates the hearer in the line of his own already excited thought.

To make the present point plain by reference to examples of a marked character, we quote the closing sentence of the first oration against Catiline.

Tum tu, Jupiter, qui iisdem, quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus; quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus; hunc et hujus socios . . . et omnes inimicos bonorum, hostes patriae, latrones Italiae, et cet.

The hearer is at this point in full possession of the general idea which is to close the period. A prayer to the gods against the enemies of the country and the robbers of Italy will surely end with nothing short of the idea of their extinction. The hearer might not anticipate the precise oratorical *finale*, eternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis; for it is the part of the speaker in such a case not to fall short of the expectation raised, but at once to fulfil and surpass it.

We are now prepared to examine the very frequent case of inversion in which the finite verb closes the sentence. Nothing can be more formal than the rules usually given in the grammars respecting this feature of the ancient languages. It has been laid down as a general law of position that the finite verb should stand last in the sentence, without the slightest recognition of a law of thought requiring such an arrangement. The rule is said to have numerous exceptions; and this is said without adding a word to lead the student to suppose that there is any difference in the form of the thought in the two cases, much less to understand what that difference is. It is sometimes said that a word, which in the natural order would occupy an early position in the sentence, is placed last for the sake of emphasis. How much will the student be enlightened by this, when the same set of rules shall tell him, that a word, that would naturally stand last, may be placed first for the sake of emphasis.

This confusion would have been avoided, if it had been shown, that the emphasis secured by these two opposite arrangements is entirely different in its nature. The one is the emphasis of thought; the other the emphasis of feeling.

In the instance when the finite verb closes the sentence, the example adduced from Cicero will show in a strong light the law of thought that requires such an arrangement. In most such cases the thought expressed by the verb has either been suggested with sufficient clearness to relieve the hearer's mind from the necessity of its early utterance in the sentence, or, it is of such a character, that the mind can easily remain in suspense till the close. We say in most cases; for there are instances in which the closing finite verb is not designed to give impressive utterance to a thought, but only to serve for the grammatical completion of the sentence. The following is an instance. Cic. Pro Lege Man. 2: Genus est belli ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad studium persequendi debeat. Here the sonorous and exciting words that form the body of the sentence, must have accomplished its object before coming to the close, leaving to the last word little to do, except to secure the point of grammatical propriety.

It would be superfluous to multiply illustrations of the position above laid down, when every page in the classical languages will furnish them for the reader's examination.

It may be proper, here, to anticipate an objection that may be made to the course here pursued of regarding both the languages, now under consideration, as governed by the same laws of arrangement. It must be admitted, that the Latin exhibits a more uniform and rigid adherence to the system of inversion than the Greek. This, however, we think, should be regarded rather as marking a feature of the Roman mind and literature, than as indicating a necessary law of the Latin tongue. The character of a people determines the peculiarities of its language. The rigorous and staid formality that marks the Latin language, was only a reflexion of the same traits in the national mind. Even literature was with them hardly a spontaneous growth. It was kept up by constant importations. There was nothing that we may call *abandon*, in the Roman mind. Their writers seem almost painfully conscious that they were writing. The character of the people, prompting them unceasingly to the work of conquest, was not favorable to the spirit of art. If we do not accept the somewhat harsh *dictum* of Herder, who characterized Rome by calling her "a wolf that worried the world a thousand years," we must admit that her long labor of extending the iron net-work of her municipal law over the nations, was not fitted to foster the first development of thought and language.

In comparing this character with the Greek, we should expect to find in the languages themselves traces of the respective national peculiarities. But the same spirit seeks for expression in both. In the one, it found a material pliant to its slightest plastic impress; in the other, the material had begun to grow rigid before the forming power had pervaded it. We need then make no specific distinction, for the purposes of this discussion between the Latin and the Greek. While the Latin shows a more uniform observance of the method of inversion, it is still free to adopt a different order whenever the form of the thought requires it. If any one supposes that such examples of what is called the natural order, when they occur in the Latin, might be changed to the inverted order he has yet to learn the genius of the language. A single example may show that, in the one case as well as in the other, the order is essential to the thought.

In Cat. I. 1: "Notat et designat oculis ad caedem unumquemque nostrum." The inverted arrangement would place the verbs last, but with the entire loss of the peculiar force of the sentence. The design of the orator is to state a new and startling fact in the *doings* of Catiline. He wishes to emphasize his assertion of Catiline's act. This would not be done by the inverted arrangement. That would only serve to emphasize the atrocity of the act. The inverted order would be appropriate, if this sentence were employed in a recapitulation of the acts of Catiline, after they had been separately treated of and established as matters of fact. The remark here made may serve as a criterion of different styles of writing. In proportion as a composition has the character of a recapitulation of acknowledged events or truths, it will tend to take the inverted form, placing the verb at the close of the sentence, while what is stated as new in act, naturally places the verb before its object. As the verb contains the copula, this last arrangement brings the sentence under the same general law with those quoted under the first rule, when the verb, *est*, *fuit*, introduced the sentence. There is in the 3d Oration against Catiline an example of a marked difference of style in the same narrative, arising from the different previous position of the hearer's minds with respect to the facts stated. In describing, to the assembled multitude, the course he had pursued in seizing the persons connected with the conspiracy, at the Mulvian bridge, the orator employs a style exhibiting frequent instances of inversion; when, however, he comes to describe the examination of the conspirators before the senate, and especially

of the letters they had written, a marked change is to be noticed. Here, where everything turned on apparently very slight and unobtrusive circumstances, there was no opportunity for a declamatory or emphatic arrangement. The case required the most distinct and exact statement of the facts just as they were. "Primum ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. . . . Introdactus Statilius cognovit signum, et manum suam. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo: et quaesivi, cognosceretne signum? Annuit."

In the preceding part of the narrative, describing the seizure at the bridge, no such careful shunning of emphatic forms of expression is seen. The reason is obvious. The separate particulars of the transaction at the bridge were not important as matters of evidence, as were the facts afterwards disclosed in the examination of the letters. Besides, the transaction was in a measure public. Numbers were engaged in it, and rumor had already spread it abroad; and what had not been told would gladly be supplied to curious inquirers by those who were engaged in the affair.

We may now examine a second class of inverted sentences, designed to give emphatic expression to what has been already suggested. We refer to cases where the subject is placed after the verb. The relative position of the words is here the same, it will be observed, as in the first examples under the first rule. The two classes of examples must, however, be kept entirely distinct. Under the first rule the attention was directed to the emphasis at the beginning of the sentence or phrase; here, the emphasis is on the close. There the emphasis was on the verb; here it is on the subject. In the former examples, the desire was to emphasize the assertion contained in the verb; in those that follow, it is to give impressive utterance to ideas already in possession of the mind.

In the 4th Oration against Catiline, Cicero is speaking of the danger he had incurred, of falling a victim to the rage of the desperate class whom he had provoked by his fidelity and firmness in suppressing the conspiracy. In allusion to his probable fate, he touches the sympathies of his hearers by mention of his mourning brother, and adds: "neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor, abjecta metu filia, et parvulus filius." How adroit and successful the appeal! and yet here is nothing new. The general subject was already in his hearers' minds. By the words, meam mentem — *domum* saepe revocat, he had suggested to the quick sympathy of his fellow-citizens all he

wished to say ; and in the words that follow he but gives expression to thoughts already in their minds. In the *Orat. pro Murena*, the author is deploring the unhappy situation of his client in having for his accusers men so nearly connected with him as to give him the strongest claim on their kind offices. He then enumerates the accusers. "*Accusat paternus amicus, Cn. Postumius, . . . accusat Ser. Sulpitius, . . . accusat M. Cato.*" Here he was giving no information. The court knew who the accusers were. They are enumerated merely for impression ; and the verb, *accusat*, is placed first merely to have it out of the way, so as to leave the emphatic place in possession of its subject.

See, also, *Pro Lege Manil.* After speaking in general glowing terms of Pompey's military greatness, he names the countries where it had been displayed. *Testis est Italia,—Testis est Sicilia,—Testis est Africa,—Testis est Gallia,—Testis est Hispania,* etc.

Finally, as under the first rule, the so-called natural order may be essential to secure the emphasis there illustrated, so it may be necessary here, to render emphatic the closing word. See *Pro Murena*, 32 : *Ambitum, non innocentiam puniui.*

Having treated of the relation of the leading parts of a sentence to each other, as determined by the kind of emphasis which the sentence is designed to exhibit ; a few remarks may be made respecting the position of the qualifying words and phrases, in relation to the members of the sentence to which they respectively belong. It will be the less necessary to protract the discussion of this part of the subject, as the same laws which control the position of the leading members, determine that of the subordinate phrases.

The most frequent limitations of the substantive, are the adjective and the noun in the genitive case. We shall confine ourselves to these ; for their solution will be a key to the solution of all other cases. In treating of the genitive, the inquiry that first arises is, what order of the words is required by the form of the thought ? Should the limiting, or the limited word stand first ? By expanding the expression, the logical form will appear. *Spes fugae*, or *fugae spes*, means the hope of obtaining safety by fleeing ; *hope*, then, is first in the order of thought, and should stand first, on the same principle that requires in a logical definition, the general name first and the specific differences afterwards. So much for the rule laid down in the most widely circulated Latin grammar in the country, that "oblique cases precede the cases

upon which they depend." This rule, besides being perfectly formal, is utterly false, as a principle; for it is contrary to the logical form of the thought, which always determines the form of the expression, when no special reason intervenes to change it. On what principle then is it possible to justify the numerous exceptions to this rule?

First, the expression may be scarcely more than a periphrasis for the limiting word alone. Thus *Nepos in Alcib.—flammae vim transiit*. So *Cic. 3d Cat: Superavit Cinna cum Mario . . . Ultas est hujus victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla*.

Second, the genitive, even when not designed to be especially emphatic, may, from the previous discourse have become more prominent in the reader's mind. Thus in *Caesar: Ibi Orgetorigis filia, atque unus e filiis captus est*. Here the interest of the narrative is attached entirely to the father, and the circumstance is named only as it would affect the relation of the Romans to him.

Third, the genitive may precede the case that it limits for the sake of distinctive emphasis. Thus in the *Tusc. Quest.: Quidnam esse, Brute, causae putem, cur, quum consternemus ex animo et corpore, corporis curandi tuendique causa quaesita sit ars ejusque utilitas, . . . animi autem medicina*.

The above instances, it will be remarked, illustrate the kind of emphasis spoken of under the first Rule. Where the nature of the emphasis is different, it is obvious that an arrangement the reverse of this must follow.

As adjectives are only a substitute for the noun in the genitive case, they will be found to follow the same law of arrangement. Hence, the natural position of the adjective is after the noun. It expresses the specific difference of that of which the noun expresses the general idea. Performing, as it does, the office of the noun in the genitive, it follows the same influences, in the changes of position to which it is subjected.

It may be remarked here, that the difference between the ancient languages and the English, in relation to the position of the adjective, is all in favor of the former: The position of the adjective before the noun, as required by the idiom of the English, violates the natural law of thought. To obviate this difficulty, and place the word for the specific difference last, we are obliged to resort to the use of the noun and preposition *of*, equivalent to the genitive case. The resources and limitations of our own languages, in this respect, with the expedients it adopts for the dif-

ferent kinds of emphasis would form an interesting subject of remark. The most common word limiting the verb is the adverb. On this point, again, the grammars furnish us with a formal rule, but no principle; with a statement of exceptions, but nothing to show us when to expect them, or how to judge of them when they occur. The principles above laid down will explain the position of the adverb in relation to the verb.

With regard to more extended phrases limiting both the noun and the verb, as they are but phrases doing the office of single words, they may be regarded as longer adjectives or adverbs, and treated accordingly. When several limiting phrases occur as the limitations of the same verb, their order conforms to the common order of descriptive narrative. The time of the act is named before its place, the place before the manner, and this last before the feeling or passion.

We have only room to say, in closing, that we cannot but regard the study of the arrangement of the ancient languages in reference to the ultimate laws of thought, as an essential means for securing fully several of the most valuable ends of a classical education.

The first of the objects to which we refer, is a thorough knowledge of the languages themselves. This cannot be attained by formal rules. It is necessary, that, in connection with the diligent use of formal rules, the student be led gradually to a point, where he shall transcend them, and possess, instead, what we may call the instinct of the language. Without this he may be a pedant, a dogmatist, a prize-man. His memory may be loaded with specific rules, but the spirit of the language will not be incorporated into his mind. The student who is necessitated to change the form of thought as it meets him in a Latin or Greek author, into the form to which the idiom of his own tongue subjects it, is yet a stranger to those languages. He knows them, as one may be said to know a tree who has only eaten the bark.

Another important end of classical studies is the awakening of a love for the literature they contain, and through this as an initiatory discipline, to develop in the student the spirit of universal culture. This cannot be done, while he enters and remains in these realms of thought only as an alien. He must become naturalized, and make his abode in the ancient home of Grecian and Roman feeling. If he adheres to the English form of thought and of expression, while studying the ancient languages, he comes no nearer being a universal scholar than he was before.

He may, by the acquisition of details, become fitted to fulfil the requisition for entering a profession, but he will not have taken a step in the way of truly enlarged culture.

Again, a course of classical study should lead the student to an acquaintance with comparative philology, and with the ultimate laws of style. If each language, however, is studied in a formal spirit; if there is no transcending the specific rules, and apprehending the general law, under the various forms that permit, or impede its expression, the most multifarious acquisition will not make one a philologist, or give him a sure command of the laws of his own language. We are now in want of an analysis of the grammar and usages of the English language, based on enlarged comparative views. The want of such a high authority encourages the pretensions of a class of self-styled original authors on grammar, who are intolerant of all dissent in proportion to the narrowness of their own views.

In the midst of this discordant legislation, modest students are rendered timid, even when they are in the right, and the self-made dictators go unchastized. We need a work which shall embody the results of a thorough comparative analysis of the languages out of which the English has grown; and shall present to the student's view its present laws and usages, in the light of its history, and its materials. This would, at once, restrain the language from foolish appropriations of what is foreign, and guard it in its native rights. It would be a store-house for the instruction of the thorough student; while the small dictation that is now heard on points of grammar would cease.

ARTICLE VI.

THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA AND METHODOLOGY.

Translated from the unpublished Manuscripts of Prof. Tholuck of Halle, by Edwards A. Park.
(Concluded from Vol. I. No. III. p. 578.)

D. Practical Theology.

§ 31. *The object of Practical Theology (and its Literature).*

THE design of Practical Theology is, to develop the various methods in which the Christian faith and the Christian spirit may be implanted, preserved, and extended in the community. The ultimate use of all theoretical studies is, to facilitate the discharge of practical duties; and therefore it is in the highest degree desirable, to connect with these studies of a theologian some consideration of the active duties of a clergyman.

Works for consultation on Practical Theology are, Strauss's Tones of the Bells, (*Glockentöne*); Baxter's Reformed Pastor, (translated into the German); Hüffel on the Character and Duty of the Evangelical Clergyman, (*das Wesen und den Beruf des evangelisch-christlichen Geistlichen*); Harms's Preacher, Priest and Pastor, (*der Prediger, Priester und Pastor*).—[In addition to the preceding works in this general department, are Niemeyer's Manual for teachers of the Christian Religion, 2 vols.; Gräffe's Pastoral Theology, 2 vols.; G. Schlegel's Manual of the Science of Practical Theology; Kaiser's Sketch of a system of Pastoral Theology; Danz's Outlines of the Clerical Sciences, Köster's Manual of Pastoral Science with especial reference to ministerial prudence. There are also many works of the Catholics in this department; as for example the treatises of Rautenstrauch, Horvath, Lauber, Sailer, Schwartzl, Schenkl, Gallowitz, Powondra, Hinterberger. The principal older works on this subject are from Fresenius, Mieg, Deyling, Roques, Hartmann, Quenstedt, Rabanus Maurus, Augustine, Chrysostom. See Hagenbach's Theologische Encyclopædie, § 96. The best English treatises in this department, are, from Baxter, Herbert, Wilkins, Jennings, Burnet, Watts, Doddridge, and others. They are found collected in several volumes of Essays and Tracts; as in Dr. Edward Williams's Christian Preacher, Dr. John Brown's Christian Pastor's

Manual, The Clergyman's Instructor, The Young Minister's Companion, Dr. Porter's Young Preacher's Manual. More recent works on the subject are Bickersteth's Christian Student, Bridge's Christian Ministry, Humphrey's Letters, Pond's Lectures.—Ta.]

‡ 32. *The various Departments of Practical Theology.*

These are, first, the Catechetical; secondly, the Liturgical; thirdly, the Homiletical; and fourthly, the Pastoral.

First, the Catechetical Department. This explains the mode of teaching the principles of the Christian religion to those who are ignorant of them. It includes, therefore, the method of instructing juvenile candidates for confirmation, and that of instructing adults who have but recently been won over to the Christian faith. There is a difference of opinion with regard to the best mode of imparting this instruction. Some prefer the *acroämatic* (from ἀκροᾶσθαι, to hear, to listen) style, that is, the consecutive lecture or discourse. Others, the chief of whom is Dinter, prefer the style which incites the student to find out the truth for himself, the *heuristic* (heuristicisch, from εὐρίσκω), Socratic method. This is also called the *erotematic* (from ἐρωτᾶν, to ask) style, and the *dialogistic*, because it is pursued in the form of question and answer. The objections against the style of consecutive address are, first, that children are not capable of comprehending a connected train of remark in the form of a lecture; and secondly, there is so great a difference of capacity among the children to be instructed, that the lecturer will not be able to adapt his discourse to their comprehension. There are also objections against the mode of instructing by question and answer. In the first place, it appeals to the understanding only; but religion cannot be established in men through the aid of the bare understanding. Secondly, the Christian religion is founded on sacred history, and in pursuing the Socratic method one is easily induced to overlook, in too great a degree, historical facts. On this account it is advisable to unite the two methods of instruction. An excellent Manual in this department, is from J. B. Hirscher, a Catholic theologian; Luther's Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism are the master works of their kind.

[The treatise of Gregory of Nyssa, entitled *Λόγος κατηχητικός ὁ μέγας*, and also that of Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, contain good hints on catechetical instruction. Rabanus Maurus in his work, *De institutione clericorum*, has a section *De modo*

catechizandi. The monks, Otfried, Botker Balbhus, and others; the early Reformers, as Wicliffe, Huss and others accomplished much in this department. Treatises on the art of catechizing have been published by J. P. Miller, G. T. Seiler, J. W. Schmid, G. F. Dinter, H. Müller, E. Thierbach, C. Daub, F. H. C. Schwarz.

J. F. C. Gräffe has published a Complete Manual for general catechetical instruction according to the principles of Kant's philosophy.—For various reasons, this department receives more attention from the German theologians than from ours. Their candidates for the ministry are sometimes required to perform exercises for criticism in this species of instruction. A few children are assembled in the *auditorium* of the University, or Seminary, in presence of the theological candidates and their professor; one of the candidates catechizes the children, and his whole manner of conducting the service is afterwards criticised by his fellow pupils, and by the presiding officer. The criticisms are often very minute and scientific. They are not given in the hearing of the children catechized, and to these children the exercise appears to be a merely religious one.—Tr.]

The second department of Practical Theology is the Liturgical: [This relates not merely to public prayer, but also to all the forms of worship. It unfolds the nature of these forms, and aims to impress their spiritual meaning upon the mind of the clergyman, so that he shall not regard them as empty ceremonies.] It gives us scientific instruction with regard to the mode of ordering and of conducting the public worship of God, so as to correspond with the idea of that worship. The services of the sanctuary have a twofold object; viz. to exhibit before the congregation the existing religious feeling of the worshippers, and also to strengthen and purify that feeling. The very act of expressing a pious emotion tends of itself to invigorate the emotion; as wherever I manifest my religious faith, especially in union with my fellow worshippers, I at the same time confirm that faith. The liturgical department relates to the presentation, the exhibition of pious feeling; and the preacher always appears, in conducting the liturgical exercises, as a representative of the worshipping congregation. Their pious feeling is expressed in prayer, in singing, in confession of faith, and in the sacraments. In repeating the confession of faith and in the prayers, the preacher stands (not as an individual but) as a representative, and speaks as one for all; and the congregation aver, by uttering Amen, that they have united with him in the confession and the address to God. In the sacrament of the

altar, there is expressed, on the one hand, the actual oneness of the worshipper with Christ and the church. Men go to partake of the Lord's supper, when they are penetrated, in an especial manner, with a sense of the reconciliation which has been effected by the Redeemer. The Eucharist therefore, belongs, thus far, to the *representative* acts of worship. There is, however, an additional view to be taken of the ordinance. Men resort to it, not merely under a sense of their oneness with Christ, and his church, but also under a sense of a disturbance of this oneness, with the consciousness that they themselves are but imperfectly reconciled to their master. In this view the ordinance is observed not as an expressive, representative rite, but as a confirmatory, invigorating one; its aim is to strengthen the religious feeling. See this subject further illustrated in Tholuck's Sermons, Vol. II. Sermon 7.¹

¹ [The following are the most valuable Protestant works in the second department of Practical Theology: Spazier's *Free Thoughts on Protestant Worship*; Wolfrath's *Questions on subjects relating to Worship*; Jenisch on the *Services of the Sanctuary and Reforms in the church*; Reinhold's *Ideas on the External of Evangelical Worship*; Gass on *Christian Worship*; Horst on the *Improvement of the Sanctuary-services among Protestants*. Other works on the subject are by L. A. Kahler, J. H. Fritsch, J. C. Funk, G. F. W. Kapp.—It is often said, that the Protestant religion is less favorable than the Catholic to the devout observance of the rites of worship. This assertion is apparently corroborated by the fact, that the Romanists pay far more attention than we to the attire, the genuflections, and other external appendages of the church-services. They pay less attention, however, to the spirit of public worship. They attend less to the rational meaning and intrinsic propriety of their religious rites. Their ceremonies are fixed and immutable; expressive or not, they must be observed. Hence comes the listlessness of their observance. On the contrary, the very fact that Protestant worship is, in many instances, regulated by the churches themselves, incites the members of these churches to reflection, and to endeavors after improvement, where improvement is needed. Hence we find that Protestant treatises on the public worship of God are filled with rational discussion and profitable appeals to the moral feeling; whereas the treatises of Catholics are devoted to bodily movements and gesticulations, to the mere fripperies of the clerical order. The meaning of the sacramental rites, the nature of prayer and praise, the true idea of church-music, the proper expression of the human form in the several acts of worship, the just proportion of the services of the sanctuary to one another, and their fitness to the design of public exercises on the Sabbath; all these are subjects which have been more clearly unfolded by Protestants than by Romanists. We doubtless neglect the *body* of worship too much, but there is reason to believe that the *soul* of it is more honored among the friends of the Reformers, than among the subjects of the Pope.—Ta.]

The third department of practical Theology is the Homiletic.¹ This teaches us how to edify the adults in the congregation, by means of free Christian discourse. The difference between a sermon and a lecture consists in this, the lecture is designed to instruct, the sermon to edify; the simple aim of the former is to increase our knowledge of a subject, that of the latter is to influence the will in view of the subject. Christian eloquence is also different from the eloquence of the heathen. The orators of

¹ ["The name Homiletica," says A. H. Niemeyer, "is derived from *homilein*, which originally signified, to be together, to be in company, to be intimately associated with one. Secondly it signifies, to converse, to discourse with one. The substantive *homiletes* denotes sometimes a companion, and sometimes a hearer, disciple. The earliest instruction in Christian assemblies was given in the form, somewhat, of a familiar conference between the instructor and his pupils. The style of it corresponded with that of Socrates conferring with his disciples. The most ancient discourses of the Christian teacher, as for example those of Chrysostom, were called *homilies*. This term is now used with narrower signification. It is applied to the popular expositions of a text from the Bible, whereas the discourses which are composed with a strict method and according to the rules of art, are denominated *sermons*. The science of Homiletics treats of both homilies and sermons, of pulpit eloquence in general. If the science be complete, it must unfold the fundamental principles of rhetoric; because rhetoric is the genus of which homiletics is a species. Since, however, the rules of general rhetoric are commonly supposed to be known beforehand, the science of homiletics is limited to the instructions which relate to preaching. Its main plan, however, is the same with that of secular rhetoric. It reduces all its rules to the three great principles of invention, arrangement, elocution. On the importance and relations of homiletics it may be remarked, first, that we should guard against the double fault of placing too high and also too low an estimate upon the science. It cannot, more than secular rhetoric, make an orator of him who is by nature destitute of the oratorical talent. But it can educate him who possesses the requisite native capabilities; and it is certainly through want of attention to it, that so many faults and imperfections are suffered to exist in the performances of the pulpit. Secondly, as the homiletical science simply teaches the mode of reducing the appropriate thoughts to the form of a sermon, it follows that we should not devote ourselves to this science until we have collected the appropriate thoughts. We cannot discourse, until we have meditated. It is, therefore, usual to defer attention to the science of preaching until the closing part of the theological course. Thirdly, the study of homiletical science must be united with practical exercises. These practical exercises are ordinarily nothing more than the composition of sermons. But the student should not begin his homiletic practice with the writing of discourses. He should first write much on insulated topics, arrange many trains of thought from texts of the Bible, draw out many themes of discourse; he should read much, hear many good sermons, and then apply to them the fundamental principles of homiletics." Niemeyer's Theol. Encyc. § 149.—Ta.]

antiquity aimed, in every discourse, at only one individual object; they desired to determine the will to a single definite resolve. As they were only interested to excite this voluntary resolution, they looked upon all means as valid which were appropriate to their purpose. But the Christian orator aims to improve the whole man, to change the moral sentiment. He therefore adopts only such means as are in full unison with the truth, and such as have (a good) influence upon the entire character. Accordingly, Chrysostom and Theremin reduce all precepts for the sacred orator to a single one; the preacher should aim at this sole object, *to please God.*

The question now arises, in what manner can the will be excited, and the moral sentiment affected? Here we encounter the dilemma which is often proposed in modern times: is the heart to be reached by first appealing to the understanding, or is the understanding to be reached by first appealing to the heart? The answer to this question depends upon the meaning which is given to the terms employed in it. By reaching the heart through the understanding we mean, affecting the moral sentiments through the medium of theoretical and practical arguments. By reaching the understanding through the heart we mean, influencing the judgment through the medium of description and vivid delineation, particularly by painting the scenes of sacred history, the human affections, the experience of life, and the speaker's individual experience. The first of these methods instructs the mind; the second excites the feelings. It is obvious, however, that the one method does not entirely exclude the other, and that the question must regard merely the preponderance of the one above the other. The description, as well as the argument, is in itself somewhat instructive; and the argument also can operate, if not directly, still indirectly on the feelings. Neither the argumentative, then, nor the descriptive style should have the exclusive preference; and the question with regard to the preponderance of either must depend upon the particular talent of the preacher, and upon the necessities of his congregation. The eloquence of the pulpit, be it remembered, is not of merely one kind. There is an eloquence of the sound understanding, which avails itself of proverbs, comparisons, the judgments of good native sense; which expresses these in the language of the people, and operates thereby first upon the intellect, and secondly upon the emotions. The eloquence of Luther and also that of Dinter is of this species. There is an eloquence of the heart,

which expresses simply the feelings of one's own inner nature, and by the warmth of the exhibition, impresses the hearer at once with the idea that the speaker's words are true. This is the eloquence of Thomas à Kempis, and of Hofacker. There is an eloquence of the fancy, which transports the soul of the hearer from its ordinary state into a higher sphere, and by thus elevating the soul, imparts to it an enthusiasm, which afterward continues to operate, and to affect the common conduct of man. This is the eloquence of Krummacher, (the younger). We must always bear in mind, however, that a sermon can have its appropriate influence, only when the preacher expresses in it his own sincere convictions. The effective element in a discourse is ordinarily designated by the term, *unction*. This term is suggested by the anointing oil with which the priests of the Old Testament were consecrated, and in the place of which the New Testament has substituted the anointing by the Holy Ghost. The term, therefore, denotes that quality which in modern times has been expressed by the very ambiguous word *inspiration*. This word is very apt to suggest the idea of being unduly heated, of being in an unnatural state, which is voluntarily induced by artificial methods. But it is by no means the fact, that the influences of the Holy Spirit upon the mind are always indicated by an unusual excitement of the sensibilities. They often develop themselves in a state exactly opposite to this, in a tranquil and peaceful flow of the affections. Now this composed, quiet disposition of mind must be induced by means of devotional contemplation. It is the only means of freeing the sermon from the spirit of a mere lecture or treatise. This frame of spirit is secured by cherishing an active and lively sense of the exalted excellence of the Gospel; of the responsibilities of the preacher's office, of the necessities of the congregation, and of the power of those Divine influences which aid the minister in his duties.

For treatises on the mode of preaching, the student is referred to Schott's *Theory of Eloquence*, with especial application to the Eloquence of the Pulpit, (*Theorie der Beredsamkeit, mit besonderer Anwendung auf die geistliche Beredsamkeit*), in 3 vols. 1815—1828. Schott's *Brief Sketch of a Theory of Eloquence*, (*Kurzer Entwurf, etc.*), 1807—1815. Theremin's *Eloquence a Virtue, or Outlines of a systematic Rhetoric*, (*Die Beredsamkeit eine Tugend, oder Grundlinien einer system. Rhet.*), 1814. A second edition of this work, with an excellent introduction, was published in 1837. Tholuck's Introduction to his second volume of

Sermons. Harms's Preacher, Priest and Pastor. [Among the Christian fathers, Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Augustine have left valuable treatises, which may be classed under the homiletic department. Melancthon published *De Officio Concionatoris* in 1535, and *De Rhetorica* in 1519. Erasmus published his *Ecclesiastes, sive de ratione concionandi*, in 1535. Many of Luther's thoughts on the subject of preaching are found in Herder's Letters. Very useful homiletic treatises, for the day in which they were written, are those of Hyperius, Weller, Hemming, Osiander, Andreae, Pancratius, Chemnitz, Müller, Baier; of Lyser, published in 1701, Lange in 1707, Rambach in 1736, Reinbeck in 1743, Teller in 1741, Kortholt in 1748, Walch in 1747, Baumgarten in 1752, Simonetti in 1754, Förtsch in 1757, Mosheim in 1771, Steinbart in 1784, Bahrdt in 1784, third edition in 1798, Schmid in 1790, Marezoll in 1793, C. F. Ammon in 1799. In the present century, have appeared Thym's *Historico-Critical Manual of Homiletics*, Titmann's *Manual*, Dahl's *Manual*, Marheinecke's *Foundations of the Homiletical Science*, Kaiser's *Sketch of a System of Clerical Rhetoric*, Grotefend's *Views, Reflections and Experiences on Sacred Rhetoric*, Rosenmüller's *Contributions to Homiletical Science*, A. G. Schmidt's, G. A. F. Sickel's, R. Stier's treatises on the Homily, on the Christian *Homiletik* and on the Biblical *Keryktik*. The work, however, which is now most highly commended as a Manual in this department, is *Evangelische Homiletik* von Christian Palmer, Diaconus in Warbach, 1842. Imperfect histories of the art of preaching have been written by C. F. Ammon, J. W. Schmid, J. Schuderoff, P. H. Schaler, and others; but no work which gives a complete historical view of the pulpit, has yet appeared. There seems to be no greater desideratum in the department of homiletics than such a history.—Ta.]

The fourth department of Practical theology is, the Pastoral. This is the science, that teaches how to preserve and to extend the Christian faith and practice among the community, by other means than those employed in the house of God; by the care of souls, by attending to the confessions of the people, by efforts for the poor and the sick, etc. No minister who neglects these active duties of his profession, can deserve the honored title of a shepherd, a pastor of the church. See on this subject Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*.

Practical Theology, in addition to the preceding departments, includes also the instructions on the mode of extending the

boundaries of the church beyond its present limits ; on the mode of defending it, where it is already established, against unfavorable influences from without ; (and on the mode of administering its internal government). It therefore includes, first, *die Keryktik*, the science which instructs us in regard to missionary discourses. These discourses must vary in their character, according to the various degrees of religious improvement among the people to whom missionaries are sent.¹ Secondly, Practical Theology includes also the department of Church Rights, or Ecclesiastical Law ; *jus ecclesiasticum, canonicum*. This is the science that teaches us to guard the rights of a particular church in its relation to its own members, in its relation to other churches, and also in its relation to the State. Many Protestant churches cannot defend their rights against the encroachments of the State, so successfully as they ought to do ; for the State is ever developing more and more of a tendency to regard the church as nothing else than a subordinate police-institution. But in proportion to the prevalence of this degrading view of the church, should be the effort of clergymen, first to understand the original ecclesiastical rights, and then to defend them with the pen and with the living voice. The Catholic church has succeeded in maintaining to a great extent, its independence of the State, and in its consciousness of independence, has sought to humble and circumscribe the Protestant church both in Catholic and in Anti-catholic countries. In this point of view, the study of ecclesiastical law and church rights is invested, at the present day, with a peculiar degree of importance. See Boehmer's *Jus ecclesiasticum Protestantium*,

¹ [It is a favorite idea of the German rhetoricians, that a pastor of a Christian church should presuppose the cordial assent of his hearers to the truth which he dispenses. His object is not to proclaim doctrines before unknown ; such a proclamation is the appropriate office of the missionary, and the science which treats of missionary discourses is styled, *die Keryktik*, from *Κηρύσσω*, or *die Apostolik*. Neither is his object to persuade men to adopt the true faith, to win them over to Christianity ; for he is to suppose that this work has been done already, and the science which treats of discourses designed to make new converts to the truth, is called *die Halieutik*, from *ἁλιεύω, ἁλιεύς*, see Matt. 4:19. The science of homiletics is distinguished from the two preceding sciences, and also from that of Katechetik, by the circumstance, that it treats of discourses addressed to intelligent and hearty believers in Christianity. Those who attend on the ministrations of a Christian pastor are supposed to be such believers. Their presence in the sanctuary implies that they are the confirmed friends of the Gospel. Hence this theory condemns all such discourses of a Christian pastor, as are devoted to an argumentative discussion of evangelical doctrine, or to exhortations framed for inducing men to begin a religious life.—Ta.]

in six volumes, and Eichhorn's *Principles of Church Law for the Catholic and Evangelical Religious Parties in Germany*, (*Grundsätzen des Kirchenrechts*, etc.). Other works on the subject are by C. M. Pfaff, J. L. Mosheim, G. L. Böhmer, A. J. Schnaubert, G. Wiese, J. Schuderoff, T. Schwartz, F. Walter, H. Stephani, K. A. Eschenmayer, W. T. Krug, J. G. Pahl, J. W. Bickell, H. C. M. Rettig.

ARTICLE VII.

THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND EDUCATION IN OUR COUNTRY.

Prepared by a Society of Clergymen.

A CAREFUL and repeated perusal of the *Theological Encyclopaedia and Methodology*, published in the preceding numbers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, has drawn our attention with fresh interest to the state of theological science and education in this country; and we may be pardoned, perhaps, if we now endeavor to present a summary view of the prevailing excellences and defects of our theological systems and training. It is often asked by German divines, "Why have not the Americans some theological science? Have they no taste for any study save that of the laws of steam and of political government?" We need not be surprised that such a question is asked, especially by the Germans; so widely different is the state of theological science with us, from its state with them. Still, they insinuate quite too grave a charge against us in such a query. We have a theological science. The distinguished professor of Logic at Edinburgh has remarked, that in several respects our writers in divinity have surpassed those of England and Scotland. It is certain, too, that our theological works have exerted no little influence on the British mind; and that such men as Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall, have confessed themselves to be largely indebted to American divines. When one reflects that our national existence is but of yesterday, and that our political relations have absorbed a great share of our attention, he cannot but wonder that we have made so rapid progress in the study of divine truth. Under all

our disadvantages, we have won for ourselves an honorable distinction, in this great department of human knowledge. We have a theological science marked by some excellent characteristics, and marred, also, we will not deny, by some obvious defects. It will not be deemed ostentatious, we trust, if we endeavor to delineate some of these excellences, nor will it be thought invidious, if we dilate somewhat upon the imperfections of our theological course.

It appears to us that our theology is eminently practical in its character. It is a proverb with many of our theologians, that the theological system, which is best fitted to be preached, is on that account most entitled to be believed. Hence our bodies of divinity are living, animated; the soul of them is still eloquent. Many of them are in the form of sermons, just as they were preached for practical usefulness. Our theological writers deal little in mere theories. They care little for what is coldly abstract, or for what is simply fanciful and imaginative. Their predominant aim is rather at direct and immediate good. They fasten upon something that is tangible. They dwell on the earth, not in the air; among men, not with beings of mere ideal existence. We have indeed but a very limited class of *theologians* in the technical sense of that word; i. e. of men who devote themselves entirely to theological study, and take no part in the practical duties of the ministry. The fact that our theological writers are generally preachers also, conduces very much to the practical cast of their works. Some of the ablest of these works have been widely circulated as experimental, not less than theoretical treatises. This, it must be allowed, is a high commendation of our theology. It is an excellence, which is essential to the perfection of the science in every country. True, some evil may result from an undue attention to the immediate practical utility of all our theological speculations. The remark of Gesner is important: *Discendum quicquid occasio fert, licet non statim scias quorsum prosit. Non multum discent, qui diligenter nimis computant. Ne speres magis, futurum, ut aliena opera fias doctus, quam aliena virtute bonus.* Undoubtedly there is with us, in some cases, quite too exclusive a regard for what is of present and visible usefulness. We may see it in the class of studies which many of us pursue, and in the style of writing which many of us adopt. But we would not waive the great advantage of our system, merely because it is liable to such evils, nor even because, to some extent, it is actually marred by them. The fault which we

commit, in this particular, only shows how far that excellence has been carried from which the fault originates.

It is another excellence of our theology that it is characterized by soundness of judgment, and by native good sense. This is the distinguishing prerogative of Americans. We are a people who have but little inborn genius for what is absurd or paradoxical. We give ourselves but little time to elaborate and publish splendid air-castles on any subject, and least of all on subjects of sacred science. Our system is not one of school dialectics, nor one of adventurous surmisings, and above all, not one of poetico-philosophical reveries, "*aliquid immensum, infinitumque*" never understood by master or disciple. It is manly and plain dealing. It does not stop to refine a distinction nor polish a syllogism, when it can utter some convincing doctrine, or apply some sturdy truth. It is like our good Saxon tongue, which fitly ministers to it; direct, nervous, solid, racy, sober, earnest. It seeks to enlighten, convince, persuade honest and strong minds, and it abjures everything in form and style which might frustrate this aim. Discarding all unintelligible technicalities, and especially all conceits, whether of thought or language, which the people never comprehend, it becomes all things to all men. It states the great truths of Christianity, it reasons of righteousness, and judgment, so that the readers do not so much admire, as tremble. It makes a way for the truth to their hearts, not through their imagination, or their taste, but through their reason, their better judgment, their well discerning and practical common sense; the faculties of the soul most worthy to be trusted, in matters of such high concernment. We received at our country's origin, a favorable impulse to the employment of our native good sense in theological investigation; for our forefathers made an open renunciation of all prescriptive systems, and took the Bible alone for their text-book. We have been encouraged also in the same course by our circumstances, by our being so greatly destitute of books and other helps in investigation. What we have achieved, has necessarily been the result of patient original thinking.

Another excellence of our theology is, that it is thoroughly evangelical. The true position of all theological science is, at the feet of Christ. If we adopt any principle, or extend our researches into any province, which draws us from this humble seat, we wrest the science from its legitimate sphere. In all its departments and among all classes of men, it should be to the truths of Christianity, what the science of grammar is to a lan-

guage. It should inquire after the teachings of the gospel; it should classify, arrange, define, prove, defend, illustrate, not as an inventor but as a discoverer, not as principal but as a subordinate. It has no commission to give some hue of its own, to divine truth. Its office is not to modify the gospel, or to present its different elements in any other relations than those sanctioned by divine authority. Now it is the glory of our theology, that it aspires no higher than this. It may be metaphysical, rather than exegetical, but in all its forms it is, it seeks to be the mere servant of the gospel. Its spirit is entirely distinct from that of frigid rationalism, and from that of any philosophical system which overlooks the claims of the inspired word. It has but little affinity to that excessive regard for the externals of religion, which degrades the theology of Rome and Oxford, and reduces the liberal spirit of Christianity to a mere Judaizing formalism. Our systems of divinity are characterized by the evangelical element, by that religious spirit which prevents undue attention to minor and unessential peculiarities.

A consequent excellence of our theology is, its remarkable degree of correctness. It is surprising, that with so little apparatus our theologians have wrought out such good results. The main principles and modes of reasoning, which are adopted in the majority of our theological schools, are the same which are sanctioned, either in substance or in form, or in both, by the most approved theologians of the old world. It is not because we have borrowed our theology from them; it is because the sterling judgment and honest piety of our divines have led them to the truth, through mazes that have bewildered the rationalist, the mystic and the formalist. We by no means assert that all American theology is remarkable for its freedom from error, nor that all of it is characterized by an evangelical spirit, by sound thought, or by practical usefulness. We predicate these excellences only of the dominant theological system in America; the system, for example, of the Edwardses, as explained and modified by Bellamy, Hopkins and their numerous successors. We are compelled to believe that this system, faulty though it may be in some particulars, contains more of truth with less of error, than any other system which has been formed independently of this. The excellence of its practical operation is most conspicuous, where the system has been most thoroughly preached. A striking commentary on its usefulness is seen in the benevolent institutions of our land, and in the enterprising catholic spirit of our churches.

It cannot be pretended, however, that our theology is free from serious defects. No scholar can be even moderately acquainted with the systems of other countries, and especially of the Germans, without seeing these defects, and feeling their influence. It is not the prerogative of wise men to imagine that they have attained perfection in anything, least of all in the things pertaining to religion.

In the first place, we have no treatise, which can serve the purpose of an encyclopaedia, or general introduction to the science of theology; no comprehensive outline of the science, its various departments, its literature, the best method of studying it, the difficulties to be overcome, the facilities to be secured. Our young men commence the study at great disadvantage, for want of some such general view of the whole science. "The student in the outset should obtain a *conspectus*, a comprehensive and distinctive view of the field of knowledge which he is to traverse, that he may know whither to direct his course, how to occupy in the best manner those fragments of time which are not devoted to the regular studies of his class, and what amount of intellectual labor and industry it may be necessary for him to bestow on that department of study, to which he has dedicated his life."¹ But our students have no adequate aids of this nature, no book which even professes to supply the whole of this deficiency. Even the literature of theology in the English language has been but imperfectly exhibited. We have, it is true, in Bickersteth's *Christian Student*, in about eighty pages, a list of books proper for a minister's library; a still smaller list has been given by Dr. Williams in his *Christian Preacher*; and one smaller still by Dr. Porter in his *Young Preacher's Manual*. But we need a much more comprehensive view of the various works which belong to the different departments of theology. They should be properly classified and characterized; the merits of one treatise should be compared with those of another, and the prominent deficiencies of our literature should be judiciously pointed out to the student. We are pleased to see that Dr. Howe has appended to his recent *Discourse on Theological Education* a valuable introduction to the course of theological study; and a few professors in our seminaries are beginning to direct the attention of their pupils to the general outlines of the sacred science, before introducing them into the mysteries of any individual department. But all this is very far from supplying our great defect in this

¹ Dr. G. Howe, on *Theological Education*, p. 205.

particular. The little that we have in the way of introductory view, is still too fragmentary, unsystematized, and incomplete. Not having the advantage of such a general introduction as the German professor gives to his hearers, and not sensible how much they suffer for want of one, our students rush into a part of the great science, without seeing its relations to the whole. Let any one refer to the Encyclopaedia of Hagenbach, or of Niemeyer, or of Schleiermacher, simply for the purpose of contrasting the same with any and every treatise which we have of the kind, and he will be satisfied that our theological candidates would be advanced far beyond their present state, were they at first to open their eyes upon the whole field of study which they were to traverse. A clear and comprehensive map of their science would enlarge their ideas of its extent and value. It would show them, at a glance, the just proportions and relations of its several departments, and would stimulate them to examine all the subjects which come within their sphere of professional study. It would do much toward preventing them from lightly esteeming any one branch of theological investigation, and from giving to any other a disproportionate regard. It would save them from no small amount of misdirected effort. It would give unity and directness to their pursuits. But before we can secure these advantages, we must learn that lesson which is so alien to our spirit as a people, *festina lente*. We must be less impatient of useful delay, less unwilling to remain in the porch, so as to survey the temple in its symmetry and completeness, before rushing in and seizing its treasures. We must wait to know what our science is, and how it can be best studied; then may we gird ourselves for labor in some specific department of the great system. At present, many of our books and of our teachers lay too little of an interdict upon our zeal for untimely progress. If we use Knapp's Lectures as our text-book in systematic theology, we must first read fifty pages of special introduction, then carefully peruse seventy pages more upon "the Holy Scriptures as the source of our knowledge in christian theology," and afterwards we come to "the doctrine of a God." But if we follow our own excellent Dwight, the very first word we hear is upon "the existence of God;" and we have the same "short method" at every other point in our course. This fault arises chiefly, if not wholly, from the fact, that we have learned to care too little for scientific arrangement, and have chosen to plunge unguarded and unwarned in *medias res*. Capable as our teachers in theology

are, of giving us a full introductory view of their science, we trust that they will soon supply this existing deficiency.

In the second place, the science of theology with us, is not as complete as it should be. An individual theologian is often thoroughly versed in but a small part of the whole science. A single department in the study absorbs his chief attention. Our current language on this subject shows how imperfect is our view of the entire scope and range of the sacred science. The theologian, the *finished* theologian, in our nomenclature, is not one who is profoundly learned in all the different branches of divinity, in hermeneutics, exegesis, dogmatic theology, the history of doctrines, and of the church, the science of homiletics and of pastoral care; but the man who is familiar with dogmatic theology alone is called the accomplished divine. Our language has no distinctive name for theology in its complete form, in its whole range. An interpreter of the Bible, a historian of the church is not ordinarily styled by us a theologian. It may be one reason why we have no good English Encyclopædia of theology, that we have no system of theological science so comprehensive, so complete, so well arranged, as to afford material for a symmetrical and orderly Introduction. In our prevailing view theology is but an aggregate of some few prominent doctrines, and to these we apply our direct and principal attention; by these is the mind almost wholly engrossed, while numerous important questions in reference to other doctrines lie unanswered, numerous and rich treasures of the science are scarcely noticed.

In regard to the original language of the Old Testament, for instance, a good understanding of which is so necessary to the accurate interpretation of the New, it would perhaps be thought too much to inquire, how many of our scholars are so far acquainted with the Chaldaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic and Ethiopic dialects, as to be able to derive from them any valuable illustrations of the meaning of Hebrew words and phrases; but we may at least ask, how many have attended so far to the Hebrew itself as to be well imbued with its genius and spirit? How many are so familiar with it, as to be at home in its usual forms, and especially in its strangest idioms; as to have the genuine *vernacular feeling* with regard to it, the critical *sense* by which the meaning of a Hebrew phrase is instinctively detected? It has been said that this instinctive feeling of the true import of a phrase is the *bloom* of a philological education; all other attainments in

language being merely preparatory to it, but not of themselves yielding or even promising any matured fruit. Yet of what little importance is this philological feeling deemed among us, even by those who are considered eminent theologians? How few of our students young or old ever attain to it?

In the original language of the New Testament, also, are there many of our scholars who feel the distinctions between the different dialects, and enter with a ready sympathy into the Hellenisms of the Gospels and Epistles? Are there many who are able to illustrate the sacred text by pertinent references to the Septuagint, or to the Talmudical writers? And has the department of higher criticism received an adequate degree of attention from our theologians? Are they generally familiar with the history of the sacred canon? Have they inquired much when the collection of inspired books was commenced, when finished, what was the original state of these books, in what language and at what times were they at first written, how their inspiration was determined, with what degree of fidelity they have been transmitted to us, how far and by what means the text has been corrupted? Have our theologians conducted an independent examination, and formed a candid opinion with regard to the genuineness of the Books of Moses, or of the Book of Daniel, or of the latter part of Isaiah, or with regard to the contested books of the New Testament, such as the Gospel of Matthew in its present form, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Second Book of Peter? Who is ready, as the result of his own patient study, to answer the inquiries of European scholars respecting the historical character of the first chapters of Genesis, or of the entire book of Job? Is a sufficient degree of attention paid by our divines to the department of Chronology, or Sacred Geography, of Biblical Antiquities, of the history of the names, nations and tribes alluded to in the Bible, of their private life and domestic habits, of their sciences, arts, literature, and government? Are our students generally so instructed as to be able to form independent judgments concerning the philosophy or the terminology of religion; to determine for themselves the meaning of a Hebrew or Greek word, when lexicographers differ or are indefinite; or to determine the meaning of the most important English words which are used, often with great ambiguity, in our theological works; such as wisdom, decree, power, cause, miracle, law, and many others? We apprehend that our course of theological instruction is generally deficient in comprehensiveness, in

detailed and minute research through the varied departments of the science, and we believe that instead of confining our attention to a few prominent topics, and these chiefly in a single branch of theological inquiry, we ought, from the first, to explore a much wider field; we ought to scrutinize it all with a more critical eye; we ought to lay the foundation of a more complete system, and erect our superstructure in more just and symmetrical proportions. It is indeed true, that our theological training is more complete than that of the divines in the Established Church of England. One of the most eminent of their living preachers has recently declared, that he never read a single treatise on Homiletics; that he had heard of a treatise by Claude, but had never seen it. This is but one specimen of the neglect into which whole departments of theology are fallen in the English church. But the example of that church is no rule for the descendants of the Puritans.

In the third place, our theological science is not sufficiently systematic. Such departments of the study as we do cultivate, are examined with too little of rigid order. Our topics are not so scientifically arranged, not so closely interwoven with each other as they should be. We investigate certain fundamental articles earnestly and long; but when we rise from the toil, the results at which we have arrived do not stand out with distinctness before us, combined and compacted together in their natural order. Our science is too much an aggregate, rather than a system of truths. Even in that department which is called *systematic* theology, and in which we should expect the most perfect method, our topics are often illogically arranged, and, what is worse, many of them are treated as distinct and independent subjects, rather than as being intimately related to each other. In all our so called systems of divinity, for example, natural theology is held to be the basis of revealed religion, and is of course first discussed. We hold that the truths and even the inspiration of the Bible can never be proved, unless the doctrines of natural theology, have been previously established. But conceding to this department its fundamental position, claiming for it this prime importance, our theologians still suffer it to lie too much neglected. There are not many of them who are accustomed to take or to give a sufficiently comprehensive view of its real province. Its history, its present state, its value to the theological student, its sources of evidence, its true character and place in the great world of religious truths are too rarely illustrated with discrimination and

skill. Even in our published works on theology, the same defect is manifest. We have been wont to say, that Dr. Dwight's sermons on the Existence and Attributes of God are the best that we have in this department; but we cannot think them by any means satisfactory as scientific discourses. They contain, it is true, much sound and convincing argument, and they are throughout characterized by the eloquence which marks all his productions. But they omit to solve some important difficulties; they cut some knots which ought to be untied; they do not invariably proceed in a strictly logical strain; many of the results which they aim to establish might be more forcibly presented by other processes; and there is a manifest, we had almost said a painful want of that scientific finish and varied learning in them, which the importance of the subject would justify us in expecting from so valuable a teacher.

The natural consequence of this imperfect and illogical exhibition of natural theology, in its relations to the whole of sacred science, is an unfortunate degree of indefiniteness and uncertainty in the minds of our students with regard to many fundamental dogmas. In examining candidates for license we have found but few individuals who could readily prove the *unity* of God, or who were sure that a plurality of deities can be disproved by arguments drawn from nature alone. We have met with but few, on such occasions, who could promptly reply to the philosophical objections by which such arguments may be met; with but few also who could establish and vindicate the benevolence of the Deity on principles of reason; but few who had formed settled opinions and could give the reasons for their opinions, on the foundation of virtue, on the nature of the moral sense, and on other fundamental topics in this branch of theology.

This is but a single instance of the want of system in our course of theological training. At the very foundation, we fail to impress upon our science the impress of a well-digested scheme; and the looseness which we allow in the beginning does not leave us by the way. If any one will compare the syllabus of theology, as laid down in any treatise in our own language, with the syllabus which is presented in the *Encyclopaedia* of Niemeyer, he will be struck with the contrast between the logicalness of the German method and the irregularity of our own. It is worthy of suggestion, whether we might not improve our theological course by combining with it a thorough study of logic; whether our students might not derive from this study important facilities

for systematizing their theological acquisitions, for acquiring such a definiteness of view and such a precision of statement, as will remove the confusion which is now induced by the perusal of some valuable treatises on divinity. It is also worth a suggestion, whether the time has not arrived for a new treatise on systematic theology. May not the excellences of Knapp, Storr and Flatt, be combined with those of Hill and Dick and Dwight, and all presented with more exactness of order and statement, and more sympathy with the progress of the science, than either of these writers has exhibited. We cannot soon expect a new *Dogmatik* from Germany, which will be adapted to our wants. That of Twisten will, it is feared, never be completed, and that of Julius Müller will not be sufficiently *American* for our necessities; but there are materials enough scattered here and there for a truly logical and systematic exhibition of the science, and we hope that some of our enterprising theologians will reduce these materials to their proper shape.

In the fourth place, the science of theology with us is not sufficiently philosophical. We do not state theological truth, and explain it, and prove it, with such clear and confident reference to first principles as we might wisely exhibit. The plain dictates of reason, the decisions of our moral consciousness are too lightly esteemed. We have one immortal work which serves to show us how well a true philosophy may minister to theology, Butler's *Analogy*; but we have transfused but a modicum of its spirit into our theological instruction and study. We praise the invaluable treatise, but we do not master it, nor the method of argument and illustration which it embodies.

One cause of our deficiency in this particular may be the fact, that so far as we give any place to philosophy in our course of theological studies, we confine it too much within arbitrary limits, as though it were an independent, rather than a collateral branch of human science. We keep it in a great degree distinct from theology, instead of allowing it to pervade and permeate all our sacred researches. We give some little attention to it as philosophy, and then hand it over to oblivion, as we would chemistry or the mathematics, that we may have an eye single to distinctive theological investigation.

Another cause of our deficient philosophical training may be the fact, that with some among us there is a peculiar jealousy and dread of philosophy in religion; as though the one were an enemy and not the handmaid of the other. Such persons fear

that it will make us vain and proud. It exalts reason, they say, above faith. Our piety, they forewarn us, will be supplanted by mere knowledge. Our theologians will become ambitious, and there will be no more place among us for genuine humility. A short-sighted and timid jealousy this, but it is current among us, and by it many are deterred from those fundamental researches which they would otherwise pursue. We cannot think for a moment that such fears are well grounded, or that there is more reason to apprehend the inroads of an unchristian spirit from the prevalence of philosophy than from the neglect of it. We believe, that if our theology were more thoroughly pervaded with a truly philosophical spirit, it would be more rigidly systematic. The truths of the Bible are intimately blended with those of philosophy, and unless the latter are well understood, the former will be but imperfectly appreciated. The objections which are urged against the christian scheme, too, are often philosophical, and they cannot be thoroughly refuted except by a philosophically trained mind. Besides, every man has, and must have some philosophy of religion, secret or expressed, and unless we labor to secure the prevalence of a true system of science we shall be entangled in one which is false. It may be that philosophy is an evil, or at least that it is liable to become an evil, like fire-arms; but fire-arms being used by the enemy, and being used unskillfully by our own friends, our labor should be to promote their proper and effective use. We are aware that objections have been made to philosophical studies on the ground that they are forbidden in such passages of Scripture as Rom. 1: 21. 2 Cor. 10: 5. Coloss. 2: 8. 1 Tim. 6: 20; but in these passages a false philosophy is condemned; the apostle, than whom no man of his nation was more thoroughly versed in philosophy, or more deeply imbued with its genuine spirit, here cautions against *pretence*; against the foolish and unlearned questionings of men. This condemnation of folly is, in the same breath, the approbation of wisdom; the censure of old wives' fables, is the commendation of sound science in their stead; the forbidding of false philosophy is the sanction of the true. Socrates contended against the same philosophy falsely so called, which Paul condemned; yet he did not abjure a genuine wisdom, because it had such counterfeits. This only led him to labor the more zealously to promulgate a better system; and none of his objections to a fabulous imitation of science are inconsistent with a hearty love of a reasonable philosophy.

There is no room for doubt, that many more philosophical at-

tacks will be made on religion in our country during the half century to come, than have been made in the half century that is past; and if we neglect to prepare ourselves for these attacks, we shall be unfaithful to our obligations. True, in resorting to philosophy as a tributary to inspired truth, and drawing from its armory such weapons as we need for successful attack or effective defence, we shall encounter some deep prejudices. Our course may be stigmatized as rationalistic, and anti-christian. This we know; we know, too, that the Papists were strongly opposed to Erasmus, and to others of his time, for cultivating a certain dangerous language, called the Greek; but we think all such prejudices against any branch of real learning indicative of more folly than wisdom. Certainly our country is the very last which ought to tolerate such an antipathy to philosophical investigation. We ought rather to be preëminently a philosophical people; and our scholars should be more deeply imbued than any others with the spirit of rational science; for we are a people distinguished for activity of mind, and inquisitiveness of intellect; we are more inclined to speculate for ourselves and think on our own responsibility, than to rely on the traditions of the fathers, and to receive all things without questioning as we find them. We ought to take advantage of such a trait in our natural character. Our prospect of becoming serviceable in the literary world, our chief hope of distinguished usefulness to the cause of learning lies in this direction rather than in any other. We shall never accomplish so much in the examination of ancient records, as in the independent search for the principles of things. If we are true, therefore, either to our genius, or to our position in the world of letters, we shall begin, one and all, to drink deeper at the head-springs of philosophical truth, and we shall be especially zealous to bring this branch of human science into a more living and indissoluble connexion with the divine. We shall make our philosophy more religious, and our religion more philosophical. Our statements of theological truths, our arrangement of them, the air and costume which we give them, our modes of advocating and defending them, will all be in more exact accordance with the laws of the human mind, so as to be only the more effectually commended to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

In the fifth place, our theology is not sufficiently historical. True, we are not an historical nation; for our national existence is so recent as to sever us from past antiquity, give us little interest in it, and impart to the ages immediately preceding our own, an

undue prominence over all others. We have few ancient manuscripts, and old monuments, which can inspire the lovers of historical investigation. Still, after the exertions of Irving and Prescott in political history, we need not despair of the success of our countrymen in ecclesiastical narrative.

From the very fact that we are trying a political and a politico-ecclesiastical experiment, results a necessity of our consulting the oracles of days gone by. All theologians ought to be conversant with the past; for their science is taught in records which breathe the spirit of antiquity, which are to be illustrated from the studies of olden time, and which in fact cannot be understood without such a familiarity with ancient customs, as shall enable us to stand in the position of the inspired authors, seeing with their eyes, and hearing with their ears, speaking yet again their household words. But the historical discipline which all theologians so greatly need, is peculiarly important for us, because our circumstances tend so strongly to turn us away from it. In the perplexity and whirl of our forming period, while we are laying the foundations of a better state and a purer church than have ever yet blessed a country, we are in danger of being wholly absorbed in the present; we can commune with the past only by stemming the current of national predilections. If we yield to the infelicities of our position in this respect, we shall derive little profit from the experience and wisdom which have been laid up in store for us. It ought, therefore, to be our especial care, that we do not exclude ourselves from this copious source of knowledge.

There is one department of history which is peculiarly important for our theologians, but to which they have as yet paid less attention than they are probably destined to give in future. We refer to the history of religious doctrines. There are but few of our theological seminaries, in which this branch of theology receives its due share of consideration. The small manual of Münscher, translated by Dr. Murdock, is one of the most valuable works that has appeared in our language on this subject; while his larger treatise, and the treatises of Augusti, Bertholdt, Ruperti, Baumgarten-Crusius, Lentz, Englehardt, Rösaler, Lange, Wundermann, Münter, Hagenbach, and several others, are almost entirely neglected by many of our scholars. The subject which receives such prominent notice in the German universities and from German authors, is hardly recognized by some of our theologians, as an integral part of their science. We are

even destitute of a full treatise on the progress of theological opinion in our own country; of the manner in which some of our peculiar views have been originated and received. But the history of christian doctrines cannot be neglected with safety. It delivers us from a morbid fear of new theories, by showing us that there is but little under the sun which is really new and yet essentially dangerous. It delivers us, too, from dismal apprehensions in view of every new phasis of truth, by teaching us that every age has developed new forms of doctrine; and that during this process of introducing novel statements, if not rather by means of it, theology has made steady advances. It teaches us, also, to be diffident of our own opinions, for it shows us that the very same opinions have been controverted, exploded it may be, by the wise and good of other ages. It inclines us, moreover, to be catholic in our feelings toward those who differ from us; since we find that pious men have ever been on some points at variance with each other, that Owen and Baxter disputed acrimoniously, and Watts and Doddridge could not see eye to eye. Dogmatic history teaches us, also, that the advocates of heresy have inculcated much truth involved in their heresy, and that the advocates of truth have defended much error involved in their truth; that we must not judge all to be false, which is said in opposition to right doctrine, nor all to be true, which is said in opposition to error. We are predisposed in this country to know too much; we pry into many a secret thing, and have already answered many questions which no one is capable of comprehending. From a view of the speculations of our predecessors, we may learn, not indeed to cease from speculating, but to exercise the same charity for others which we wish to receive for ourselves. The history of doctrines, moreover, shows us the influence which climate, habits of life, forms of government, systems of philosophy and standards of education, have exerted upon the science of theology, and thus suggests the dangers to which ourselves are exposed. In various other ways, it gives us a clue to the right understanding of a doctrine as it has been held by the church, points out the sources of the error which may have been blended with it, and leads to a clearer exposition and an abler defence of its inherent truth. Especially may we acquire a comprehensiveness and a definiteness in our views of theological doctrine, by studying the symbolical books of different churches, by comparing, for instance, the Catechism of Luther with the Heidelberg Catechism, or by examining the works on

symbolical theology by Planck, Marheinecke, Winer, Möhler, Guericke, and others. With these views of dogmatic history, we feel constrained to express our earnest desire to see it more highly appreciated and better understood in our own country. We should rejoice to see the German science, and research in this branch of theology, at once transferred to our literature, and we especially hope that the history of Arminianism, Edwardeanism, Hopkinsianism and other systems, as they have flourished among ourselves, will not long remain unrecorded.

In the sixth place, the theology of our land is not pervaded as it should be by an aesthetical spirit. With us it is absolutely necessary that theology as a science, should be attractive, and especially that when presented in the form of sermons it should be fitted to interest the intelligent and refined among our laity. The fact that we are dependent upon the community for patronage, that we have no well endowed theological scholarships, that our literary men form so small a class, and that our institutions are mainly of a popular character, makes it indispensable that we set forth our theology in as comely and alluring garb as is consistent with its character for solidity. But the pages of some of our worthiest divines are less winning, less closely wedded to beauty and grace, than we desire to see them. Truth is presented sometimes in too stern an aspect, sometimes in an attire too homely and coarse. The style of president Edwards is not so safe a model as his sentiment; and yet we by no means approve of the attempt made by Mr. D. A. Clarke and others, to give an improved version of his writings. Let us hear our great masters speak as they may choose, rather than endeavor to make them other men than they were. The style of Dr. Hopkins, too, is about as awkward as it could well be; and that of Dr. Dwight is not always chaste and pure, though it comes much nearer than that of his predecessors to the standard which we are striving to commend. Our occasional sermons too, although written and printed for the people, are less classically elaborate and adorned than they might be without detriment to their pungency. The sword of truth would cut equally well should we polish it more, and give it a finer edge. We fear that our discourses, whether printed or preached, especially those which are intended to body forth some fundamental doctrine, are not so skilfully adapted as they might be to influence the higher classes of mind. We are too apt to present the truth to their view in jagged and unsightly masses, fresh from the quarry, rather than in forms of grace and beauty,

wrought out with a master's hand. Our sanctuaries are thereby rendered less alluring than we could wish, to the men who sway public opinion, and the word of God acts less powerfully than it might act upon those who are well qualified to turn many from the error of their ways. We believe that, in the present state of society, the cause of religion will sensibly decline, unless there be a decided improvement in the style of our pulpit address. American Christians are left to depend upon the efficiency of the preached word; there is comparatively little of other instrumentality on which we can rely. Neither the patronage of the State, nor rites and ceremonies, be they ever so venerable on account of their antiquity, will ever hold the American mind to the truth. Something more, something better, something higher we must have; and we are gratified to see, that this conviction is becoming more and more deeply impressed upon the mind of the churches. Let, then, our theology in all its departments, be more thoroughly pervaded by a true aesthetical spirit, and it will not only present a fairer form to the eyes of men, but it will obtain a deeper lodgment in their hearts.

We hope to be pardoned for dwelling so long and minutely on the various defects in our theological character, and we now proceed to inquire, what means can be adopted to raise the standard of theological science and attainment among us. We do not indeed expect to attain perfection, but we may make great advances beyond our present state, and still remain far from the perfect standard.

Among the means of aiding our progress in theological science may be mentioned, first, a strong fraternal sympathy between the patrons of its various departments. The different branches of theology, as of all other sciences, are most intimately connected. The proper cultivation of one, improves the whole; the neglect of either injures the others. It is here as in the human body, 'the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.' There is a peculiar need of this reciprocity of aid, where the science is in a depressed and languishing state. The mutual connections and dependencies of its various members must, in such a case, be carefully kept in view, and every possible advantage must be taken of the law of sympathy which belongs to the whole. In our own country, particularly, very much in regard to the state of the entire science must depend upon this cordial and active union among its several branches. For the cultivation of one facili-

tates the cultivation of another, and we need all the facilities which can be obtained for strengthening the things that are ready to die. Moreover, by interesting the community in favor of any one department, we contribute to the creation of a popular feeling, a public sentiment, in favor of all the related departments; and without a favorable public sentiment we cannot expect in this country to advance any science to its highest standard. Let all the representatives of each branch of theological study, then labor as earnestly as they can to give completeness to their favorite branch; but as each values his own, let neither be wanting in a cordial sympathy for every other. Let all join hand and heart in encouraging every new laborer that enters the great field. Let countenance, incitement, patronage, commendation, be freely given by each separate department to the whole circle of theological studies. It is not well, however common, for the didactic theologian to disparage the province of his brother who prefers the department of exegesis; representing the employment of a mere interpreter to be contracted and unscientific. It were better for the philologist not to decry the office of a systematic theologian, as too favorable to the assumptions of human reason and too apt to lead the mind away from the Bible. And why should the biblical student tell us that philosophy is vain, or the religious philosopher speak lightly of attention to texts of Scripture and to the authority of the fathers? Why should the rhetorician speak with unmitigated disgust of the awkwardness and clumsiness of those, who are so earnestly engaged in their deep researches for truth as to pay little regard to the dress in which they clothe it? Or why should those who are examining the foundations of the science, speak contemptuously of him whose office it is to beautify the superstructure? The consequence of all such jealousies, secret or expressed, must be wholly evil. Each single department comes, in this way, to have its partizan-admirers, and the admirers of each are apt to become indifferent to all the others, if not openly opposed to them. Each department, therefore, has too small a number of friends to give it an adequate support, and thus all of them languish; whereas, if the friends of theology felt themselves to be of one brotherhood, and would patronize the whole class of sacred studies, each would find his own favorite branch the gainer by this liberal policy. We know that in any community, the prosperity of the rich is the very life of the poor; and he that sows discord among the two ranks, is an enemy to both. God has not made the true

interests of one class adverse to those of the other. They stand or fall together. We know that once the principle of political economy was, "every nation is impoverished by the prosperity of every other nation;" but now the principle is, "every nation is enriched by the prosperity of all other nations." And precisely the same principle operates in the science of theology. Let any department receive a healthy and zealous patronage, and all the rest will feel the stimulus. Let the rhetoric of the pulpit be improved, and the studies of our scholars in systematic theology, and in biblical interpretation will be improved also. The same spirit which incites our preachers to "speak well," will also stimulate them to think out something which is worthy of being well spoken. If we overlook this fact, and attempt to elevate any one branch of study upon the ruins of another, we shall find at last that the foundation will not sustain the superstructure.

Again, our theology may be greatly improved by encouraging among our scholars more freedom and candor of criticism. We have long been dissatisfied with the manner in which the critical department of our literature is conducted. Our theological criticism, especially, ought to be governed by well-established and sure principles, and to breathe a spirit of the utmost candor. It ought to love the truth more than the canons or the symbols. Its reverence for the dead ought not to exceed the limits of sound reason; nor should its tenderness to the living hazard the interests of science. It ought to rise above party sympathies, above popular prejudice. But it is only a small part of our theological criticism which is regulated by these principles. We have many parties in theology, and each school is inclined to extol the writings of its own partizans, and to depreciate the productions of its opponents. There is more severity of criticism with us than with the hard-nerved disputants of Germany; but it is severity against those from whom we are separated by party lines. There is more adulation of authors in this country than in that land of authors; but it is the adulation of those who are hemmed in with us by the same sectarian limits. Like our political editors and orators, we are too much disposed to speak only well of him that is with us, only ill of him that is against us; the flattery is too fulsome, the censure too unsparing. It is rare that we find a truly dispassionate and unbiased criticism, dispensing praise and blame where it is deserved, without fear and without favor, without bitterness and without partiality. It is by no means easy to determine the exact value of a work from any review of it which

is given in some of our religious journals; so much allowance are we compelled to make for party predilections, so much severity are we called upon to mitigate, so much adulation to qualify. Now we ought to have candor enough, independence enough, enough of the liberal spirit of true learning, to rise above so narrow and baneful a policy, and to redeem the character of our national criticism from the extravagance both of flattery and of sarcasm, which has so generally been objected against us. If criticism is to hold any valuable place in subserviency to theological science, it must be more liberal, more discriminating, more moderate in its sectarian partialities, more faithful to the spirit of sound scholarship and fraternal sympathy. On this account our theological reviews ought to be made independent, in a pecuniary respect, of private patronage; they ought to be sustained by large permanent endowments, and thus raised above the necessity of submitting to the popular will at the expense of the higher interests of literature.

Still further, we might contribute much to the improvement of our theology, by a more intimate acquaintance with the writings of foreign authors. If every new language is, as was said by Charles the Fifth, a new eye to the mind, let us extend our vision as far as possible, by increasing our knowledge of different languages, especially of such as are rich in theological literature. The German candidates for the ministry are accustomed to conduct frequent exercises in the interpretation of the Bible, and in the discussion of doctrines, in the Latin tongue; and with many of them this noble tongue is as familiar as their vernacular. One of the most eminent of their theologians has declared, that he could not remember the time, when he could not speak Latin as well as German; he did not recollect the period of his learning the rudiments of that ancient language, in which he has not only written and spoken but also thought and dreamed. Until our academy, college, and university course shall be more complete than it now is, we cannot expect so great a familiarity with the Latin among ourselves; still there ought to be such a familiarity with it, as would enable our students to read with facility such writings as those of Augustine, Melancthon, Calvin, Turretin, and other continental divines of more recent date. Many of our fathers in the ministry were not wanting in such acquaintance with this great repository of theological learning, nor should we be content with anything inferior to their acknowledged proficiency.

The same commendation may we bestow upon the language

of the Germans, which embodies more theological discussion, and spreads before us the results of more varied and exact theological research than any other living tongue; and without a knowledge of which, it is impossible to discuss with comprehensiveness and thoroughness, many of our most important questions in sacred science. Such a valuable tributary to our exegetical and historical studies, cannot be wisely neglected by scholars who aim to be workmen that need not to be ashamed. A proper acquaintance with this language will be of the highest service in supplying our chief deficiencies; for the German theologians are laboring most upon those very departments of the science, which we have most neglected, and they furnish us facilities for resisting the very evils which now assume the most threatening aspect against us. It is a mere jealousy, it is a narrow and a baneful prejudice, which associates the invaluable contributions of the German mind to theological science, with mere rationalism and pantheism. These contributions are singularly diversified, and the language which contains the heresy incloses also the most effective antidote to the evil.

In giving such enlargement to the range of our theological studies, we cannot fail to give more of completeness and system to our acquisitions. In this way may we hope to render our theology somewhat less the theology of this country, and somewhat more the theology of Christendom; we may hope that our calculations will not be so exclusively for this meridian, but rather for the world, for all men, in all places. As American character is to be, we trust, a consolidated compound of the excellences which have been transported hither from other lands, so should our literature embrace within its ample sphere the excellences which may be culled from all the languages of men. Standing upon the shoulders of the giants of the old world in our political philosophy, and thus obtaining a more extensive range of observation than they enjoy, let us seek for the same high position in our theological science. Let us study the faults of transatlantic theology in order to avoid them, and its virtues in order to incorporate them with our own. We do not wish to eradicate the main peculiarities of our dominant theological system; for we believe that the stock of American theology is sound and healthy and thriving; but we wish to engraft upon it some of the choicest fruits of other climes, to retain all the goodness of the tree, and to increase its productive power.

Again, our theological science would be materially improved,

were we to introduce stricter examinations of our theological candidates. The late Dr. Nordheimer once remarked to one of the authors of this essay, that he spent sixteen hours in uninterrupted study, immediately preceding his examination for the degree of doctor in philosophy; and then without taking either respite or refreshment, submitted to the examining process. The examination of a theological licentiate in Germany is made so important, and is conducted with so much critical acumen as to stimulate the mind of the youthful scholar for a long time previous, and thus to exert a perceptible influence in raising the standard of clerical attainment. With us, however, it is not so. Even in our preparatory schools and colleges, although the examination is held up *in terrorem* as an incitement to careful study, we perceive no very great advancement in scholarship on this account. And in some of the learned professions, the candidate for preferment derives but little substantial profit from any ordeal through which he must pass, in presence of scrutinizing examiners. We must concede to the other professions the praise of exacting much more in this respect, than is required by those who are bidden to lay hands suddenly on no man. Where strictness is most needed, there is it least observed. If a student applies for admission to a theological seminary, he is examined, but almost invariably admitted. If one has finished the preparatory course, and applies for license, we are careful to examine him, too careful also to approve him. In general, no one expects, or fears that he shall be rejected, however little he may be found to know of the science in which he ought to be learned. If he fail before one association or presbytery or bishop, he flees to another. Our examinations, as at present conducted, may indeed be useful, but it is certainly not one of their chief uses, to raise the standard of theological attainment. Indeed, it may be a question, whether they have not some tendency to depress this standard; whether they do not encourage idleness; or a habit of loose and superficial study, which is in fact but a flattering species of idleness. By no means would we make our examinations so strict that men who would be really valuable members of the profession must be excluded. Still we would have them much more searching and comprehensive than they now are. We would have our young men taught to feel that something is at stake, when they come to these trials; that consequences of moment will result from the manner of their passing the ordeal. Our examinations might be so conducted as to render a thorough and critical study indispensable for sustaining

them. They might, without even the appearance of undue severity, be made a constant warning to the dilatory, a constant encouragement to the studious. They might be connected, and that most profitably, with our system of educational charities, and might thus be made a powerful stimulus to intellectual exertion. Let our eleemosynary aid be proffered to such as may need it, on their sustaining certain specified examinations, and it would become the reward of diligence and an honor to merit, instead of being, as it now too often is, a help to men who expect to be assisted through life rather than to make themselves. Our education societies ought to exert a powerful influence upon the character of their beneficiaries, and the reception of the charities of the church ought to be a mark of superior diligence and uncommon acquisitions in the recipient. In other lands the scholarships for the relief of indigent students are awarded to the most meritorious, to those who make the greatest proficiency in their appropriate studies. Should we introduce such a system of test-examinations into our land, the influence of it would by no means be confined to the earlier stages of the professional course. Men who had passed through such an ordeal would go out into the world with a higher character for sound and varied learning, and they would everywhere be more respected, as having made attainments beyond those of ordinary men. In a country of republican freedom, where almost every man who wishes a morsel of bread, can through some avenue or other find his way into the priest's office, it seems preëminently important that such as desire to perpetuate and increase the dignity of this office, should insist on merit, well proved, severely tested merit, as a condition of license to preach the gospel.

Once more, we cannot do justice to the cause of theological education among us, without more division of labor among our theological teachers. We require often of one and the same professor, that he teach hermeneutics and exegesis, sacred geography and chronology, the Hebrew and Greek languages. Another must teach natural and revealed theology, ethics and metaphysics. A third is required to teach ecclesiastical history, church government, pastoral theology, and as much more as can, by any construction, be said to belong to this class of topics. Each of these professors is sometimes required, in addition, to criticise the sermons of candidates, and to conduct other parts of the homiletical course, to preach also, and officiate as pastor of the seminary church. Now it is preposterous to suppose that one man can

treat thoroughly so extensive a class of themes. We have often heard a distinguished professor in one of our oldest colleges, lament, in the strongest terms, the injustice which both himself and his departments are compelled to suffer, because so many and so varied duties are committed to him; and yet he has charge of but three separate branches of natural science, not by any means so much as we impose upon a single teacher in our theological seminaries. He who attempts too many things, does nothing well. The mere department of pulpit-elocution, is sufficient of itself to drink up the energies of any one man; but where is this provided for as a distinct department of theological instruction? Hence it is, that a pulpit orator is seldom found among our clergymen. The principles of oratory are but little understood. They are not properly taught, nor can they be, in the present arrangements of our theological schools. But we ought to be merciful enough to the teachers of our seminaries, and politic enough for the welfare of our churches, to distribute the various departments of theology among a larger number of distinct professors. We cannot hope to carry any branch of sacred study to its attainable perfection, without more of the political economist's division of labor. In the University of Halle are eleven theological teachers; in the University of Berlin are thirteen. Some of these teachers, it is true, deliver parallel courses of lectures, but they divide among themselves, in a measure, the responsibility of the theological department of the university. In this country, the demands upon a preacher are far greater than in any other; and the means of his complete education ought to be more ample. But we find two of our theological seminaries with but one professor, each; eleven of them with but two professors; fourteen of them with but three; five of them with four; only three of them with five; and with us, five are considered a full organization. This deficiency suggests another topic which we deem of great importance.

In order to secure a higher standard of theological attainment in our land, we must have fewer theological seminaries. If we would introduce a better division of labor, we must bring more of the laborers together, where they may distribute their duties among themselves. We are aware that it accords well with our character as a people, to have many rather than few institutions of sacred learning. We consult our convenience; we look mainly at present and practical good; we are jealous of concentration, especially in corporate bodies; we are not insensible to consid-

erations of local pride ; we are impatient of all dependence on our neighbors ; we are glad, therefore, not only to have a common school, but if we may, an academy, a college, a professional seminary at our own door. Hence we have all these various institutions in great numbers ; so great that a large proportion of them do and must languish. This is especially the fact with our colleges and theological schools.

Now we are free to confess, that we are no converts to this short-sighted policy ; and we are forced to believe that its influence upon the state of theological science is highly injurious. So far as the interests of sacred learning are concerned, there is no necessity for more than six or seven seminaries for the whole Congregational and Presbyterian denominations in the United States. The different parts of our land are now brought so near each other by the facilities of communication with which we are favored, that a small number of divinity schools, properly located, would be sufficiently accessible to the various sections of our country. This limited number would accommodate all our theological candidates, in regard to distance of travel, as well as twice that number would have done twenty years since ; and to plead for a new seminary in this State, or beg for an old one in that, because it may happen to be geographically nearer some few aspirants for the ministry than one in a neighboring State, is a kind of policy that savors more of republicanism and Americanism, than of sound sense or of sober thought. An individual student may receive some advantages from the location of a seminary in his own immediate neighborhood ; but these advantages are more imaginary than real. The good, when it actually exists, is often counterbalanced by evils. And even were it always a real good, and a great one, still we should not, and could not be reconciled to that excessive multiplication of seminaries which we now lament. Just so far as we render these seminaries local and provincial in their adaptations, we fail to make them attractive to students who are free from provincial tastes, and we fail to inspire our theological candidates with that generous and liberal spirit, which they might derive from more national establishments. Our theological institutions are becoming so numerous, as to render the appropriate division of labor among their teachers absolutely impracticable. The patronage of the community is so much divided, that in some instances it appears to be wasted. The dignity of our seminaries is sometimes lost by the efforts which they feel constrained to make, for the increase

of funds and of students. Their agents are sometimes tempted to adopt the same means, which are usually considered the patent-right of medicine-venders and "travelling merchants." The newspaper puffs of theological institutions, the extravagant eulogiums on "the low price of board," and on the great facilities for self-maintenance, betoken a spirit of rivalry, and of jealousy, and of eagerness to live, which is truly heart-sickening. There is also great danger, that the standard of requisitions for license to preach will be more and more depressed, as our schools are obliged to struggle, and to underbid each other, for pupils. It is, moreover, impossible for all our existing seminaries to give an adequate support even to the few teachers whom they are enabled, on any terms, to procure; and hence are many valuable men, who ought to be wholly absorbed in their profession, obliged to act as travelling agents and as newspaper correspondents, for the purpose of eking out a subsistence which is at last altogether inferior to their necessities or their merits.

And where, meanwhile, is the cause of theological science? Where are the influences which nurture and advance it? It is not overlooked; it is in some degree promoted; but no rational observer will doubt, that were all the funds now devoted to the education of the rising clergy, concentrated upon fewer seminaries, and were all the men now employed in theological instruction, wisely distributed among a smaller number of theological schools, there would be an immense gain to sacred science, and to the efficiency of our ministers. Our feeble, mendicant institutions are in danger of imparting a sickliness to our theological character. Every seminary that is not plainly needed, is plainly a nuisance. It may do some, even much good service; but at the expense of still greater and better services, which it precludes. Its utility is local and ephemeral, but it draws off the resources of other seminaries which can be, and which ought to be of far more extensive and permanent benefit. Its life will ere long be extinct, and it will then stand as a mere brick and mortar monument of a zeal, which was not according to knowledge and which, therefore, soon died away. A small good which prevents a larger good, is often the most unmanageable of evils.

It may be objected, that were the number of our theological seminaries reduced, we should have a reduced number of theological students. But even in this case, the students who should be educated would be of more elevated character, and would

make more useful attainments, than those who are now so imperfectly provided for. It is, however, by no means certain, that the reduction of the number of our theological seminaries would diminish the number of theological candidates; for it is easy to see, that the expenses incident to a course of study might be greatly lessened, if the community would avail themselves of existing endowments rather than multiply new endowments which are not needed. The same professorships, for example, and to some extent the same buildings and libraries would supply the wants of a hundred and fifty students, which are now provided for half that number, and the true economy is to make the apparatus which is already procured, subservient to the wants of as many students as can conveniently make use of it.

It may be further objected, that different parties in our churches desire to be represented in their own seminaries. But this is the very way to perpetuate parties. If any theological scheme needs to be represented in a theological seminary, there is a better mode of securing this representation. Let the advocates of this scheme establish a professorship in some seminary that is already in existence, rather than institute a new one. Instead of two starveling schools, let them have one thoroughly furnished. If the theologians who adopt the principles of Kant, are dissatisfied with the theological instruction at an existing seminary, why should they deem it essential to be at the expense of obtaining new buildings, a new library, and an entire corps of new officers, in order to have their favorite philosophy properly taught? Why not provide for its introduction just where it must in their esteem be most needed, within the walls of those very institutions which are wedded to a different philosophical theology? Why may we not have parallel courses of instruction, in so comprehensive a science as the theological, at the same seminary? It is certainly better in many respects that opposing systems be taught at the same, than at different schools. The respective advocates of each would indulge less antipathy were they thus associated, than they will cherish if widely separated. Party spirit would become less rancorous. And the education obtained at such a seminary would be more complete, because the instructors would be more numerous, and the whole apparatus for instruction more ample.

It may also be objected, that such a reduction in the number of our seminaries would bring too many young men into one society. But this is an objection which would apply to a collegiate,

rather than to a theological course; for in the latter our students are of such a character, and have attained to so mature an age, that we might expect much good rather than evil, from the attendance of large numbers at the same institution. We might expect more of literary and religious sympathy, a higher standard of character and attainment, than we find in our narrow seminaries, which are sometimes given over to one party or to a single neighborhood, and which are therefore denied the influences of an enlarged and a healthy public sentiment.

A comparison of our literary institutions with those of the old world, will easily develop one reason why those are so generally sustained, while ours are of such stunted growth. The attention of our sparse population is distracted by one hundred and one colleges and universities, and by thirty-nine theological schools. The largest of our colleges contains fewer than four hundred and fifty students; and some of them, not more than thirty. Not one of our theological seminaries contains more than one hundred and fifty students; the great majority of them contain less than forty; and some of them, less than ten. In some of them the officers and trustees are more numerous than the students, and it appears as if the suns of the firmament were revolving around a few pale planets. Germany, on the other hand, although so much more densely peopled than the United States, is content with less than thirty universities, and in these are included the theological schools of the land. The university at Vienna contained in 1841, 2700 students; that at Berlin, 2090; that at Munich, 1300. In the same year the university at Oxford enrolled on its list of pupils 5200; that at Cambridge, 5530;¹ that at Edinburgh, 2200; that at Dublin, 1350; that at Paris, 7000. We by no means wish to recommend such immense collections of young men at our seats of learning, but we insist that our tendency is to the opposite extreme, and that by multiplying our small institutions, we render it impossible to obtain that amount of apparatus and external aid, which is essential to the advance

¹ The number of actual residents at Oxford and Cambridge was much less, however, than the number of enrolled students. The number of residents at Oxford was 2749, that at Cambridge, 2873. At Oxford were 32 professors and lecturers, 37 university officers, and 199 collegiate officers; total 268. In Cambridge were 49 professors and lecturers, 20 university officers, and 179 collegiate officers; total 248. At Berlin in 1840 were 396 theological students; at Halle 402. In 1830, Berlin had 474 theological students, and Halle 570, Bonn 406, Breslau 415, Leipzig 444, Munich 414.—See *American Quarterly Register*, Vol. XIV. pp. 412, 414. Vol. XV. pp. 330, 331.

of good letters. This suggests another topic, which although alluded to already, yet demands a more distinct consideration. We add, therefore the following remark :

Much would be gained towards elevating the standard of theological education in our land, were our theological seminaries provided with more extensive and valuable libraries than they now possess. In this view the preceding topic assumes a new importance. We have already seen, that if our seminaries were less numerous, they might be more liberally patronized than at present. The same amount of funds which make three or four poor institutions, would go far towards making a single good one. If what we now have invested in more than thirty seminaries were given to a third of that number, one great evil under which we are laboring would be partially remedied. Instead of more than a score of libraries, all meagre, some of them insufficient for the mere private use of an ordinary pastor, we might have a few libraries which would exert a favorable influence upon the clerical profession throughout the whole country. We must always remember, that the same collection of works may be needed for fifty students, which are required for treble that number; and it is in vain to hope, that the community will be sufficiently interested in *all* our seminaries to furnish them with such libraries as are demanded for the highest usefulness, and the appropriate influence of true schools of the prophets. The libraries of all our theological seminaries collectively, contain about 130,000 volumes; but it is easy to see that the same number of volumes might be far more valuable, if they were procured for a smaller number of institutions, than they now are. They might then be *selected*, whereas they are now chiefly *collected*. They might then be scientifically arranged, and each department might be thoroughly provided for, whereas at present a large part of our books are ill chosen and ill assorted. True, the members of some of our theological seminaries have access to more extensive libraries, connected with colleges or universities in their vicinity; but what are the privileges of our students in this respect, when compared with the privileges of the European scholars. The royal library at Berlin contains more than 500,000 volumes; the library at Göttingen, nearly 300,000; that at Munich, nearly 800,000; the royal library at Paris, about the same number. The theological departments of these libraries are richly supplied; and it must be borne in mind, that the theological pupil, as well as professor, needs a large number of volumes which are not distinctively re-

ligious in their character. Now the libraries at Cambridge, New Haven, New York, Andover, Bangor, Princeton, Auburn, Newton, and Cincinnati, contain together less than a quarter of the number of volumes, which are accessible to the theologian at Munich or at Paris.

The objection often meets us, it is true, that no one can ever read so many books as are collected at the European universities: but one can refer with great advantage to volumes which he need not thoroughly peruse; the various professors of an institution, can derive from its extensive library the means of vast profit to the pupils; and the collection of volumes is immense, which is sometimes necessary to supply the demands of even an individual scholar. Hundreds of treatises must sometimes be consulted on a single subject; and where the stimulus of a great library is wanting, many important themes, which might be most profitably considered, will never be discussed. It is now impossible for us to prepare in this country some literary works, which are important for our national scholarship. Some of our most erudite volumes must be written, like Robinson's *Researches*, in the vicinity of the European universities. It is not right, that our free and independent country should be so much beholden to foreign lands. In some departments, indeed, we cannot hope to possess such rich materials as the libraries of Europe contain. We cannot expect, for instance, to be furnished with such valuable ancient manuscripts as are found in those old universities. But in other departments we may be more amply supplied even than they are; and our duty to the cause of sacred learning is not done, until our present extreme deficiency in this respect is remedied. Nor in this respect alone; for the department of libraries is but a single one in which our theological schools are far too scantily provided with the means of instruction. The same train of remark may be adopted with regard to several other facilities of mental progress, for want of which the science of theology is more depressed among us than it ought to be. We have not, indeed, a single theological seminary which furnishes to its professors or students all the means of usefulness, which might well be provided in such a land as ours. The most affluent of our seminaries are obliged to withhold many of those instrumental aids, which are essential to the completeness of education.

Again, in order to improve the state of our theological science, we must receive more stimulus to literary effort from the laity than we now have. The churches must feel it to be their duty

not only to sustain, but also to enlarge the institutions of learning which they have originated. In our efforts for other lands, we must not forget our interests at home. Let our schools of science languish, and all our foreign charities must be likewise diminished. The vital connection of these schools with the interests of true piety, is too much overlooked. Every bequest of funds to endow professorships, and to enlarge libraries, is a direct stimulus to candidates for the ministry, as well as to ministers themselves, to furnish themselves the more thoroughly for their great work. It exalts the character of the clergy, and therefore of the people. It tends to diffuse through the world the virtues of our national character. At the present day, there is imperative need of incentive to high literary attainments among our pastors. The people are making rapid progress in intelligence, and the preachers are bound to advance faster and further than their hearers. Our laymen must be convinced of the importance of extensive theological learning among the clergy; and must be led to feel, that their own highest spiritual good is dependent upon the patronage which they give to the cause of sound christian literature. It does not seem impracticable, to induce our intelligent laymen to provide large clerical libraries, which shall be the property of the churches for the use of their pastors; libraries composed of standard works in all the various departments of theology, such as cannot be purchased by the ministers themselves, but such as no minister can neglect without hazard to his mental growth. Nor does it appear impossible to convince our people, that the pecuniary support of their pastors should be more liberal, less regulated by considerations of the minister's immediate, absolute wants, and more regardful of his enlarged and ultimate usefulness. As our clergy are at present sustained, they seldom have the means of procuring such libraries, as are in any degree commensurate with their necessities, and they not unfrequently pine for want of fitting intellectual sustenance. Above all, we deem it highly important, that more encouragement to study should be given to the minister by his people. He should not be invited, and almost compelled to be long absent from his books. So much pastoral labor is now exacted of him, so much preaching, so many conferences and lectures, and other similar forms of service, that he has little time for unbroken study, and when he does sit down for continuous reading, his mind is distracted by cares for even the temporal interests of his family or his friends or parishioners. Let the proper

helps and encouragements come to him from the people, and a new impulse will be given to his mind.

Our laymen, too, should feel their responsibility in regard to the theological treatises which our writers are from time to time preparing for the press. Through want of this feeling of responsibility our literature not unfrequently suffers. Works that would be of great value are not undertaken, lest their authors or publishers, should find the enterprise injurious to their interests. Even some important works that are fully prepared for the press, are withheld because there seems to be an insufficient demand for them. The Ecclesiastical History of Neander has been translated by one of our most accomplished scholars; but why is it not seized with avidity by our publishers? Why is it allowed to remain a day longer from the shelves of our booksellers? Our clergy need and desire the work; but too many of them feel unable to patronize it, and therefore do not urge its publication. Now our private church-members should regard it as their duty to take away our reproach in this particular. They should extend a spontaneous and liberal patronage to every author, who contributes his quota to the store of theological learning, and should come forward liberally to the sustaining of those enterprises, which require a greater outlay of capital than can be fully refunded by the clergy and the professed literati. They should feel it to be a christian duty, to extend the usefulness even of those treatises which are designed expressly for the learned. Their obligation to furnish their pastor with the means and the opportunity of perusing expensive and elaborate works, should be felt to be as real, if not so pressing, as their obligation to provide for him a place of residence, or any other means of physical comfort. Is not the life of the intellect more than meat?

Finally, our theological science will never be improved as we wish it to be, until it is pervaded with a more elevated religious spirit. Let it not be surmised, that the profound and varied learning which has been recommended in this essay, will be adverse to the piety of its possessors. Such learning leads the mind away from the common temptations of life, and tends to elevate the minister above those degrading sins to which the indolent and ignorant are exposed. Nor does it legitimately tend to flatter his pride. It rather inspires him with humility. His safety lies in confining himself to his appropriate duties; and of these duties, the diligent occupation of his intellect is one. His danger arises

from neglecting his proper vocation, from devoting his mind to themes of ephemeral interest, rather than to subjects of high and eternal moment. Nor will the extensive researches which we have recommended, interfere with the practical duties of his office. It will rather incite to their performance. Attention to one duty predisposes to the discharge of another. He who is faithful to the souls of his fellow-men, while he is in his study, is prepared to be faithful while he is in more intimate converse with them. He will soon learn that piety is the spring of his mental progress; that his speculations are successful, in proportion as they are regulated by holy feeling, and that without faith it is impossible either to please God, or fully to understand his character. Let our theological science cease to be animated by a religious spirit, and its declension is sure. Let it be enlivened by a deeper love of spiritual truth, and it will be necessarily more comprehensive, more thorough, more enlarged in its compass and its aims. We rejoice that so many of our theologians have been distinguished for their christian fervor; we pray that many more of them may here shine as lights in the moral world, and hereafter as stars in the kingdom of heaven. We would offer up with devout hearts the Student's Prayer which Lord Bacon has left us: "To God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit, we pour forth most humble and hearty supplications, that He remembering the calamities of mankind and the pilgrimage of this our life in which we wear out days few and evil, would please to open to us new refreshments out of the fountains of His goodness for the alleviating of our miseries. This also we humbly and earnestly beg, that human things may not prejudice such as are divine; neither that from the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulity or intellectual night may arise in our minds towards divine mysteries. But rather that by our mind thoroughly cleansed and purged from fancy and vanities, and yet subject, and perfectly given up to the Divine Oracles, there may be given up unto faith, the things that are faith's. Amen."

ARTICLE VIII.

THE DOCTRINE RESPECTING ANGELS.

Translated from the Theological Lectures of Dr. A. D. C. Twisten, Professor of Theology in the Frederic William University at Berlin, by Rev. Henry Boynton Smith of West Amesbury, Mass.

[THE full title of the work, from which the following Article is translated, reads, Lectures upon the Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Only two volumes have as yet appeared. The first edition of the first volume was issued in 1826; it reached a fourth edition in 1840. It is occupied with what the Germans now comprehend under the title, Introduction to Doctrinal Theology; comprising discussions respecting the nature of religion, the relation of theology to philosophy, the general progress and history of theological science, and the sources of religious truth. The second volume, published in 1837, contains the Doctrine respecting God, in his independence, his relation to the world, and in his triune existence; together with the Angelology.

Dr. Twisten is the successor of Schleiermacher in the theological faculty of the Berlin University. As a theologian he professes to stand upon the basis of Schleiermacher's principles, but, as is evident from this Article, his statements are mainly derived from Scripture, as interpreted in the standards and standard authors of the Lutheran church. Among the evangelical men of Germany he stands conspicuous for the ability with which he defends the substance of the old Lutheran Theology against the bold objections of rationalists, and the bold skepticism of some philosophers. His name, as a judicious and orthodox divine, is second to none of the living German authors.—Ta.]

THE doctrine respecting angels belongs among those which are not deduced from data given by the mere reason, but received on the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, and then further elucidated by inference and reflection.¹ The bare analysis of our religious

¹ Existentia angelorum nititur non tam argumentis probabilibus ex philosophia petitis,—sive a gradibus entium et complemento universi, sive a testimoniis humanis, sive ab experimentis variis,—quam apodictico argumento, clarum nimirum et crebra Scripturae assertione.—*Quenstedt*, P. I. cp. XI. de angelis,

consciousness would hardly lead us to this doctrine ; but it would not therefore follow, that after it is given us by Scripture, it may not be found to have a high value in connection with our religious experience. We will, therefore, first endeavor to present it as it has been developed, in accordance with the Scriptures, in the doctrinal system of the church ; and, then, we will investigate its importance in connection with religious experience, or its relation to the Christian consciousness. Under the former head, will be especially considered whatever has been thought important to be defined, respecting the idea and the nature of angelic beings, their relation to the divine will, or their moral condition ; and their relation to us, or in general their offices and occupations.

§ 1. *The Nature of Angels.*

The doctrinal definitions respecting the nature of the Angels may be comprised in three leading particulars. 1. They are spiritual beings (*substantiae spirituales*) ; differing from God, in that they are finite and created (*finitae, creatae*), and from men, in that they do not need a body to the perfection of their existence (*completae*), in other words, in that they are purely spiritual. 2. They belong in general to another order of things than ourselves, not to our planetary sphere, not even to the corporeal world or the world of sense, but to heaven, (*Matt. 22: 30*) ; if we may employ an expression that has lately come into vogue, we would say, they belong to the "*intelligible*" or as we may say, spiritual world.¹ 3. Yet they can come into contact with the world of sense, can appear in it, and there exercise their powers and produce effects.

In accordance with these fundamental definitions, manifold *attributes* may be ascribed to them. 1. As spiritual existences, they possess understanding and free will, (*vis intellectiva, vis volendi*,

Sect. 1. thes. 3. Conf. *Baier*, P. I. cap. III. § 3. *Hollaz*, P. I. cap. IV. qu. 2 ; (who does indeed also adduce arguments from reason, but with the remark, that, for them, the existence of angels may be inferred only *topice et probabiliter, non apodictice et irrefragabiliter* ; while on the other hand the same *certainly innotescit e scriptura sacra et creditur fide divina*).—*Baumgarten*, Th. I. §. 657.

¹ This expression is new only in connection with the new import and development lately given to the idea of the "*intelligible world* ;" for even the fathers of the church describe the angels as *οὐρανοὶ νοηταί* (in contrast with the *αἰσθητόν* or *τῇ αἰσθήσει ὑπόπιπτον*), and as *ὑπερχόμοιοι* ; conf. *Pelav.* theol. dogm. P. III. L. I. cp. 3. § 4—7.

liberum arbitrium); and their understanding must be far superior to that of man. 2. As beings belonging to a higher order, it follows, that they are not subject to the restrictions and conditions of the world of sense; they are not merely independent of the conditions connected with sensuous perceptions and a bodily nature, (in which respects invisibilitas, immaterialitas, indivisibilitas, incorruptibilitas are ascribed to them); but they are also not subject to the restrictions of space, of time, of change or of growth, (expressed by the attributes, illocalitas, immortalitas, immutabilitas). Some uncertainty and indefiniteness are thrown, it must be confessed, over this last group of attributes, from the consideration, that the angels are not to be conceived of as absolutely elevated, like God, above the conditions of our existence, but only relatively so, being still finite in their nature. Thus, they neither occupy space, nor are they confined nor restrained by it, (in virtue of their illocalitas, they are neither repletive nor circumscriptive in aliquo loco); yet they are neither immense nor omnipresent, as is God; their existence and agency are to be so referred to some particular place, *somewhere*, that we can speak of them as present in such a place and in no other; to them may be definitely attributed some *πῶς*; loco corporeo coëxistent.¹ Further, their existence is not measured by time; but they are not eternal as is God. An *aevum* or a *duratio aeviterna* is attributed to them, which is, however, defined as a time which has beginning, but no end; hence the attribute, *immortality*.² In both respects, then

¹ *Quenstedt*, de angelis, Sect. I. thes. 10. fin. Properly speaking, it is only what is corporeal or material, that can be said to be in any given space; but so far as spirit stands in any relation, e. g. that of efficiency, to a body found in space, or to space that may be, or is filled by anything corporeal, which relation it does not have to any other body or space, there may be attributed to it *κατ' οὐρανόν*, or *κατ' ἐνέργειαν*, a *πῶς*, without which, indeed, it could not be said that a spirit could go from or come to any place, (as in Luke I: 26, 28. 8: 33). Yet, according to *Gerhard* (L. VI. sect. 7. § 50 seq.), this relation is not to be conceived of merely as a *praesentia virtualis*, but also as a *praesentia substantialis*; for the sheer applicatio virtutis, which is as far as Aquinas goes, would be only the manifestation of a power or efficiency, but not an actual presence. Moreover, we are not able to make to ourselves a distinct image, different from this, of the relation which our own spirits have to space, or to a body in space, although we may actually think of it as being different.

² In strictness of language, the *aevum* or *aeviternitas* is meant to be something intermediate, between the *eternity* which is attributed to God, and *time* which is ascribed to the world of sense. (*Aevum angelis tribuitur, quod medium est inter aeternitatem et tempus.*—*Quenstedt*.) But if the difference be made to consist merely in this, that *eternity* has neither beginning nor end; that *aevum*

more is attempted than is attained, when we would represent their mode of existence as wholly different from that of the human spirit; excepting so far as this, that to the latter, the union with a body is essential, but to the angels, (as when they assume a visible body for certain purposes,) it is something accidental and transient.¹ But the chief difference may be found in the circumstance, that the angels are not to be conceived of as subject to the law of change and progress; they *are*, what they are; unchangeable, neither increasing nor diminishing, complete after their kind. Yet it must be conceded, that they have *become*, what they are, (as we shall see when we come to consider their *states*,) and their immutability is not absolute, not like that of God, but only comparative, in relation to other creatures, (as De Wette expresses it, *immutabilitas, non omnimoda, sed comparate talis*). What seems to us vascillating in these definitions of our Lutheran theologians, would perhaps have been more happily avoided, if they had had a clear conception of what we may have called the spiritual or "*intelligible*" world, in distinction from the world of sense. This idea was introduced into our philosophy by Kant, and defined as a permanent ground of sensuous phenomena, which is not itself subject to the conditions and limitations of the world of sense.² But this idea, as we shall see

has a beginning but no end; and that *time* has both beginning and end; then we have, after all, in *ævum* only the notion of time, and have attributed to the angels nothing more than what belongs to the human spirit. Scaliger made a distinction between *ævum* and *ætus*, (repudiated by Gerhard in his *Loc. de creatione*, § 51,) which would seem to be more philosophical; *ætas*, ascribed to man, is measured by time, *ævum*, ascribed to the angels, is measured by eternity, and this eternity is the essence of God himself.

¹ It is the uniform representation of the old Lutheran theologians, that the angels are, in their own nature, *αἰῶλοι καὶ ἀσώματοι*, and that only *κατ' οἰκονομίαν* do they sometimes come into an accidental union with matter; conf. *Gerhard*, loc. de ang. § 41, 42; *Quenstedt*, de angelis, Sect. II. qu. 2; *Baier*, de ang. § 5, not. c. For other views, see *Petavius*, theol. dogm. P. III. Lib. I. cp. 2—4. Many later theologians in our church have wished to ascribe to the angels a kind of etherial body.

² *Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. S. 566; *Fries*, Neue Kritik, II. S. 133; *Schelling*, über d. Wesen der Freiheit. S. 465. [That, in an object of sense, which is not the manifestation, I call its *intelligible* part. Accordingly, if that which in the world of sense must be regarded as a manifestation, has also in itself a power, which power is not an object of sensuous perception, by which it may become the cause of visible manifestations; then the causality of this object may be considered under two points of view; it may be considered as *intelligible* in its efficiency when viewed by itself alone, and as *sensible* in its actual effects, when manifested in the world of sense. . . . Thus in an object of

when we come to investigate it more fully, while it solves some difficulties, introduces others. It is, then, most advisable for us, in endeavoring to form a conception of the nature of angels, to adhere to the view, that in comparison with the human spirit, when this is considered apart from the body, it is different from it rather in degree than in kind. 3. In respect of the causality or efficiency which the angels exert, there is ascribed to them not only the faculty of communication, (*loquela s. facultas loquendi*, and this, too, in relation to one another without the medium of material signs, *per species intelligibiles intellectui impressas*,) but also a might and activity, far greater and more agile than that of man and other created beings, (*summa potentia et agilitas*).

All these definitions respecting the nature and qualities of angels are, in part, derived from the declarations of the Holy Scripture, and in part, deduced from a comparison of the conceptions thus attained with our own spiritual nature, in connection with the idea of the "*intelligible*" or spiritual world, present in the mind, and modifying its views. The scholastics have thrown out and discussed many very subtle, and many too subtle questions which we pass over as being of an uncertain or fruitless character.¹

the world of sense, we have, first, an empirical character, by which its visible manifestations are connected with other visible manifestations, and with the uniform laws of nature. Secondly, we must also concede an *intelligible character* to it, in virtue of which it is indeed the cause of phenomena, but which does not itself stand under the condition of the world of sense. The former expresses the character of a thing in its manifestations, the latter the character of a thing, *per se* (*Ding an sich*). In its intelligible character it is not subject to any conditions of time, for time is only the condition of visible manifestations, not of the thing *per se*, of an object in itself considered. It is not subject to the laws of change. Its causality, so far as it is intellectual or intelligible, does not come into the series of empirical conditions. This intelligible character can, indeed, never be an object of direct knowledge to us, since we perceive nothing, excepting so far as it manifests itself; but still it must be conceived of in congruity with the empirical character of the object; as we must always in our thoughts assign some transcendental basis to all visible phenomena, although we may know nothing about this basis, when considered in itself, apart from its manifestations.—*Kant*, Kritik der reinen Vernunft. S. 506.—8. 2te. Aufl. 1787.]

¹ For example, When were the angels created? Before or after this world? If the latter, as most of the Lutheran theologians assume, on which of the six days? What is the nature of their knowledge? Can two angels be in one place at the same time? Our theologians, upon the whole, have been disinclined to enter into such discussions. *Gerhard* blames those, who de his omnibus ita disserunt, ut merito quis quaerat, quam nuper sint de coelo delapsi? and calls to mind the oft forgotten words,

Nescire velle, quae Magister maximus
Docere non vult, erudita nascita est.

There is, however, one point in respect to which some elucidation is required in order to guard against superstitious representations and unintelligent applications of the doctrine respecting angels. What is the relation in which the efficiency or causality ascribed to the angels in regard to the world of sense, stands on the one hand to the divine efficiency, on the other to those natural and moral powers and causes, to which we must always have especial reference in the judgment and treatment of what pertains to this world?¹

Our theologians have, indeed, advanced some positions and statements in reference to this subject, especially in its connection with the divine efficiency;² but a more close consideration shows them to be unsatisfactory. It has justly been remarked, that the power of the angels, great as it may be, is still ever to be thought of as created, finite, and absolutely subordinate to the divine agency. Then, too, certain acts are excepted from the sphere of their agency; for example, the producing of something out of nothing, the changing the nature given to anything at its creation, the raising of the dead, the performance of real miracles; because, in the Scripture, these are ascribed to God alone, and because they presuppose a creative and therefore an infinite power, like unto the divine. And, finally, although in itself considered this would not surpass the limits of a finite capacity, it has been denied, that the angels can operate directly, at least, upon the material or corporeal world, or in any other way than through the medium of natural causes, and in the mode prescribed by the natural relation of the active to the passive powers.³ If this could be proved, it were indeed a weighty principle; but it

¹ *Schleiermacher* lays down the canon that, whether there be angels or not, is a question which cannot have any influence upon our actions; and that we cannot expect to have any further revelations about their existence, (§ 43, second edition of the *Glaubenslehre*). But the question still remains, how this canon can be justified on the biblical ground, upon which the doctrine of the church is based?

² Conf. *Quenstedt* de angelis, Sect. I. thes. 9; Sect. II. qu. 4; *Hollaz*, de ang. qu. 8. c.; *Baier*, de ang. § 15, c.

³ *Baier*, l. c. Vis operandi, quae angelis competit, nec extendit se ad ea, quae excedunt finitam potentiam, nec ad omnia, quae sub finitam potentiam cadunt, immediate per suam potentiam efficienda:—unde, quamvis qualitatem spiritualem seu speciem intelligibilem extra se in alio angelo aut homine producere possint, corporeas tamen substantias immediate et per se producere aut immutare non possunt, sed mediantibus causis naturalibus et applicando activa passivis. Conf. *Quenst.* l. c. Sect. II. qu. 4. *Ex* 3. et solut. 6.

has not been generally adopted, nor adequately substantiated, limited or developed, either as to its grounds, its terms, its authority or its application.¹ Not in order to rectify this view, but to designate the points that ought to be considered in this connection, we would lay down the following canons for further discussion and examination:

1. Whatever may be the efficiency attributed to the angels, their relation to us can only be that of one finite to another finite cause; and is never to be imagined as similar to the relation which God, or Christ, or the Holy Ghost sustains to us.

2. The efficiency of the angels is, therefore, always to be represented in accordance with the laws of reciprocal action established between finite beings; hence, it never excludes our counter-action or reaction, and can neither annul the powers of nature nor the freedom of the will.

3. All action of angels upon the world of sense can take place only under the following condition; that they enter into, or become one, of the series of causes there at work; and that they themselves act *by means of* these causes, or in the *same mode* with them. For example, if an angel is to communicate anything to us, he must appear (as in Luke 24: 4. Acts 1: 10) in some such way as in the form of a man talking; if he is to produce a change in nature, it must be in some such way as is alluded to in Psalm 104: 4. Heb. 1: 7, "God maketh his angels winds, and his ministers flames of fire." To express this in logical phrase the proposition that an angel has spoken or acted, does not so much refer to the mode as to the ground of the action; and although in the mode, there must be something

¹ This view is propounded in just this form only in *Baier* and his predecessor *Musar*. But it might be asked, why the relation of angels to the soul of man is different from that to the body, so that they could be said to be able to produce a *qualitas spiritualis* in man, but no change in his body? *Heidegger* (*corpus doctrinae christ. loc. VIII. § 17, 18*), treats of this point more at length than others. While allowing a wide sphere to their operations, he denies, that they can directly influence the intellect or will of man. He seems to say, that whatever an angel may be able to effect in the midst of the mechanism of natural causes, it can effect only because the possibility of such an influence was previously established in the mechanism itself. Indefinite as this may seem, yet it is better than if it were thought that no canon at all were needed. Most of our theologians are contented with ascribing to the angels a certain great influence upon both body and soul, (against the objections of some Cartesians, e. g. Balthasar Becker) without inquiry into the *How* or *How far*. Conf. *Carповii*, theol. revel. I. § 1149—58; *Mosheim*, *elementa theol. dogm.* p. 399—402.

which induces us to seek the ground beyond the world of sense, yet our justification for doing this must be exhibited in the same way by the same logical process, and through the same media, as when we make an inference to a merely natural cause.¹

4. This entrance into the series of causes at work in the world of sense, may be looked upon as an original, a primitive, perhaps, also, as a transient influence; but it can leave behind it effects which will propagate the primitive influence, and which may, therefore, be considered as parts of the angelic efficiency. Thus, for example, the temptation of the first man by Satan continues to operate in the law of sin and death, which was thus introduced into the world.

5. The original entrance of angels into the world of sense, seems not to depend upon their own good pleasure alone; but, if we may judge from its infrequency, to be limited to narrow bounds. In this respect, and in its very nature, it is analogous to miracles, and hence, like these, appears to be specially attached to certain periods of divine revelation or of the development of God's kingdom in the world.

What is contained in these positions is probably, in its principles, the same that hovered before the minds of those theologians who have attempted to make definitions and statements in reference to this subject; although they might have hesitated to draw the same inferences. If any one thinks that he ought to repel these conclusions, because they appear to him to go beyond what it is permitted us to know on these points; let it be remembered, that our aim is not so much to give explications concerning the sphere and mode of angelic operations, as to bring our faith in the spiritual world into harmony with, what is weighty equally in the theoretical as in the practical point of view, our reliance upon the permanency and intelligibility of the natural and moral order that prevails in the visible creation.

¹ We cannot then concede, in general, an *immediate* influence of angels upon our souls, either in giving a direction to the understanding or will, or in calling up particular notions or determinations; nor can we assume that they exercise an indirect influence at their own pleasure or without cogent reasons. We must, however, distinguish between the operation of angels upon the world of sense, and the case of an individual belonging to this world being raised up into the sphere of angelic agencies; as Swedenborg maintained that to his eye the spiritual world was disclosed; and as we may represent to ourselves the state of ecstasy and of ecstatic visions. (2 Cor. 12: 2-4. Rev. 4: 2. 17: 3.)

§ 2. *The State (status) of Angels.*

Angels, being endowed with freedom of will, may be judged of in respect to their moral character; and this in a twofold point of view, since the Bible teaches us, that there are both good and evil angels. It is, however, clear, that this difference cannot be an original one; for, on the one hand, it belongs to the very idea of a distinction in moral character, that it must be referred back to an act of freedom; and it is also indisputable, that evil as such cannot be created by God. We have then to distinguish the original state, in which all angels were alike created in conformity with the divine goodness and holiness, (the *status originalis*, which was at the same time a *status gratiae*), from that state into which they afterwards came, (*status originalem secutus*), and which, again, is of a twofold character. For a part, this is a state of unalloyed evil, and, consequently, of the greatest misery, (*status miseriae*); for the other part, it is a state of perfect holiness and blessedness, (*status gloriae*). That intermediate condition in which we men exist, on the one side the state of increasing sinfulness, on the other the state of renewal begun in the faithful, exists not for the angels, since they are beings, who cannot be conceived of as living, in the same manner with ourselves, under the conditions of time and of progressive change.

For the idea of the primitive state of angels we thus obtain three definite statements. First, the general declaration which God made respecting the works of creation (Gen. 1: 31), is also valid for the angels, they were created, in the beginning, good and holy, (*angeli omnes initio sunt aequaliter justi, boni et sancti a Deo conditi*). Yet, in the second place, there must be made a distinction between this primitive perfection, and that perfection which is now and ever to be attributed to the good and elect angels, or the angels of light. And, in the third place, this original holiness cannot have excluded the possibility of the fall, by which the devil and his angels became sinful and wretched. Yet these statements still allow very different representations respecting the primitive state of the angels, as is particularly to be seen in the parties into which the scholastic theologians were divided. Some of them¹ define this primitive perfection in an almost nega-

¹ Among these we will here only adduce the *Magister Sententiarum* [*Petrus Lombardus*]. According to him (*Lib. II. dist. 3. F. and dist. 4. in fin.*), the angels were originally *boni*, i. e. *sine vitiis, non mali, justique*, i. e. *innocentes*,

tive way, as the mere absence of sin and evil. So far as the angels were supposed to need upholding grace, (which, however, was not directly and for all of them thought necessary to be assumed), these same theologians hardly allowed them sufficient ability to attain the ends of their creation. In respect to good and evil, they took for granted that the angels were in a state of entire indifference, so that the one as well as the other, considered as proper, positive good or evil, could only be the fruit of their free self-determination. In the other party¹ we discern the effort to elevate the original perfection of the angels so high as to be hardly consistent with the possibility of their falling, and with the distinction which must be retained between the status gratiae and the status gloriae. The Evangelical or Lutheran theologians adopt the latter view.

In accordance with this view, to the angels was ascribed the power of directing their actions in perfect accordance with the divine will, (*actiones omnes aeternae Dei legi conformiter instituendi et perficiendi*); and this original power was said to be not only natural but supernatural, reposing upon the grace communicated to them from the beginning, (*gratia, in qua constituti erant*).²

sed non virtutum exercitum habentes, further, perfecti quodam modo, alio vero modo imperfecti; tales erant qui stare poterant, i. e. non cadere per bona creationis, et cadere per liberum arbitrium; poterant enim peccare et non peccare, sed non poterant proficere ad meritum vitae nisi gratia superadderetur, quae addita est quibusdam in confirmatione.

¹ e. g. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. I. qu. 62.*

² That the angels needed supernatural, sustaining grace, was the doctrine even of those Scholastics, who held the highest idea of their primitive perfection. *Aquinas*, for example, (*I. qu. 62. art. 2.*) grounds this upon the distinction between the happiness proceeding from the perfect character of natural powers, and the blessedness which results only from the full vision of the divine perfections; this last is communicated by God only in a supernatural manner. The Lutheran theologians rested in this view, since it was admirably fitted to what they always had so much at heart, the denial of the creature's own merits; without, however, making as careful a distinction as they did in the doctrine of the original perfection of men, between what can be effected by the natural powers alone, and what by grace alone; only they would have it, that the two should not be separated; that no state be assumed in which the angels had only the former. According to Augustine, God created them, *Simul in eis et condens naturam et largiens gratiam*. It is of course understood, (as Baumgarten, *Th. I. S. 683* remarks,) that we do not here speak of grace, in the restricted sense, in which, "after the fall, it became absolutely necessary to man; but only of the grace which man was capable of receiving in his state of innocence." To man in this state belonged, among the adjuncts of the divine image, (according to Quenstedt, *P. II. ep. I. Sect. I. thes. 23.*) *donorum super-*

There was also ascribed to them a state of the understanding and will conformed to the idea of moral perfectness, (*habitus concreatus bonus, habitualis lux, et justitia, sapientia et sanctitas concreata*). They were not represented as merely indifferent to good and evil.¹ They had, if not an inward necessity (*necessitatio*), yet a propension to good (*propensio ad bonum*); their power of sinning, was not proximate but remote, (*potentia ad peccandum non proxima,—i. e. no proper basis, much less an inclination,—sed remota,*) which really amounts only to the denial of the impossibility, (the mere *negatio impossibilitatis ad peccandum*). This possibility remained because their original righteousness was indeed perfect, but not immutable, not a righteousness which could not be lost, (*justitia perfecta, sed non immutabilis aut inamissibilis*). In short, in order to their highest happiness and blessedness, there was wanting nothing but the beatific vision of God, which constitutes the essence of the status gloriæ, and which is held out as a gracious reward of steadfastness in the status gratiæ; together with the impossibility of sin belonging to this state.

The basis for this mode of representing the original state of the angels, was first of all found in certain declarations of the Holy Scriptures. For when (John 8: 44), it is said that the devil abode not in the truth, it would appear to follow from this that he originally possessed not only the power of knowing the truth, but also the knowledge of it; or, according to the broader sense which the word *ἀλήθεια* often bears, that he possessed original righteousness. When it is said, that the fallen angels *τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐτήρουν, ἀπολιπόντες τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον* (Jude 6), there was found in this an allusion to a primal elevation and blessedness, which they kept not, but most wickedly forfeited.² Our theologians also

naturalium accessio, cujusmodi sunt supernaturalis Dei favor, gratiosa s. Trinitatis inhabitatio et resultans inde suavitas et delectatio.

¹ Thus, when *Quenstedt* says, *conditi sunt ad bonum et malum indifferentes*, this must be interpreted by what follows in the passage, which is, for the most part, verbally the same, as what we have above cited from him and the other theologians; that is, it is not a state of indecision, or a precisely similar relation of their powers, tendencies and inclinations to both good and evil; but it is only that indifference which belongs to the essence of freedom, considered as the power of choice, and in contrast with that decided state introduced by and with the fall.

² According to the formerly received interpretation of this passage. Compare *Quenstedt*, de ang. Sect. I. thes. 13, not.: *Per τὴν ἀρχὴν intelligimus originalem et vere principalem angelorum conditionem, s. angelicæ dignitatis excel-*

There is one other consideration which may be adduced in support of the views of our theologians, to which we will refer later.

¹ *Hollaz*, P. I. cp. IV. qu. 10. prob. a.: Omnia, quae Deus fecit, fuerunt valde bona. Intelligitur bonitas cuique naturae rerum creaturarum operata; at agentibus liberis, e quorum censu sunt angeli, attemperata et in bonum convertens. In bonum autem non convertens, in malum convertens, in malum est bonitas moralis; hac enim deficiente sunt mali.

* *Quenstedt*, de ang. Sect. II. qu. 5. §. 5 : Status purorum naturalium quo angelos et homines primum conditos esse nonnulli Pontificii dicunt, putari figmentum est; de eo enim altum in Scriptura est silentium; sunt omnes angeli ad aeternam beatitudinem, adeoque omnes in statu constituti fuerunt et gratia necessaria instructi, qua finem, ad quem sunt, consequi poterint.

³ [This part of Dr. Twosten's work has not yet been published.]

quitting this subject. Though it has not been clearly expressed by them, yet it is everywhere presupposed, as though dimly floating before their minds. We refer to the idea of the existence of the angels in what we have called the "*intelligible*" or spiritual world, not conditioned by the laws of temporal life.¹ With a proper understanding of this conception, it might be clearly deduced, that what the angels could and would be, in conformity with the powers given them at their creation, they must actually become at once, without the intermediation of any state of indecision or of change, between the mere potentiality and the actual realization. Yet, thus considered, the doctrine of the primitive state of angels, would come into a shape, in which the whole of the above disputed question would lose its significance. For then we should no longer be able to speak of a primitive *state*. That which is so called, would then be distinguished only as the terminus creationis, as the object to which the creative efficiency of God was directed, (that is, merely in its conception, but not in the order of time,) from that which the angels became, in that they determined themselves to good or to evil.² As little as our older theolo-

¹ Upon this idea rests, what we remarked at the beginning of the section, that the status gloriæ or miseriæ proceeds immediately from the status gratiæ without any intermediate status peccati and instaurationis. More clearly than with our theologians, is this expressed in Aquinas. He concludes, (Summa I. qu. 62, art. 1.) that, an angel must possess at once all that he can obtain by virtue of his own nature, quia perfectionem hujusmodi non acquirit per aliquem motum discursivum, sicut homo, sed statim ei adest propter suæ naturæ dignitatem; that, on this account, post primum actum charitatis, quo beatitudinem meruit, actu beatitudinem consecutus est, (ibid. art. 5); that this must also be imparted to him at once in the highest degree without his being able to grow therein or add thereto, (ibid. art. 9); that, as the good angels per unum actum meritorum ad beatitudinem perveniunt, so likewise the evil spirits, by one sin committed immediately after their creation (ibid. art. 10), were plunged into absolute obduracy, (ibid. qu. 64, art. 2). All of this points to the difference between angels and the human soul, which he (qu. 53, art. 3.) defines by the alleged distinction between the coelestia et terrena corpora; quod corpora terrena per mutationem et motum adipiscuntur suam ultimam perfectionem, corpora vero coelestia statim ex ipsa sua natura suam ultimam perfectionem habent. But since, as before remarked, this idea had not come to distinct consciousness, we meet with much, especially in the later theologians, which is incongruous with it; as when the status originalis of the angels is designated, after the analogy of men, as a status viatorum, or as a state of probation: or, when Baumgarten (Th. I. § 6¹⁰) anatomizes the original perfection into facultates sibi invicem et fini suo conformes, habitos legitimo facultatum illarum usu acquisitos, and adds, periculo labendi obnoxium esse.

² Compare the mode in which Aquinas (I. c. qu. 63, art. 5.) answers the ques-

gians allow of any lapse of time, or of any valid distinction between the state of the natural powers with which the angels were endued at their creation, and the state of upholding grace, by which they are made capable of attaining their destination; so little could we assume a difference in the order of time, in respect of the good angels, between their receiving this capability and the actual attainment of the end by means of their free self-determination; or, between the grace which gives them the capability (*gratia gratos faciens*), and the grace which bestows the reward, (*gratia in bono confirmans*). Thus, too, in regard to the evil spirits, the first moment of their existence with the powers and capacities received from God, must be conceived of as the same with their choice of evil. The Bible seems to allude to this, when it says of the devil, (John 8: 44. 1 John. 3: 8,) that he sinned or was a murderer, from the beginning, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; and the Augsburg Confession, Art. xix. says, that the will of the devil, *so soon as God withdrew his hand*, turned from God to malice. By this supposition, too, we are relieved of the difficulty to which the idea of the *intelligible* or spiritual world is exposed, in the endeavors to explain the possibility of a transition out of one state into an entirely opposite state.

Yet, however this may be or be considered, we must always make a distinction between what the angels were at their creation, that is, in their innate powers and capacities, and what they now are, in their present condition; since, as Scripture testifies, only a

tion, utrum diabolus fuerit malus in primo instanti suae creationis per culpam propriae voluntatis? He finds the position untenable, on which some deny this, quia, cum duae operationes se consequuntur, impossibile videtur, quod in eodem. Nunc utraque operatio terminetur. There would be ground for this, he thinks, in motibus temporalibus, qui successive aguntur; sed si sunt mutationes instantaneae, simul et eodem instanti potest esse terminus primae et secundae mutationis, sicut in eodem instanti, in quo illuminatur luna a sole, illuminatur aër a luna; manifestum est autem quod creatio est instantanea, et similiter motus liberi arbitrii in angelis; non enim indigent collatione et discursu rationis; unde nihil prohibet simul et in eodem instanti esse terminum creationis et terminum liberi arbitrii. He indeed believes, according to the views of most of his predecessors, and, according to the interpretation they gave to the passages Isa. 14: 12 and Ezek. 28: 13, that he must decide in the negative; but still finds it probable (qu. 63, art. 6), diabolum statim post primum instans suae creationis peccasse, or, inter creationem et lapsum nullam moram fuisse, since, si diabolus in gratia creatus in primo instanti meruit, statim post primum instans beatitudinem acceperat, nisi statim impedimentum praestitisset peccando.

part abode in the purity and holiness, to which God created them, while the other part apostatized from their Lord and Creator.

† 3. *Good and Evil Angels.*

We have now to distinguish between good and evil angels; and, in respect to good angels, in another and higher sense than that in which all are created good.

Those angels, whom the Scriptures designate as the elect angels (1 Tim. 5: 21), or as angels of light (2 Cor. 11: 14), are holy and good, not merely in virtue of their natural powers, inclinations and character, but by means of an act of freedom, by their own decision or a self-elected course, which we may define, in general, as steadfastness in the truth, as obedience or love to God, without attempting to explain how, and in what this may have first shown itself.¹ Now, as in ourselves, a right state of the will reacts upon the other powers and states of the mind; as the motives and temptations to evil are more easily overcome, and what is right is more easily chosen and executed, in proportion to our constancy in duty, so that by degrees such a virtuous character is formed as makes, at least, certain kinds of sin a moral impossibility; so the angels, in consequence of the free election of what is good, have their connatural propension to good elevated into something higher than a mere propension. There is this difference, however, in the two cases; what we attain unto only gradually and by approximation, or what floats before us as an end first to be fully realised in a future life, is with them, in conformity to their nature which is not fettered by the law of time, something actually present and perfected. To this act of choice, then, directly succeeds a state in which the previous remote possibility of sin is become an impossibility; now they cannot sin, they are confirmed in holiness (confirmati in bono). But with this is connected a third point. The end for which the angels, as well as all rational beings, were created, is that perfect inward

¹ Quenstedt, de ang., Sect. I. thes. 18: Boni angeli dicuntur non tantum ob bonitatem entitivam s. metaphysicam, nec tantum propter habitum concreatum bonum, sed etiam ob *actum bonum* s. obedientiam Deo præstitam et in bono perseverantiam.—Baier, de ang. § 28. not.: Ac sunt qui angelis his peculiarem operationem assignent positam in pugna contra malos angelos et resistentia insultibus eorum opposita; de quo tamen Scriptura silet—This distinction between the status gratiæ and the status gloriæ, that they are to one another as *actus* and *habitus*, or more precisely, as *habitus actum consequens* and *antecedens*), is usually and unjustly neglected.

union with God, which is described as the vision and fruition of God (*visio et fruitio Dei*). If, now, it was necessary to the *status gratiae*, that they should be endowed with all natural and supernatural powers for the attainment of this end; then, in the *status gloriae*, the end must be actually attained; they enjoy the beatific vision of God, (*fruuntur visione Dei beatifica*), and this is identical with the steadfastness in holiness imparted to them; for, how could a being that had become a participant of such a perfect union with God, do otherwise than love above all things else the being who fills his whole soul?¹

But if this be so, would it not seem as though their freedom, and since this is absolutely necessary to moral goodness, also their holiness itself, were annulled? Just as little, as it would be true in respect to ourselves, to use an example already cited, that the abatement of the power to do wrong or the gradually developed impossibility of committing certain sins, includes the abatement of our free agency.² For we are not alone free in the moment of decision; free is also the state which we have embraced with freedom. And that semblance of the contrary which in respect to ourselves proceeds from the fact, that our determinations with their consequences fall into the sphere of time, (on which account we must not only say that we decide, but also that we have decided,³) does not hold in respect to beings, that are not

¹ Qui Deum, summum bonum, clare intuetur, non potest non perpetuo ipsis amore flagrare, cum nihil nisi bonum et amabile in eo cernatur; qui autem perpetuo Deum amat, non potest peccare.—*Hollaz*, de ang., qu. 12. In like manner *Baier*, de ang. § 29 and 30: Secutus est hanc visionem Dei amor intensissimus, quo voluntas angelorum. Deo inhaerere coepit, ut ab eo averti non posset; et sic facta est confirmatio eorum in bono sive determinatio voluntatis ad bonum, ut, quicquid agunt, id agant in ordine ad Deum, tanquam bonum infinite perfectum perfecte cognitum, sine labe ulla, ullo defectu.

² Our theologians usually add, that the freedom is higher, and perfect freedom, when we cannot choose evil, (*perfectissima libertas est non posse peccare, qua perfectione in summo gradu eminet Deus in agendo liberrimus*, *Hollaz*, l. c.); although this is true, yet it rests upon another idea of freedom, which should not be confounded with the one with which we have here to do. As we now mean, sin is as free as holiness, and holiness as free as sin; since the one is as freely elected as is the other.

³ For example, we are living in a certain way, under certain circumstances, which were originally anything but forced or imposed upon us; but in which we must now continue to live. What originally, before our choice, need not have occurred, now that we have chosen it, cannot be changed, and binds us with a power from which we cannot, or believe we cannot escape. After we have decided, we do not feel ourselves free in respect to the matter; and yet we cannot say that that is not free, which proceeded from our free decision.

conceived of as under the conditions of time. Hence, their holiness, although unchangeable, does not proceed from any kind of constraint, nor even from any inward natural necessity; but it is a free holiness and goodness. Along with this *libertas a coactione et necessitate interna*,¹ the Lutheran theologians attribute to the good angels freedom of choice in other particulars; although they cannot choose evil, yet among the manifold kinds of good, they can choose or not choose this or that, (*libertas exercitii s. contradictionis*), and they are able to execute their determinations in this or that way, (*libertas specificationis s. contrarietatis*). We will not inquire whether, on other grounds, there are adequate reasons for this statement;² but it is not necessary in order to prove that angels are free.

This freedom of theirs does not exclude grace; nor does it lay the foundation for any claim on the score of merit. It does not exclude grace; for, apart from the consideration that it is chiefly a gift of God, and that the powers upon which it is exercised are his gift, to freedom itself can only be ascribed that direction or

¹ *Hollaz* (de ang., qu. 14) justly adds this second term, although the first is all usually cited; but he cannot explain it otherwise than by the *libertas contradictionis et contrarietatis*. The true point of view is this; if freedom be anything more than spontaneity, (and we can speak of the spontaneous growth even of a plant,) it must be conceived of as independent, at least relatively so, not only of external influences, but also of any nature of the free being himself which can be described as perfectly and completely constituted previous to all self-determination. Accordingly, the relation of the nature of a free being to the act of that being is to be understood, that not merely is the act determined by the nature, but also the nature by the act, or, in certain respects, his own nature is to be understood as dependent on his own acts. The good angels are, then, inwardly free; not merely because they are good by nature, do they will what is holy, but because they will it, their natures are holy; that is, in their holiness they are free, because they determine themselves, (not merely *se ipsi*, but also *se ipsoe*), to holiness.

² Here, for example, might be found aid in deciding the question, whether the particular aims and means which the will should have in view, in the performance of duty, in a system of ethics, can be prescribed as definitely and necessarily as the duty itself; or whether the former are to be left discretionary, at least in part, with the free love and pious inclinations which cannot be brought into any definite system of duties? This is a question weighty in the highest degree for a system of morals; although *De Wette* has lately discussed it anew, (making a distinction between strict duty, and the necessity of striving after perfection, *Christl. Sittenlehre*, Th. III. § 433; comp. *Fries*, *Ethik* § 61 and 62); yet it has not been handled as thoroughly or in as many points of view as it deserves. It were, however, a misunderstanding of the true grounds and intention of the above definitions, if this sense were put into them.

tendency which it gives to itself and to these powers ; but it is still entirely owing to God and his grace, that He, as it were, comes to meet them in the direction they have taken, that He imparts himself to those who are longing for him, and his beatific vision ; and without this necessary grace the longing itself were as inconceivable as that the plant should turn to the sun if the light of the sun did not shine upon and attract it. Further, it does not lay the foundation for any claim of merit. For, in no proper sense, can we say that we have deserved any good, excepting when the deserving action is absolutely our own, when we are not in duty bound to perform it, when it brings advantage to another, and when this advantage is equal in value to what we receive ;¹ all of which, of course, is here out of the question. Hence, it is the free goodness of God alone, (*gratuita Dei bonitas et liberalitas*,) which is undoubtedly not arbitrary, (*absoluto decreto*,) but in conformity with a law prescribed by his own holiness and justice, (thus far, to be sure, according to merit, in a broader and less strict sense) ;² not in consequence of any claim that could be made upon him, but out of his own grace ; it is this free goodness which has made the elect angels worthy of his beatific vision, confirmed them in holiness, and elevated them to glory.

This glory includes, in addition to the holiness and blessedness, which to some extent belong to the very idea of the holy angels, partly an enhancement of the powers of knowledge and action with which they were originally endowed, partly such an arrangement of their relations to one another and to the rest of creation as best befits their powers. This is really only the consequence

¹ *Quenstedt*, de ang., Sect. II. qu. 7. *ßaß.* 2 : Nullitas meriti proprii probatur partim ex scripturae silentio, partim ex meriti conditionibus, quae sunt, (1) ut opus illud, quo meremur, sit nostrum, h. e. a nobis et ex nostris viribus praestitum, (2) ut sit opus indebitum, (3) ut sit utile atque commodum illi, cui praestatur, (4) ut sit pretio et dignitate proportionatum ac aequale illi, quod pro opere redditur. Quae omnia de angelorum operibus negantur. Neque enim sunt proprii viribus gratiae praestita ; sunt debita jure creationis, conservationis, domini ; Deo nullam utilitatem afferunt ; nec ulla est proportio inter actus angelorum et gratiam divinam, quae est donum infinitum.

² *Quenstedt*, l. c. *End.* 1—4 : disting. inter meritum proprie dictum, cui ex adverso respondet merces, et meritum improprie dictum, cui respondet gratuitum benefactorum aut ex promisso debitum praemium ; inter meritum, cui ex justitia distributiva et ex merito debetur praemium, et inter actionem, ad quem sequitur aliquid tanquam nudum consequens ; inter proportionem pretii, dignitatis et aequivalentiae, et proportionem ordinis, consequentiae et similitudinis.

of that perfect union with God which they enjoy in the light of his visible presence, and of their elevation to that end prescribed to their powers, which they as well as the rest of creation were intended to attain. This does not exclude the idea, that God may also be glorified in and through them by other and special manifestations of his grace, which may be considered as an accessory to these essential points.¹

The grounds of these doctrinal statements are found, in part, in the declarations of Scripture. The angels are described as holy (Mark 8: 38); as elect (1 Tim. 5: 21); as angels of light (2 Cor. 11: 14). It is said, that they see the face of God (Matt. 18: 10), that they so perfectly fulfil the divine will, that we cannot pray for anything higher, than that it be even thus fulfilled upon the earth (Matt. 6: 10); and that they are so elevated above earthly limitations and necessities, that Christ makes the glory of the children of the resurrection to consist in being like them (Luke 20: 36). Other reasons are found in the ethical laws and ideas, which we know to be valid and necessary for all rational and free creatures, modified only by the nature of the beings to whom they are applied.

The *Evil Spirits* are in all respects opposite to the good angels. As the latter, by their free obedience to the divine will attain to

¹ *Hollaz*, de ang., qu. 14: Nacti sunt angeli beneficio confirmationis scientiam excellentiorem, sanctitatem perfectiorem, libertatem præstantiorum, potentiam majorem concordiam arotiorem.—*Quenstedt*, l. c. qu. 6. *lud.* 3. Disting. inter beatitudinem angelorum *essentialem*, quæ in clara Dei visione, summo ejus amore etc., consistit, quæ nec augeri nec minui potest, et beatitudinem *accidentalē*, quæ consistit in revelatione novorum mysteriorum, in amore et gaudio extra Deum etc. et in hac angeli proficere possunt. To this might have been added principatum ampliorem et domicilium magis splendidum (Jude 6), which we designed to express by the phrase, the most fitting arrangement of their relations to the rest of creation. *Quenstedt*, in comparison with his representation of the blessedness of man, seems to give too limited a view of the constituents of the angelic blessedness, when he restricts it to the beatific vision and the love of God without adding what is a necessary result of this. He wished to make a distinction on the question, whether the blessedness of the angels were susceptible of an increase or not; and for this purpose, held fast to the difference between the absolute good, (which *objectivè* is God himself, and *formaliter* the vision and the love of God,) and those merely relative goods which consist in things out of God, and our relation to these things. Thus the conception of increasing blessedness and glory would seem to be congruous with the idea of the purely spiritual or intelligible nature of the angels; but later theologians have so little remarked or referred to this, that they have even dropped the distinction between the *beatitudo essentialis* and *accidentalis*: (c. g. *Baumgarten* I. S. 694 and 695).

a state of steadfastness in holiness, and are elevated to the highest glory and blessedness; the former by their free apostasy from God are transferred to a state in which they are obdurate and hardened in evil, have forever forfeited divine grace, and are sunk into the deepest shame and misery.¹

The position, that the devil and his angels were not created evil, but became so in consequence of a fall, the possibility of which was given in their free will, is to be held fast, especially in opposition to the dualistic doctrine of a principle in itself evil. But although the Bible refers with sufficient distinctness, (John 8: 44. Jude 6. 2 Peter 2: 4,) to the fact of such a fall (lapsus), yet it does not expressly teach us in what it consisted. In man we know two chief sources of sin, his sensual nature and self-love. In purely spiritual beings, sin could hardly proceed from the former. We might perhaps say, that, under certain conditions, it is not inconceivable, there should spring up, even in beings of a higher nature, a longing after pleasures which belong to a lower sphere of life, especially if, as is the case in respect to sexual love, some higher end were intended in that constitution which makes the basis for the pleasures. It was this notion, which procured for the Jewish interpretation of the passage, Gen. 6: 2, that angels took to themselves wives of the daughters of men, some currency with many of the fathers of the church;² but later theologians have not adopted it, because the fall of the evil spirits must have preceded the fall of our own first parents whom they tempted.³ We must derive their apostasy then from self-

¹ *Quenst.* de ang., thes. 20: Mali dicuntur quidam angeli non ratione essentiae, sed (1) ab actu malo s. apostasia a Deo; (2) a malitia habituali actum illum secuta; (3) ob persistentiam in malo incorrigibilem. The third, as a mere definition of the malitia habitualis, had better be subsumed under the second; in which position, it would constitute the notion of induratio in malo corresponding with that of the confirmatio in bono of the good angels. On the other hand, as with the good angels, the communication of divine grace is made a special proposition, so should here the withdrawal of it be especially signalized. The status ignominiae et damnationis, which is here brought into the same division with the obduracy, is treated of by *Quenstedt* under the title poena lapsum insecuta, which does not seem to be the most fitting point of view; and, as *Quenstedt* divides it, (into poena privativa et positiva,) leads to unnecessary reflexions and repetitions. The above designated four points, are the ones we shall proceed to investigate, as being the most conspicuous.

² Conf. *Petav.* theol. dogm. T. III., de ang., L. III. cp. 2.—That this idea is not so romantic, as might at first blush seem, could not be more brilliantly evinced than in Thos. Moore's beautiful poem, *The Love of the Angels*.

³ Some have, indeed, maintained, that the temptation of our first parents was the act by which the evil spirits fell.

love. This might manifest itself in the perversion of the understanding or judgment, (as in an over-estimate of one's self or one's powers); or in the corruption of the inclinations and will. If the latter, the corruption may either have respect to fellow-beings, (as in the feeling of envy, which shows itself in discontent with any preference manifested for others, or in ambition which tries to bring others under its sway); or it may exist in respect to God, in that the creature, instead of finding his glory and his joy in serving and praising Him, makes himself to be the centre of his efforts, rebels against God and his will, and strives, so far as in him lies, to destroy the order He has established. Now in the one, and now in the other of these forms of self-love, has it been attempted to find the first occasion of the fall; but mostly and justly in the last, in the pride (*superbia*), in consequence of which the devil himself would be as God; since this is the highest potency of self-love, in which sin as such actualizes itself, and which has all other forms of evil in its train.¹ The Bible seems to imply this in its representations of the inducements to disobedience by which our first parents were seduced (Gen. 3: 5), and by which Christ was tempted (Matt. 4: 3, 6, 9).² By this,

¹ Conf. *Petav.* l. c — *Buddei*, instit. L. II. ep. II. § 34: Ut omne peccatum ab amore sui inordinato originem ducit, eodem modo in angelis lapsis rem se habuisse ut credamus par est, amore hocce perverso per ambitionem maxime se prodente, quae in apertam tandem rebellionem et a Deo defectionem erupit.— *Teller* to *Hollaz*, de ang. qu. 25: *Superbia* s. *arrogantia* est vitium animi, quo quis sua sorte non contentus insolenter se effert, ac sibi plus tribuit quam par est ac voluntati divinae consentaneum. *Arrogantiae* peccatum tribus modis committitur; (1) officium superiori debitum deserendo, (2) dignitatem felicitatemque majorem ac decet appetendo, (3) alios despiciendo et invidendo. Ita definitum accomodemus ad hanc causam. *Legis* universae summa est amor, ex quo uno virtutes et bonae actiones omnes exoriantur; ergo vitia et peccata omnia originem suam ducunt ab amoris defectu. Amor est triplex; amor erga Deum, cui opponitur rebellio atque officii negatio; amor in aemet, cui opponitur neglectio felicitatis dignitatisque sibi convenientis atque injusta appetitio aut falsae et speciosae felicitatis, aut maximae dignitatis, quam temere affectans sibi plus obest quam prodest; amor erga alios, cui contraria est contemptio atque invidia. Atqui ex tribus illis partibus tota constat arrogantia; ergo hoc peccatum fuit principium omnium.

² In that the tempter sought to raise Christ's consciousness of his own worth as the Son of God into the proud and selfish feeling, that he might arbitrarily and boldly overstep the order of nature, and to entice him by the promise of a power and dominion whose attractions he had not been able to withstand.—A more direct proof might be found in the passage 1 Tim. 3: 6, if it were certain that it means, that Paul feared lest the novice, raised to the office of bishop, should be so puffed up with pride as to fall into the guilt or punishment of the devil.

we do indeed designate rather the general nature or *form* of the act in which the evil spirits fell, than the act itself, in which the fall consisted, definitely defined as to its aim and object. But the former is of more importance. The latter, in consequence of our ignorance of the duties and conditions of the sphere of angelic action, must ever remain obscure. Even if from the declaration in the epistle of Jude, v. 6, we should make the inference, that, by their own power, they wished to alter the position allotted them by God in the series of created things, to change their relation to other creatures, and the duties and honors therewith connected;¹ we should still know not much more than that they had rebelled against God and the order he had established.

In man, evil as well as good, passes through a process of growth. Although we are compelled to consider his will, so far as the fundamental tendency of his nature is concerned, as decided for evil;² yet this only communicates itself by degrees to the whole of his faculties and modes of acting. It has almost become a proverb, a villain is not made in a day. There are still what we may call the remains of primitive innocence, echoes of earlier good impressions, which cannot be suppressed or erased without a struggle. The state of total obduracy and hardening, in which man is fully lost to all that is good, rarely if ever occurs in this world. Otherwise is this with the angels. In them, as beings belonging to the spiritual or "*intelligible*" world, with the tendency to evil, the dominion of evil is entirely established. With them, after they have departed from God, falsehood instead of truth, hatred instead of love, have not merely become the general tendency, but fundamental character of their thinking and willing, their being and acting. They willingly reject all that is good, denying and hindering it in word and deed. They oppose whatever in the world is designed to serve as a basis or instrument of holiness. They fight against the kingdom of God, and all which makes the creature capable of attaining to it, or makes him happy in it. Hence the devil is called the liar, the murderer (*ἀνθρώποκτόνος*) from the beginning (John 8: 44); the calumniator, the

¹ Conf. *Baumgarten*, Glaubensl. I. S. 728. He thinks it probable (S. 731), that Satan had determined to get possession of the supreme government over our world and its inhabitants, and that on account of this he fell.

² We do not here assert that this is true universally, of every man—this question must be kept open for our further investigation. It is sufficient for our present purpose to conceive of an individual, to whom there is good reason for ascribing a decidedly sinful will.

accuser, (ὁ διάβολος, ὁ κατηγορῶν, Rev. 12: 10); the enemy the adversary, (ἡμεῖς, ὁ ἐχθρός, Matt. 13: 39; ὁ ἀντίδικος, 1 Peter 5: 8); the ruler of darkness, and of death (Eph. 6: 12. Heb. 2: 14). And this selfishness, which is in opposition to God and to all that is true and good, has so pervaded all their powers and modes of action, their thoughts and efforts, that nothing good and laudable, so far as concerns themselves, (for in respect to God, against their own will, they are but the instruments of manifesting his glory,) can proceed from them. They sin always, they sin necessarily; but this necessity is the work of their own freedom, as is the holiness of the good angels.

From the very nature of the case it results, that the loss of divine grace is connected with the apostasy of the evil spirits. This is not because God could ever cease to communicate himself, since he lets his light always shine forth to attract the creature to himself; but it is because the evil spirits, in their selfishness have shut themselves out from all divine influences, have turned themselves away from the light, and are repelled even by the divine love. This loss, too, is irrevocable. Such a position seems to require some explanation.¹ The Scripture never lets fall an intimation that God has ever had compassion upon the fallen angels, as he has upon man, or that he has provided for them a scheme of grace. Christ laid not hold upon angels, but upon the posterity of Abraham (Heb. 2: 16); God spared them not, but delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment (2 Peter 2: 4); for them is everlasting fire prepared (Matt. 25: 41. Rev. 20: 10). Whence this sternness of the divine justice? It is usually replied, on account of the enormity of their guilt; man sinned being tempted by the devil; but the devil, of his own wickedness; and this as much surpasses human guilt, as the evil spirits in the original perfection of their nature are superior to man.² But can any guilt be so great, that the divine grace may not be greater? (Rom. 5: 20). The limitation of the

¹ Gratia Dei ita exsisterunt, ut nulla spes redeundi eum Deo in gratiam supersit. — *Quenst.*

² Vide Gerhard, Loc. d. creat. § 60. Comp. *Hollaz de angelis*, qu. 25: Atrocitas peccati angelici aestimatur; (1) ex objecto laeso, quod est Deus; (2) ex praesidiis, quibus malum declinare poterant; angelorum quippe intellectus eximia sapientiae luce resplendebat; voluntas sanctitate perfecta eminebat; (3) ex modo peccandi; peccarunt enim angeli non ex infirmitate aut inadvertentia, sed ex pleno intellectu, deliberato consilio et voluntario liberi arbitrii abusu, nemine instigante.

divine grace, cannot be the reason why it is denied to evil spirits. The only possible reason is, that they are not susceptible of it, because they do not desire, and will not accept the grace of God. This again is connected with that peculiarity of their nature whereby sin in them is not a process of growth, but is entirely alloyed. They are hardened in sin, and therefore inaccessible to repentance.¹ An Abbadonna, as Klopstock describes him, could say to God—"What have I done, that thou makest a sinner of me only for him, for the human sinner only, and not for an angel? Hell indeed hates thee! Yet one forlorn being remains, one not all ignoble, who hates thee not, Jehovah! one, before thee, O God, alas! too long in vain, too long! pour out thy bloody tears and wailings unregarded!"²—an Abbadonna could thus speak, who is full of repentance for the past, in anguish for what he has lost, full of longing for redemption. Not a devil, is not one for whom the determination to be wretched, God, and himself to be God, is ever present and hence never repented of.

By this perversion of the relation which should exist between God and the creature, is first of all, in the evil spirits, the immediate organ of freedom, the will, brought into a state of

¹ Hence *Aquinas* justly teaches, (*Summa* I. qu. 64. art. 2): Causam obstinationis (daemonum in malo) debes accipere non ex gravitate culpe ex conditione naturae seu status; hoc enim est hominibus mors quod casus, ut *Damascenus* dicit; manifestum est autem, quod omnia mortalia oata hominum ante mortem sunt remissibilia, post mortem vero irreversibilia et perpetuo manentia. Ad inquirendam ergo causam huiusmodi obstinationis considerandum est, quod vis appetitiva in omnibus proportionatur apprehensione a qua movetur, sicut mobile a motore. Differt autem apprehensio animalis apprehensione hominis in hoc, quod angelus apprehendit immobiliter perceptum, homo vero per rationem mobiliter apprehendit discurrendo de aliis, habens viam procedendi ad utrumque oppositum; unde et vis hominis adhaeret alicui mobiliter, voluntas autem angeli adhaeret fixe et immobiliter; et ideo consuevit dici, quod liberum arbitrium hominis flexibile oppositum et ante electionem et post: liberum autem arbitrium angeli immobile ad utrumque oppositum ante electionem, sed non post. To this the major est misericordia Dei, quae est infinita, quam daemonis malitia, finita, (which the Lutheran theologians, e. g. *Hollaz*, qu. 39, I. and II. want to answer by the statement, that God's justice is also infinite, and the sin of evil spirits must be considered in reference to its object, God,) he replies: quod misericordia Dei liberat a peccato poenitentes; iniqui poenitentiae capaces non sunt, immobiliter malo adhaerentes, per misericordiam non liberantur.

² Klopstock's *Messias*, V. v. 695—700. Comp. II. 627—660; 789—862—669; IX. 516—535.

corruption, (in voluntate summa depravatio).¹ One result of this is that the understanding is blinded, (in intellectu ingens offuscatio). In themselves considered, the intellectual powers with which they were endowed, are not diminished; in certain respects,—in reference to self-interest and to sin,—we might even say that they were made more acute. But they know not, they have not the truth; for this can be the fruit only of the true knowledge of God and of moral love. He that judges erroneously respecting the origin of the world, and the end for which it was made, cannot rightly know what the world is. The devils know, indeed, that there is a God, but they tremble (James 3: 19); that is, they do not know him, as a God of grace and of love; for them he is only a consuming fire (Heb, 12: 29); since, he that is God's enemy cannot look upon God as his friend. Not merely in respect to the love, but also in respect to the power of God, must they be deceived; otherwise they would not so rashly oppose themselves to it. They may, for example, imagine, that God cannot and will not act otherwise than through the ordinary powers given to nature and to finite spirits, against which a being of great might and presumption might readily imagine, that he could maintain his own will. Hence we see the devil entangled in the greatest error respecting the work of redemption. He believed that he might tempt even to apostasy the very Son of God, if he should promise him the kingdoms of the world (Matt. 3: 9); and, when unsuccessful in this, he put it into the mind of Judas to betray him (John. 13: 2); and coöperated in effecting his death (John. 14: 30); although this very death was intended to deliver men from his dominion. But naturally! For this surpassing grace of God, that he should actually let his only begotten Son become flesh, so that sinners and the enemies of God might be reconciled by his blood (Romans. 5: 8—10); this strength of virtue in a man, that in pure submission and obedience to God he could withstand all seductions of sensuality, of vanity, and even of that ambition, before which angels fell; this it was which the devil could not believe. He that is without love and virtue, believes not in love and virtue; the more acute his intellect, the less is his faith. Hence the devil is also the *διάβολος*, the accuser

¹ After what has been already stated respecting the freedom of the good angels, we need not discuss the points, in what sense this excludes the freedom to do what is right, or the freedom which is defined as an indifference to good and evil; or, how far we may still ascribe to them freedom, among different kinds of sin, or modes of sinning, to choose one rather than another.

and calumniator, because in all human piety and righteousness he sees only what may be explained by love of the world and love of self; he sees only what is impure, while he has no eye for that which springs from a higher source. But an understanding which misunderstands that which in and under all things, is most worthy of being understood; which has not the key without which nothing can be disclosed in its true relations—its relations to God and the revelation of the divine power and love; such an understanding is darkened, deep as it may, in other respects, penetrate, wide as it may reach; and thus are the evil spirits blinded.

Hence they are necessarily *miserable*. Torn loose from the universal centre of life, without being even able to find it in themselves; by the feeling of inward void ever driven to the outward world, and yet in irreconcilable hostility to it and to themselves; eternally avoiding and never escaping the presence of God; always endeavoring to destroy, and always compelled to promote his purposes; instead of joy in the beatific vision of the divine glory, having a never satisfied longing for an end they never reach; instead of hope, the unending oscillation betwixt doubt and despair; instead of love, an impotent hatred of God, their fellows and themselves;—can the fearful condemnation of the last judgment (Rev. 20: 10), the *miserabilis in barathrum aeternae damnationis detrusio*, add anything to the anguish of such a condition, excepting, that they shall there see the kingdom of God forever delivered from their assaults; their vain presumption that they can destroy or impede it, scattered to the winds, leaving to them only the ever gnawing despair of an inward rage, which cannot spend itself upon anything without, and is therefore forever undeceived as to its own impotence?¹

[To be continued.]

¹ The Lutheran theologians interpret what is said in 2 Pet. 2: 4 and in Jude 6, respecting the chains of darkness and the casting into hell (*Tartarus*), where they are reserved unto judgment, as referring to this state of blindness and wretchedness, connected with such a restriction of their power, that they cannot thwart the divine purposes nor avoid the utter exclusion from all contact with the kingdom of light and grace, that yet awaits them. For that the meaning cannot be, that they are already so incarcerated and chained, that they cannot act in the world, is plain enough from what the Scripture elsewhere teaches about the dangers that threaten us from them, and the conflicts to be gone through with them, (e. g. 1 Peter. 5: 8. Eph. 6: 12). Comp. *Quenstedt de ang. S. I. thes.* 36. *Trias designantur (a Petro et Juda II. cc.), 1. vincula, quibus constricti tenentur, quae catenae caliginis et vincula, aeterna sub caligine dicuntur; at quae nunc vincula sunt ad custodiam, ne pro libertate grassari*

ARTICLE IX.

REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT BRIDGE BETWEEN THE JEWISH TEMPLE AND MOUNT ZION.

By E. Robinson.

THIS Article refers to a review of Dr. Olin's "Travels in Palestine," in the North American Review for October, 1843; and to a letter from Dr. Olin in reply, published in the number of the same work for January, 1844. The following remarks, with the exception of the letter from Mr. Nicolayson and one or two other instances, appeared also in the North American for January, 1844. They are repeated here, partly for the purpose of introducing that letter; and partly as a matter of literary history relating to an interesting point in Jewish Antiquities. As to the other matters in question between Dr. Olin and the Review, I have never supposed that it belonged to me to take any part in the controversy before the public.

The first intimation of the existence of any remains of the ancient bridge so often mentioned by Josephus, was given to the public in my work on Palestine. In that work, after recounting the manner in which I was led to notice and recognize these remains, and after a full description of them, there is subjoined the following note:

"Since the above was written, I have been informed by both Messrs. Bonomi and Catherwood, the well known artists, that they likewise remarked these large stones in 1833, and recognized in them the beginning of an immense arch. They regarded them, too, as probably among the most ancient remains in or around Jerusalem; but had no suspicion of their historical import."—*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I., p. 427.

This note was first written in London, in October, 1840, after an interview with Mr. Bonomi. He spoke of the remains as being the fragment of an arch; but frankly added, "We could make nothing more of them." The note was afterwards submitted in manuscript to Mr. Catherwood, in New York; who kindly showed me his very beautiful drawing of the remains in question, and corroborated the general statement of Mr. Bonomi. The note was printed with his sanction. My work appeared in July, 1841. The facts respecting the recognition of the bridge had been extensively published in this country in October, 1838; and, before the

possint, in magno illo judicii die erunt ad poenam; et quae nunc laxiora sunt, tunc erunt arctissima et gravissima. 2. Tartarus, in quo detinentur tanquam in carcere, et caligo, sub qua reservantur; quocunque enim abeunt, et ubicunque degunt daemones, suum infernum circumferunt ut ait Beda in cap. III. Jacobi. Distinguendum itaque inter statum infernalem et *πῶν* inferni; oberrant quidem nunc per mundum; catenati tamen sunt et vinculis obstricti tenebrisque obvoluti, et carcerem suum semper secum trahunt. 3. Judicium et supplicium, ad quod reservantur; ubi distinguendum inter supplicium ipsum et supplicii incrementum et complementum; illi jam tum subjecti sunt diaboli, hoc vero in die judicii extremi accedet.

middle of 1839, they had been further spread before the world as widely as the public presses of England, Germany, and the United States could give them currency.

Dr. Olin was in Jerusalem in April, 1840; and in his *Travels*, published in April, 1843, (nearly two years later than my work,) after describing the ancient remains around the mosk, he has the following passage.

"I could not learn that the most interesting and unquestionable of these remains—the massive arch of the ancient bridge—had been so much as mentioned by any modern traveller, though its existence has long been well known to European and other residents, as well as visitors. At least, this is the impression which I derived from my conversation with Mr. Nicolayson; who told me that Mr. Catherwood had examined the remains of the bridge seven years before." Vol. II. p. 268.

To this passage the reviewer took exceptions; and Dr. Olin, in his reply, uses the following language.

"Mr. Nicolayson was my guide to this monument; and I recorded his statement and my own measurement at the time. I now declare, that I never saw or heard the name of Dr. Robinson connected with this subject in Jerusalem or elsewhere, until I read the '*Researches*' nearly two years after my visit. Having no reason to distrust my own information, I of course presumed Dr. Robinson was in an error, in regarding himself as the original discoverer. Mr. Catherwood, who is a professional architect, and the author of Dr. Robinson's plan of Jerusalem,¹ as well as the one always in my hand, in which he had laid down the Temple, Mount Zion, and the valley between them, across which the arch looks directly, could hardly have doubted or been mistaken with regard to its design. Mr. Catherwood has often told me since, that my account is strictly true; and that he, as well as several other gentlemen with whom he conversed in Jerusalem, regarded and spoke of this monument as the remains of an ancient bridge, that connected the Jewish temple with Mount Zion."

It is the testimony here ascribed to Messrs. Nicolayson and Catherwood, to which I would invite the reader's attention. On comparing it with my note in the *Biblical Researches* quoted above, the discrepancy is seen to be so striking, that one of three things must necessarily follow, namely: either I was wrong in my statement respecting Messrs. Bonomi and Catherwood; or Dr. Olin was here in the wrong; or Mr. Catherwood at different times had made different statements. It seemed due to both the gentlemen above named, as well as to myself, to call their attention to the matter. The number of the *North American Review* for January, was seen by me two or three days before January 1st; and I immediately wrote both to Mr. Nicolayson and to Mr. Catherwood upon the subject. The reply of the former did not reach me, for the reasons therein given, until August. It has reference to the paragraph first quoted above from Dr. Olin; and is as follows:

¹ Mr. Catherwood was not the author of the plan of Jerusalem in the *Biblical Researches*; but Mr. H. Kiepert, of Berlin. He made use of the same original as Mr. C. appears to have done, viz., the earlier plan of Sieber, and introduced all Mr. C.'s corrections in and around the Haram, which were made from careful measurements. But Kiepert's plan varies very materially from Mr. C.'s, on the south and west, and in the shading of the hills within the city; all these being corrections derived from measurement made with my own hands.—E. R.

" On board the Austrian Steamer, }
Off Cyprus, May, 31, 1844. }

" MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of Dec. 30th, not having reached me till shortly before my late departure from Constantinople, where I have spent the last six months, I had neither time nor opportunity to answer it thence. Though I shall touch at Beirût to-morrow, yet as I am anxious to quit that place again the same day, if possible, for Jerusalem, I prepare this line now, in order to drop it there for Mr. Smith to forward.

" I am happy to be able at once to give an answer satisfactory to you ; and at the same time to account for the slight mistake into which Dr. Olin seems to have fallen. I have the most distinct recollection, not only that I had never heard the projection in question identified with the bridge mentioned by Josephus till it was thus identified by you ; but moreover that I had myself never noticed the projection itself, till on the occasion of your visit, when it first became known to me. Nor have I any recollection of having heard it even mentioned by any previous traveller ; certainly not by Mr. Catherwood and his party.

" At the same time, I can easily account for Dr. Olin's having received the impression, as if I had referred to Mr. Catherwood on this subject. I had undoubtedly mentioned him and his researches and measurements at Jerusalem, particularly of the mosk and the underground work in the south-east corner ; but the measurement of the supposed span of the arch (of the bridge in question) attempted from the fraction of the sine obtainable from the projection of the spring, which I also mentioned to Dr. Olin, was done by an English engineer, Mr. Brettell, to whom I showed the projection, some time after your visit ; to whom also I referred it, and not to Mr. Catherwood. Dr. Olin's mistake consists, then, simply, in referring to Mr. Catherwood, who visited Jerusalem *before* you, what I had told him of Mr. Brettell, who visited it *after* you ; and the mistake was the more easily made, as I had spoken of both in the same connexion.

Yours, very faithfully,

REV. DR. ROBINSON.

JOHN NICOLAYSON."

This letter shows very clearly, that the original statement copied above from Dr. Olin's Travels, and professedly made on the authority of Mr. Nicolayson, was without foundation, and was probably the result of misapprehension. To the same main fact, viz. that before my visit in 1838 the projection in question was *not* known to either residents or travellers as the remains of the bridge described by Josephus. I have further the written testimony of the Rev. Messrs. Whiting and Lanneau, American Missionaries, long resident in Jerusalem ; and also of the Rev. Eli Smith who had previously made repeated visits to the Holy City. As however, Mr. Nicolayson was the main witness ; and his letter is so explicit and decisive, it is unnecessary to publish here the cumulative testimony of these other gentlemen.

The reply of Mr. Catherwood reached me the latter part of March. It has reference to the second paragraph quoted above from Dr. Olin ; and is so full of frank and honorable feeling, and is so creditable to the writer's candor, that I should not have felt justified in withholding it from the

public. I therefore give it here entire, subjoining a few remarks. The reader will perceive, that Mr. Catherwood here narrates in fuller detail, what he said to me more briefly when he read my note in manuscript and sanctioned its publication; while the language of Dr. Olin assumes for him something else, to which he never laid claim, and which indeed in this letter he expressly disclaims.

“London, 9th February, 1844.

“DEAR SIR,—Your favor of January 6th reached me but a few days before the sailing of the February steamer, and I was too much engaged to answer it at the moment. I had also to make some inquiries, to refresh my memory, which is not very good, in regard to conversations held many years ago. I am sorry that anything I should have said, or omitted saying, should have produced an apparent discrepancy in my testimony regarding the bridge; but I will endeavour to recall to mind and relate all I know of the matter in question.

“Before going to Jerusalem, I was furnished with a manuscript map of the city by Mr. J. J. Scoles, architect, who made it on the spot, and at that time it was the best extant. I also had conversations with Mr. Barry and Mr. Scoles regarding the most interesting points that still remained for investigation. Among other directions, Mr. Scoles told me to ‘look out for the remains of a bridge which joined Mount Moriah to Mount Zion’ He had been unsuccessful in finding it himself; and did not mention to me whence he derived his information respecting it. (I have a note from Mr. Scoles to this effect, dated a few days ago.) This direction was a verbal one, not written down, and which I afterwards forgot altogether; and when I discovered the arch, it was not from purposely looking for it, but casually, in making my survey of the walls surrounding the mosk of Omar.

“I therefore was in error when I stated to Dr. Olin, that others (meaning Messrs. Barry and Scoles) were previously acquainted with the arch in question. Mr. S. has set me right on this point; and I thus rather unexpectedly find myself to have been (so far as I know) the discoverer. I had no doubt, from the moment I saw it, that it had formed part of a viaduct and aqueduct; but I was totally ignorant of its historical importance. I merely looked at it as an architect, with reference to its position, both to the *water-course from Bethlehem* and the deep ground between it and Mount Zion. I do not recollect whether I spoke on the subject to Mr. Bonomi or Mr. Nicolayson; but when Dr. Olin told me that Mr. N. mentioned my name in connection with it, I concluded I had spoken to him on the point; which is very probable, from my having had almost daily intercourse with Mr. N.

“This, therefore, will explain my not having made any observation, when I read your note. I was in doubt, and therefore said nothing; at least, so far as I can recollect. I was, moreover, desirous, that you, who have labored so diligently and successfully in the field of Jewish antiquities, should have the full merit (as is justly due to you) of being the first to publish and bring to light the historical importance of this monument.

I have stated the facts to the best of my recollection and present knowledge; and hope the explanation will prove satisfactory.

"I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,

"F. CATHERWOOD.

"P. S.—March 2d. About a week ago I received a letter from Dr. Olin, asking some explanation on this subject; and I thought the best plan would be, to send him a transcript of my letter to you; which I have accordingly done.

F. C."

REMARKS.

I. The question here at issue is not, whether these remains have ever been noticed before; for they must have been seen by thousands upon thousands, in the long course of seventeen centuries, and especially in the age of the Crusades. Nor is it, whether they have been recognized as an arch; for among the multitudes who have looked upon them, it is scarcely possible to suppose, that some one should not have detected their true character in this respect. Yet there is no known testimony extant earlier than that of Mr. Catherwood; so that, in this sense, he is the discoverer, as I have stated in the *Researches*. Nor is it here the question, whether any one had, or had not, before speculated upon the purpose of such an arch in this place; for among the multitudes of learned men and artists who have visited the city, as, for instance, during the Crusades, we can hardly suppose, that such speculations would not have arisen in some minds; and then nothing would have been more natural than to refer these remains to a bridge or an aqueduct. Yet here, too, there is no recorded testimony in behalf of any one before Mr. Catherwood. The true question at issue is simply this: Had any person, before my visit to Jerusalem, in April, 1838, in any way brought these remains into connection with the important historical fact, made known to us by the Jewish historian, that a bridge anciently existed over the valley between the Temple and Mount Zion? I know of no such person. Had Mr. Scoles found the spot, he very probably would have brought out the result years ago. Or had Mr. Catherwood published his own observations, it is hardly to be supposed, that scientific inquirers would not have quickly perceived their identity with the bridge of Josephus. But he did not do this; and he frankly says of himself, "I was totally ignorant of its historical importance." There is no other person, so far as I know, who can in any way be brought forward in derogation of my right to this very casual honor; and this is all that I have ever claimed for myself in the *Biblical Researches* or elsewhere. I went to Jerusalem knowing nothing of the existence of any such remains; my attention was called to them there; and their identity with the ancient bridge instantly suggested itself to my mind.

II. I sincerely regret, that Mr. Catherwood, in his conversations with me, in January, 1841, did not mention that he had, at the time, regarded the arch as having "formed part of a viaduct and aqueduct." Had he done so, I certainly should have stated the fact in connection with my

note; both because my only object was, and is, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and also because, in a matter of so much archaeological importance, it is interesting to scholars to be able to trace the progress of discovery. The idea of an aqueduct and viaduct would very naturally present itself to Mr. C.'s mind, not only as an architect, but also from the analogous fact, that the water-course from Bethlehem is actually carried over the Valley of Hinnom, on the west of the city, in a similar manner. But how little stress Mr. Catherwood himself laid upon this hypothesis, as also upon the whole matter, is obvious, not only from his having thus left it to sleep for so many years; but also from the fact, that, on his plan of the city, instead of bringing the said water-course into the Haram in any possible connection with the arch, he actually brings it in from the south, at a point where the ground is nearly a hundred feet below the level of the mosk and of the ancient bridge. The real place of its entrance is along the eastern precipice of Zion, and across the Tyropœon, at an elevation considerable less than that of the bridge.

III. It may be asked, What is here the difference between a bridge and the bridge? Why is not the inference of a scientific architect just as conclusive and important as the testimony of an historian? The reply is, that, while such an inference brings out no result beyond or more important than itself, the identification of the arch in question with a known ancient bridge is at once an immense step gained in the archaeology and topography of the Temple and city. For example: Travellers have for ages gazed upon the many courses of huge stones in the external substructions of the Haram; and perhaps all have conjectured, and many have believed, that these had been in some way connected with the Jewish Temple. This, however, was merely matter of credence, and not of demonstration; and it is not too much to say, that not a single point in the topography of the city had ever been certainly and indubitably settled. But the moment we identify this arch with the bridge described by Josephus, the conclusion follows irresistibly, that these courses of stones, with which it is thus connected, are parts of the identical wall existing in the time of Josephus. Similar reasoning applies to the southern and eastern walls; and hence is demonstrated beyond cavil the general identity of the present area of the mosk with that of the ancient Temple. Further, the same bridge connected the Temple with Zion; and the hill now opposite on the west is thus proved to be Zion. In this way is shown the falsity of Dr. Clarke's theory, who held Zion to be the hill south of the Valley of Hinnom;—a theory which, heretofore, scholars might disbelieve, but could not disprove. Thus we may go on through the whole city; and, as one point after another is gained, each may be referred back, for all the certainty it can claim, to the identification of the arch in question with the ancient bridge.

IV. The sum of the whole matter may, therefore, be stated as follows: Mr. Scoles was aware, doubtless from Josephus, that an ancient bridge had existed; but was unable to find any remains. He suggested to Mr. Catherwood to look for such remains, but the suggestion was forgotten; and when Mr. C. found the arch in question, he was not aware that

there had been an ancient bridge. That is to say; the former knew there had been a bridge, but found no remains; the latter did not know that a bridge had existed, but found the fragment of an arch, which he referred to an aqueduct and viaduct. Thus far there was no gain to history or topography. It was left to a third person, five years afterwards, (knowing nothing of what the former two had done or thought,) to connect and identify on the spot the said remains with the ancient bridge; and thus to fix a definite and imperishable landmark, from which to trace out and settle beyond controversy many most important points in the archæology and topography of the Holy City.

INTELLIGENCE.

WE are glad to learn that the Rev. Pres. Sears of Newton is preparing for publication a Dictionary of the German language. Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, Andover, have in press Stuart's Commentary on the Apocalypse, in two vols. 8vo. ; a second edition of Taylor's translation of Krebs's Guide for Writing Latin, revised and enlarged; and a second enlarged edition of Weld's Latin Lessons. The same publishers have in preparation a translation of Kühner's Elementary Greek Grammar, Xenophon's Cyropaedia for the use of schools and colleges, and Russell's Pulpit Elocution.—Crusius's Homeric Lexicon, an excellent help to the students of Homer, has been translated by Prof. Smith of Marietta college, and published in a handsome octavo volume.

ERRATA.

Page 154, at end of l. 23, insert *of*.—P. 195, l. 34, for *Wolf* read *Niebuhr*.—P. 195, l. 33, for *his* read *Wolf's*.—P. 419, l. 16, for *with* read *in the*.—P. 424, l. 2, for *Zenophons* read *Xenophon's*.—P. 615, l. 9, for *or* read *nor*.—P. 617, l. 31, read *Schmidthenner*.—P. 626, l. 12, read *critic*.—P. 627, l. 18—20, read *παρὶ-
ννμος, παρὸννμος*.—P. 631, l. 34. Since this article was written, the word *improvements*, as we are told, has been left out of the advertisement. Mr. Liddell, one of the authors of the Lexicon, requests a friend in this country "to convey to the American public the fact that this reprint [the American] is a piracy undertaken without the consent or knowledge of the authors and proprietors of our Lexicon, and to protest against our being made responsible for anything contained in a book altered and mutilated as this may be." Mr. L. states that he and his collaborator are at work on the second edition, which will be enlarged, and that no pains will be spared to render it as correct as possible.

The publication of the present number has been unavoidably delayed, in consequence of the ill health of several contributors to the work.

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